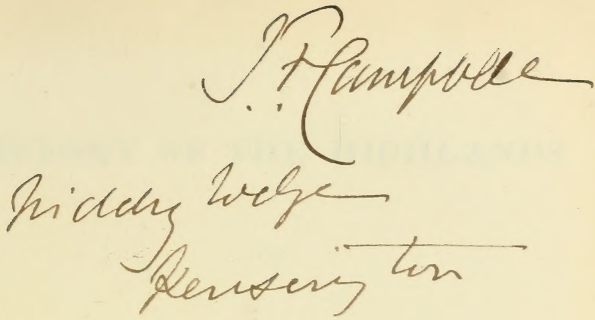
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A

HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS

AND OF

THE HIGHLAND CLANS,

BY

JAMES BROWNE, Esq. LL.D., Advocate,

Author of "Apperçu sur les Hiéroglyphes d'Egypte et les progrès faits jusqu' à présent dans leur Déchiffrement," "A Critical Examination of Dr Macculloch's Book on the Highlands," &c. &c.

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James Stuart

The Chevalier de St. George

Engraved by J. Beckwith from the original painting

Published by Alex. Phillips, &c. London





Campbell. Duke of Argyle.



Graham. Duke of Montrose.



Fane. Earl of Westmorland.



Stuart. Earl of Bute.



Abercorn. Lord Paisley.



Fraser of Lovat.

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As soon as the news of the flight of the king reached London, the greatest agitation prevailed; and the two great parties—the Presbyterians and Independents—each of which was struggling for ascendency, became even still more distrustful of one another; but when they ascertained the place of his retreat, they joined in reprobating the conduct of the Scots, who, they erroneously supposed, had induced the king to put himself in their power. The possession of the royal person had been long desired by both factions as of paramount importance in paving the way for the accomplishment of their respective objects; but the unexpected step which the king had just taken seemed to render their prospects for ever hopeless. But they soon found that the case was not so bad as they had imagined for the king was not only prevailed upon to order his officers to surrender the fortresses which they still retained, but to become a suppliant for peace by requesting both houses of parliament to offer him propositions for consideration.

Some of these propositions were, however, such as the king could not, in conscience, submit to, and others were quite incompatible with monarchical government. The refusal of the king to agree to these conditions, one of which stipulated the establishment of the Directory, and the recognition of the Westminster Confession, while it displeased the presbyterian party, inspired the independents with fresh hopes, and the latter now began to indicate pretty plainly their intention of dethroning the king. While the two houses were engaged in new deliberations, in consequence of the king's refusal to accede, the chancellor

(Loudon), the marquis of Argyle, and the earl of Dunfermline, who had offered to the king to go up to London, and treat with the parliament for a mitigation of the propositions, arrived in London; but, as the royalists had observed, it was soon seen "that their treating would end in a bargain;"* for, although professing themselves great sticklers for the freedom, honour, and safety of the king, they not only offered to concur in any measures that parliament might propose, should the king remain obstinate, but offered to withdraw the Scots army from England, on receiving payment of the arrears of pay due to the army for its services. Such an offer was too tempting to be withstood; and a committee having been appointed to adjust the balance due to the Scots, it was finally agreed by the latter, after many charges on both sides had been disallowed,† to accept of £400,000 in full of all demands, one moiety of which was to be paid before the Scots army left England and the other after its return to Scotland.

Whatever may have been the understanding between the Scots commissioners and the English parliament as to the disposal of the king, it is certain that in fixing the terms on which the Scots army should retire from England, that question was left quite open for discussion, as is sufficiently instructed by the subsequent vote of the two houses, that the right of disposing of the king belonged to the parliament of England, a vote which "gave birth to a controversy unprecedented in history,"‡ and which threatened to involve the two nations in war. To say, therefore, that the Scots nation sold their king is a foul calumny, refuted by the whole history of the transactions which preceded the delivery of the king to the English parliamentary commissioners, for although a majority of the persons who attended the Scottish parliament complied with the demand of the English parliament for possession of the king's person, a virtuous minority, with whom was the great bulk of the nation, voted against it. A celebrated historian who may be supposed very impartial in his views of the conduct of the Scots on this occasion, because opposed to the common opinion of his countrymen, thus defends the Scottish nation from the charge in question. "The royalists ever since the king's visit to Newark, had viewed with anxiety and terror the cool calculating policy of the Scots. The result converted their suspicions into certitude: they hesitated not to accuse them of falsehood and perfidy, and to charge them with having allured the king to their army by deceitful promises, that, Judas-like, they might barter him for money with his enemies. Insinuations so injurious to the character of the nation ought not to be lightly admitted. That fanaticism and self-interest had steeled the breasts of the covenanters against the more generous impulses of loyalty and compassion, may indeed be granted; but more than this cannot be legitimately inferred from any proof furnished by history. 1mo. The

* Guthry.

† Amongst the many items set up by the English parliament against the claims of the Scots, there was one, according to Bishop Guthry, of £80,000 sterling, "for the cabbage the Scots had devoured!!!"

‡ Lingard, vol. vi. p. 556.

despatches of Montrevil make it evident that the verbal engagement of the commissioners at London was disavowed by the commissioners with the army before Newark; that the king was officially informed that it would never be carried into execution; and that, if he afterwards sought an asylum among the Scots, he was not drawn thither by their promises, but driven by necessity and despair. 2° If the delivery of the royal person, connected as it was with the receipt of £200,000, bore the appearance of a sale, it ought to be remembered, that the accounts between the two nations had been adjusted in the beginning of September; that, for four months afterwards, they never ceased to negotiate in favour of Charles; nor did they resign the care of his person till the votes of the English parliament compelled them to make the choice between compliance and war. It may be, that in forming their decision their personal interest was not forgotten; but there was another consideration which had no small weight even with the friends of the monarch. It was urged, that by suffering the king to reside at Holmby, they would do away the last pretext for keeping on foot the army under the command of Fairfax; the dissolution of that army would annihilate the influence of the independents, and give an undisputed ascendancy to the presbyterians, the first, the declared enemies, the others the avowed advocates of Scotland, of the kirk, and of the king; and the necessary consequence must be, that the two parliaments would be left at liberty to arrange in conformity with the covenant, both the establishment of religion and the restoration of the throne."*

While the negotiations for the delivery of the king were pending, Charles, who seems to have been fully aware of them, meditated the design of escaping from the Scots army, and putting himself at the head of such forces as the marquis of Huntly could raise in the north. In pursuance of this design, his majesty, about the middle of December, sixteen hundred and forty-six, sent Robert Leslie, brother of General David Leslie, with letters and a private commission to Huntly, by which he was informed of his majesty's intentions, and Huntly was, therefore, desired to levy what forces he could, and have them in readiness to take the field on his arrival in the north. On receipt of his majesty's commands, Huntly began to raise forces, and having collected them at Banff, he fortified the town, and there awaited the king's arrival.† But the king was prevented from putting his plan into execution by a premature discovery. It is stated by Guthry that Leslie and his committee having begun to talk of confining his majesty, and "that it might be handsomely done, and upon some shew of reason, William Murray, of the bed-chamber, furnished a pretext, suggesting privately to his majesty something concerning an escape, and offering to make his way, and have a ship in readiness to transport him." He then observes that it is uncertain "what entertainment his majesty gave

* Lingard, vol. vi. † Gordon's Continuation, p. 536.

to the motion," but that, "before the time came which William Murray had set, it was so divulged that there was no other discourse throughout the army but of William Murray's plot to carry away the king; and thereupon, a guard of soldiers was presently planted at his chamber-door, both within and without; whereby his majesty was not only deprived of liberty, but also of quiet and retirement; and having an antipathy against tobacco, was much perplexed by reason of their continual smoking by him."* Although Murray, who, upon the discovery, retired to London, was imprisoned at the instigation of the Scots commissioners for planning the king's escape, yet it was believed by the "malignants" to be a mere pretence to deceive the king, whom they supposed he had betrayed in the expectation that should his majesty be again induced to trust him he might render them farther service.†

After the delivery of the king to the English, on the twenty-eighth day of January, one thousand six hundred and forty-seven, the Scots army returned to Scotland. It was thereupon remodelled and reduced, by order of the parliament, to six thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, a force which was considered sufficient not only to keep the royalists in awe, but also to reduce the marquis of Huntly and Sir Alexander Macdonald, who were still at the head of some forces. The dispersion, therefore, of the forces under both these commanders became the immediate object of the parliament. An attempt had been made in the month of January, sixteen hundred and forty-seven, by a division of the covenanting army stationed in Aberdeenshire, under the command of Major Bickerton, to surprise the marquis of Huntly at Banff, but he had been obliged to retire with loss; and Huntly continued to remain in his position till the month of April, when, on the approach of General David Leslie with a considerable force, he fled with a few friends to the mountains of Lochaber for shelter. Leslie thereupon reduced the castles belonging to the marquis. He first took that of Strathbogie, and sent the commander thereof, the laird of Newton-Gordon, to Edinburgh, then the castle of Lesmore; and lastly, the Bog of Gicht, or Gordon castle, the commander of which, James Gordon of Letterfurie, and his brother, Thomas Gordon of Clastirim, and other gentlemen of the name of Gordon, were sent to Edinburgh as prisoners. Leslie next took the isle of Lochtanner, in Aboyne, which had been fortified by Huntly.‡ Quarter was given to the men who garrisoned those different strengths, with the exception of the Irish and deserters, who were hanged immediately on their capture.§

Having taken these different places, Leslie next marched into Badenoch, in quest of the marquis, where he captured the castle of Ruthven. From thence he proceeded into Lochaber, and took the fortress of Inverlochy. The covenanting general, thereupon, marched to the south with

* Memoirs, p. 185. † Ibid. ‡ Gordon's Continuation, p. 537. § Guthry.

a part of his forces, leaving the remainder in the north, under the command of Middleton, and encamped in Strathallan, he himself taking up his head quarters in Dunblane. Here he remained till the middle of May, when he was joined by the marquis of Argyle, and ordered to advance into that nobleman's country to drive out Sir Alexander Macdonald. Accordingly, he began his march on the seventeenth of May, and arrived at Inverary on the twenty-first. Sir Alexander Macdonald was at this time in Kintyre, with a force of about fourteen hundred foot and two troops of horse, which would have been fully sufficient to have checked Leslie, but he seems not to have been aware of the advance of Leslie, and had taken no precautions to guard the passes leading into that peninsula, which might have been successfully defended by a handful of men against a considerable force. Having secured these difficult passes, Leslie advanced into Kintyre, and after skirmishing the whole of the twenty-fifth of May with Macdonald, he forced him to retire. After throwing three hundred men into a fortress on the top of the hill of Dunavertie, and in which "there was not a drop of water but what fell from the clouds,"* Macdonald, on the following day, embarked his troops in boats provided for the occasion, and passed over into Ila.

Leslie, thereupon, laid siege to the castle of Dunavertie, which was well defended; but the assailants having carried a trench at the bottom of the hill which gave the garrison the command of water, and in the storming of which the besieged lost forty men, the latter craved a parley, in consequence of which Sir James Turner, Leslie's adjutant-general, was sent to confer with the garrison on the terms of surrender. Leslie would not grant "any other conditions than that they should yield on discretion or mercy. And it seemed strange to me (continues Sir James Turner) to hear the lieutenant-general's nice distinction, that they should yield themselves to the kingdom's mercy, and not to his. At length they did so, and after they were come out of the castle, they were put to the sword, every mother's son, except one young man, Maccoul, whose life I begged to be sent to France, with a hundred fellows which we had smoked out of a cave, as they do foxes, who were given to Captain Campbell, the chancellor's brother."† This atrocious act was perpetrated at the instigation of John Nave or Neaves, "a bloody preacher,"‡ but, according to Wodrow, an "excellent man," who would not be satisfied with less than the blood of the prisoners. As the account given by Sir James Turner, an eye-witness of this infamous transaction, is curious, no apology is necessary for inserting it. "Here it will be fit to make a stop, till this cruel action be canvassed. First, the lieutenant-general was two days irresolute what to do. The marquis of Argyle was accused at his arraignment of this murder, and I was examined as a witness. I declared, which was true, that I never heard him advise the lieutenant-general to it. What he did in private

* Turner's Memoirs. † Ibid. ‡ Guthry.

I know not. Secondly, Argyle was but a colonel then, and he had no power to do it of himself. Thirdly, though he had advised him to it, it was no capital crime; for counsel is no command. Fourthly, I have several times spoke to the lieutenant-general to save these men's lives, and he always assented to it, and I know of himself he was unwilling to shed their blood. Fifthly, Mr John Nave (who was appointed by the commission of the kirk to wait on him as his chaplain) never ceased to tempt him to that bloodshed, yea, and threatened him with the curses befell Saul for sparing the Amalekites, for with them his theology taught him to compare the Dunavertie men. And I verily believe that this prevailed most with David Leslie, who looked upon Nave as the representative of the kirk of Scotland." The statement of Sir James and David Leslie's repugnance to shed the blood of those defenceless men is fully corroborated by Bishop Guthry, on the authority of many persons who were present, who says that while the butchery was going on, and while Leslie, Argyle, and Neaves were walking over the ancles in blood, Leslie turned out and thus addressed the latter:—"Now, Mr John, have you not once got your fill of blood?" The sufferers on this occasion were partly Irish, and partly belonging to the clan Dougal or Coull, to the castle of whose chief, in Lorne, Colonel Robert Montgomerie now laid siege, while Leslie himself, with a part of his forces, left Kintyre for Ila in pursuit of Macdonald.

On landing in Ila, Leslie found that Macdonald had fled to Ireland, and had left Colkittoch, his father, in the castle of Dunnivey, with a force of two hundred men to defend the island against the superior power of Leslie. The result turned out as might have been anticipated. Although the garrison made a brave resistance, yet, being wholly without water, they found themselves unable to resist, and offered to capitulate on certain conditions. These were, that the officers should be entitled to go where they pleased, and that the privates should be sent to France. These conditions were agreed to, and were punctually fulfilled. Old Colkittoch had, however, the misfortune not to be included in this capitulation, for, before the castle had surrendered, "the old man, Coll, (says Sir James Turner) coming foolishly out of the house, where he was governor, on some parole or other,* to speak with his old friend, the captain of Dunstaffnage castle, was surprised, and made prisoner, not without some stain to the lieutenant-general's honour. He was afterwards hanged by a jury of Argyle's sheriff-depute, one George Campbell, from whose sentence few are said to have escaped that kind of death."

Leaving Ila, Leslie "boated over to Jura, a horrible isle (says Sir James Turner), and a habitation fit for deer and wild beasts; and so from isle to isle (continues he) till he came to Mull, which is one of the best of the Hebrides. Here Maclaine saved his lands, with the loss of

* Spalding says that, Col Kittoch came out of the castle to treat for a surrender on an assurance of personal safety.

his reputation, if he ever had any. He gave up his strong castles to Leslie, gave his eldest sonne for hostage of his fidelity, and, which was unchristian baseness in the lowest degree, he delivered up fourteen prettie Irishmen, who had been all along faithful to him, to the lieutenant-general, who immediately caused hang them all. It was not well done to demand them from Maclaine, but inexcusablie ill done in him to betray them. Here I cannot forget one Donald Campbell, fleshed in blood from his very infancie, who with all imaginable violence pressed that the whole clan Maclaine should be put to the edge of the sword; nor could he be commanded to forbear his bloody suit by the lieutenant-general and two major-generals; and with some difficulty was he commanded silence by his chief, the marquis of Argyle. For my part, I said nothing, for indeed I did not care though he had prevailed in his suit, the delivery of the Irish had so irritated me against that whole clan and name."

While Leslie was thus subduing the Hebrides, Middleton was occupied in pursuing the marquis of Huntly through Glen-moriston, Badenoch, and other places, who was at length captured by Lieutenant-Colonel Menzies, in Strathdon, in the month of December, sixteen hundred and forty-seven. Having received intelligence of the place of the marquis's retreat, Menzies came to Dalnabo with a select body of horse, consisting of three troops, about midnight, and immediately entered the house just as Huntly was going to bed. The marquis was attended by only ten gentlemen and servants, as a sort of body-guard, who, notwithstanding the great disparity of numbers, made a brave attempt to protect the marquis, in which six of them were killed and the rest mortally wounded, among whom was John Grant, the landlord. On hearing that the marquis had been taken prisoner, the whole of his vassals in the neighbourhood, to the number of between four and five hundred, with Grant of Carron at their head, flew to arms to rescue him. Lieutenant-Colonel Menzies thereupon carried the Marquis to the castle of Blairfindie, in Glenlivet, about four miles from Dalnabo, where the marquis received a notice from Grant and his party by the wife of Gordon of Munmore, that they had solemnly sworn that they would either rescue him or die to a man, and they requested him to give them such orders to carry their plan into effect as he might judge proper. But the marquis dissuaded his people from the intended attempt, and returned for answer that, now almost worn out with grief and fatigue, he could no longer live in hills and dens; and hoped that his enemies would not drive things to the worst; but, if such was the will of heaven, he could not outlive the sad fate he foresaw his royal master was likely to undergo; and be the event as it would, he doubted not but the just providence of God would restore the royal family, and his own along with it.*

* Gordon's History of the Family of Gordon, vol. ii. p. 546.

Besides the gentlemen and servants about Huntly's person, there were some Irish who were quartered in the offices about Dalnabo. These were carried prisoners by Menzies to Strathbogy, where Middleton then was, who ordered them all to be shot, a sentence which was carried into immediate execution.* In consequence of an order from the committee of estates at Edinburgh, Menzies carried the marquis under a strong guard of horse to Leith, where, after being kept two days, he was delivered up to the magistrates, and incarcerated in the jail of the city. The committee had previously debated the question whether the marquis should be immediately executed or reprieved till the meeting of parliament, but although the Argyle faction, notwithstanding the marquis of Argyle withdrew before the vote was taken, and the committee of the church did every thing in their power to procure the immediate execution of the marquis, his life was spared till the meeting of the parliament by a majority of one vote.† The earl of Aboyne and Lord Lewis Gordon had the good fortune to escape to the continent. The first went to France, where he shortly thereafter died—the second took refuge in Holland. A reward of £1,000 sterling had been promised to any person who should apprehend Huntly, and for payment of which sum Menzies accordingly obtained an order, on sixth January, sixteen hundred and forty-eight, from the committee of estates.‡

It has been made the ground of a charge by the author of the history of the family of Gordon against Hamilton and Argyle, "to whom Huntly trusted so much," that they were "the first signers" of this order; but there seems to be really no room for accusation on this score, as these two noblemen merely signed the document in the order of precedence of rank before the rest of the committee. However, there seems to be no doubt that Argyle felt a malignant gratification at the capture of Huntly, and it is related by Spalding, that taking advantage of Huntly's situation, Argyle bought up all the comprisings on Huntly's lands, and that he caused summon at the market-cross of Aberdeen by sound of trumpet, all Huntly's wadsetters and creditors to appear at Edinburgh in the month of March following Huntly's imprisonment, calling on them to produce their securities before the lords of session, with certification that if they did not appear, their securities were to be declared null and void. Some of Huntly's creditors sold their claims to Argyle, and having thus bought up all the rights he could obtain upon Huntly's estate at a small or nominal value, under the pretence that he was acting for the benefit of his nephew, Lord Gordon, he granted bonds for the amount which, according to Spalding, he never paid. In this way did Argyle possess himself of the marquis's estates, which he continued to enjoy upwards of twelve years; viz., from six-

* Spalding. † Guthry, p. 207.

‡ See the Act of Sederunt of the committee in the appendix to Gordon's History of the family of Gordon, vol. ii. p. 557.

teen hundred and forty-eight, till the restoration of Charles II. in sixteen hundred and sixty.

When the king, who was then a prisoner in Carisbrook castle, heard of the capture of Huntly, he wrote the following letter to the earl of Lanark, then in London, in favour of the marquis:— *

"LANERK.—Hearing that the marquis of Huntly is taken, and knowing the danger that he is in, I both strictly command you as a master, and earnestly desire you as a friend, that you will deal effectually with all those whom you have any interest in, for the saving of his life. It were, I know, lost time to use arguments to you for this, wherefore, I judge these lines necessary to add to your power, though not to your willingness, to do this most acceptable service for,

"Your most assured. real, constant friend,

"CHARLES R."

CARISBROOK,
17*th December*, 1647.

The earl, either from unwillingness or inability, appears to have paid no attention to this letter.

Shortly before the capture of the marquis of Huntly, John Gordon of Innermarkie, Gordon, younger of Newton-Gordon, and the laird of Harthill, three of his chief friends, had been taken prisoners by Major-General Middleton, and sent to Edinburgh, where they were imprisoned. The two latter were condemned to die by the committee of estates, and although their friends procured a remission of the sentence from the king, they were, notwithstanding, both beheaded at the market-cross of Edinburgh. Harthill suffered on the twenty-sixth of October, sixteen hundred and forty-seven, and Newton-Gordon a few days thereafter.

While the hopes of the royalists, both in England and Scotland, seemed to be almost extinguished, a ray of light, about this time, darted through the dark gloom of the political horizon, which they fondly imagined was the harbinger of a new and a better order of things; but all their expectations were destined to end in bitter disappointment. The king, who had hitherto alternately intrigued with the Presbyterians and Independents, that he might circumvent both, was now induced by the Scots commissioners, who had repaired to Carisbrook castle, to break with the Independents, by refusing the royal assent to four bills,†

* Burnet's Hamiltons, p. 323.

† According to Clarendon, (History, vol. iii. p. 88,) the king was, by one of these bills, to have confessed himself the author of the war, and guilty of all the blood which had been spilt; by another, he was to dissolve the government of the church, and grant all lands belonging to the church to other uses; by a third, to settle the militia without reserving so much power to himself as any subject was capable of; and in the last place he was in effect to sacrifice all those who had saved him, to the mercy of the parliament. But Dr Lingard has shown how little credit is due to these assertions, by giving the substance of these bills. The first, after vesting the command of the army in the par-

which the two houses of parliament had prepared; and to enter into a treaty with the Presbyterians, by which the king agreed to the establishment of Presbyterianism, but only as an experiment for three years. Although the terms of this treaty were more favourable to the king than those in the bills which he rejected, his friends were sorry that his majesty had refused to accede to the latter, as they had no confidence in those with whom he had contracted. But the treaty was not less disagreeable to his majesty's friends than to his bitterest enemies, for no sooner had the committee of the kirk received notice of it than they remonstrated against it; and when the Scots parliament met in March, sixteen hundred and forty-eight, the ministers, Douglas, Dick, Blair, Cant, Livingston, and Gillespie, and the laird of Dundas, Sir James Stewart and George Winram, ruling elders, presented a declaration against the treaty, which they considered destructive of the covenant. Notwithstanding the opposition on the part of the kirk, and of Argyle and his party, and the money and intrigues of the English commissioners who had been sent to Scotland to watch the proceedings of the king's party, the duke of Hamilton, who had lately formed an association to release the king from his captivity, which went under the name of the "Engagement," prevailed upon the parliament to appoint a committee of danger, and to consent to a levy of forty thousand men.

The time seemed propitious for the interests of the king. The bulk of the English population, with the exception of the army, had grown quite dissatisfied with the state of matters, and they now began to perceive, when too late, that they had only exchanged one system of tyranny for one still more insupportable, the despotism of a standing army led by needy and unprincipled adventurers. In short, the people, disgusted by military exactions, and dreading an abolition of the monarchy, sighed for the restoration of the king, as the only means of delivering them from the tyranny under which they groaned. The eyes of the English nation were now directed towards Scotland, and the news of the Scots' levy made them indulge a hope that they would soon be enabled, by the aid of the Scots auxiliaries, to throw off the military yoke, and restore the king on conditions favourable to liberty. But Hamilton, being thwarted by the Argyle faction, unfortunately had it not in his power to take advantage of the favourable disposition of the English people, and instead of raising forty thousand men, he found, to his great mortification, that, at the utmost, he could, after upwards

liament for twenty years, enacted, that after that period, whenever the lords and commons should declare the safety of the kingdom to be concerned, all bills passed by them respecting the forces by sea or land, should be deemed acts of parliament, even though the king, for the time being, should refuse his assent. The second declared all oaths, proclamations, and proceedings against the parliament during the war, void, and of no effect. The third annulled all titles of honour granted since the 20th of May, 1642, and deprived all peers, to be created hereafter, of the right of sitting in parliament, without the consent of the two houses: and the fourth gave to the houses the power of adjourning from place to place at their discretion. Journals, vol. ix. p. 575.—Charles's Works, 590—593.—Lingard, vol. vi. p. 595.

of three months' labour, only bring about fifteen thousand men into the field, and that not until several insurrections in England, in favour of the king, had been suppressed.

It was the misfortune of Hamilton that with every disposition to serve the cause of his royal master, he had neither the capacity to conceive, nor the resolution to adopt bold and decisive measures equal to the emergency of the times. Like the king, he too attempted to act the part of the cunning politician, but he was wholly unfitted for the performance of such a character. Had he had the address to separate old Leslie and his nephew from the party of Argyle, by placing the direction of military affairs in their hands, he might have succeeded in raising a sufficient force to cope with the parliamentary army of England; but he had the weakness, after both these generals had joined the kirk in its remonstrance to the parliament that nothing should be done without the consent of the committee of the general assembly, to get himself appointed commander-in-chief of the army, a measure which could not fail to disgust these hardy veterans. To conciliate the marquis of Argyle and his friends to the appointment, they were made colonels in the shires where they lived for the purpose of raising the levies which had been voted. Instead, however, of assisting, they, on their return home, did every thing in their power to obstruct the levies. The marquis of Argyle, after despatching Major Strachan on a private embassy to Cromwell to send a party to Scotland to assist him in opposing the measures of the duke, went from Edinburgh to Fife, where he induced the gentry not only to oppose the levies, but to hold themselves in readiness to rise on the other side when called upon. He was not so successful in Stirlingshire, none of the gentlemen of that county concurring in his views except the laird of Buchanan, Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse, and a few persons of inferior note; but in Dumbartonshire he succeeded to the utmost of his wishes. After attending a meeting with the lord chancellor, (Loudon,) the earls of Cassillis and Eglinton, and David Dick and other ministers, at Eglinton's house, on the twenty-ninth of May, Argyle went home to his own country to raise his people against his sovereign.

Several instances of opposition to the levy took place; but the most formidable one, and the only one worthy of notice, was in Ayrshire, where a body of armed insurgents, to the number of eight hundred horse and twelve hundred foot according to one writer,* and five hundred horse and two thousand foot according to another,† headed by several ministers, assembled at Mauchline; but they were defeated and dispersed by Middleton, who had been appointed lieutenant-general of horse, on the tenth of June, with the loss of eighty men.

There are no data by which to ascertain the number of men raised in the Highlands for Hamilton's army; but it must necessarily have been

* Baillie. † Guthry.

very inconsiderable. Not a single man was of course raised in Argyleshire, and scarcely any in the adjoining part of Inverness-shire, to which the influence or power of Argyle extended. The earl of Sutherland, who had been appointed a colonel of foot in his own division, declined the office, and Lord Reay was so disgusted with "Duke Hamilton's failure," that he took shipping at Thurso in the month of July that year, and went to Norway,* where he was appointed governor of Bergen, and received the colonelcy of a regiment from the king of Denmark, whom he had formerly served. The only individual who could have benefitted the royal cause in the north was the marquis of Huntly, but by a strange fatality the duke of Hamilton, who could have easily procured an order from the parliament for his liberation from prison, allowed him to continue in prison, and merely contented himself with obtaining a warrant for changing the marquis's place of confinement from the jail to the castle of Edinburgh.

In consequence of the many difficulties which occurred in collecting his troops, and providing the necessary *materiél* for the use of the army, the duke was not able to begin his march till the eighth of July, on which day he put his army in motion towards the borders. His force, which amounted to about ten thousand foot and four thousand horse, was composed of raw and undisciplined levies, and he had not a single field-piece. He entered England by the western border, where he was met by Sir Marmaduke Langdale and a body of four thousand brave cavaliers, all devotedly attached to the king. At this time Lambert, the parliamentary general, had invested Carlisle, and Hamilton was induced by the English royalists, contrary to his own views, to march upon Carlisle, and force Lambert to raise the siege. That general, who had received orders from Cromwell not to engage the Scots till he should join him, accordingly retired, and Carlisle was delivered up next day to Hamilton by the English royalists, who also put him in possession of Berwick.

With the forces now at his command, which were still farther augmented by the addition of a body of three thousand veterans, drawn from the Scottish army in Ireland, which joined him at Kendal under the command of Major-General Sir George Munro, the duke might have effected the restoration of the king had a combined plan of operations been agreed upon between him and his English allies; "but Hamilton, though possessed of personal courage, was diffident of his own powers, and resigned himself to the guidance of men who sacrificed the interests of the service to their private jealousies and feuds."† So controlled was the duke by these men, that he was not allowed to benefit by the advice of his English auxiliaries, and when they advised him to march through Yorkshire, the inhabitants of which were well affected to the king, the duke, to gratify the presbyterians, rejected their

* Gordon's Continuation, p. 511. † Lingard, vol. vi. p. 666.

advice, and resolved to march through Lancashire, because the people there were generally attached to Presbyterianism. To please them still farther he would not allow the English royalists to unite with the Scots army, for fear of infringing an absurd law, which required that the allies of the Scots should take the covenant before being permitted to mix with them. The consequence was, that the two sections of the royalist army were kept so distinct and isolated, and at such an interval of space, that it became utterly impossible for them to co-operate or to act simultaneously. But, bad as the order of march was by which Langdale's forces were kept at an advance of twenty, and even sometimes of thirty miles a-head of the Scots army, it was rendered still worse by a difference between Munro and Callander, in consequence of which Munro was ordered to remain behind in Westmoreland to bring forward, according to Bishop Guthry, five pieces of cannon which were expected from Scotland.

The advance of Hamilton's army had been greatly checked by Lambert, who kept constantly skirmishing with the advanced guard of the Scots army with a large body of horse, and so slow were his motions, that forty days were spent in a march of eighty miles. The tardiness of the duke's motions enabled Cromwell, after reducing Pembroke, to effect a junction with Lambert in Yorkshire before the Scottish army had reached Preston, and although their united forces did not exceed nine thousand men, Cromwell, with characteristic promptitude, did not hesitate to attack the enemy. Cromwell being observed to march upon Clithero, where Langdale and his cavaliers were stationed, that officer fell back on the Scottish army near Preston, and sent notice to the duke to prepare for battle on the following day. The duke, however, disregarded the admonition. On the following morning, being the seventeenth of August, Cromwell attacked Langdale, and, although the forces of the former were almost twice as numerous as those of the latter, the royalists fought upwards of six hours with the most determined bravery, and it was not until their whole ammunition was spent, and the duke had, notwithstanding the most urgent solicitations from Langdale, declined to support them, that they were obliged to retreat into Preston. Here they were mortified to find that their allies had abandoned the town, and that the enemy were in possession of the bridge across the river. Langdale having now no alternative but flight, disbanded his infantry, and along with his cavalry and the duke, who, refusing to follow the example of his army, had remained in the town, swam across the Ribble.

The Scots army retired during the night towards Wigan, where it was joined by the duke next morning, but so reduced in spirits and weakened by desertion as to be quite unable to make any resistance to the victorious troops of Cromwell, who pressed hard upon them. The foot, under the command of Baillie, continued to retreat during the day, but were overtaken at Warrington, and, being unable either to proceed or to resist, surrendered. The number which capitulated amounted to

about three thousand. Upwards of six thousand had previously been captured by the country people, and the few who had the good fortune to escape joined Munro and returned to Scotland. These prisoners were sold as slaves, and sent to the plantations,—a striking instance of the horrors of civil war.

The duke, abandoning Baillie to his fate, carried off the whole cavalry; but he had not proceeded far when his rear was attacked by the parliamentary army. Middleton made a gallant defence, and was taken prisoner; but the duke escaped, and fled to Uttoxeter, followed by his horse, where he surrendered himself to general Lambert and the lord Grey of Groby, who sent him prisoner to Windsor. The earl of Callander, having effected his escape, went over to Holland, disgusted at the conduct of the duke.

As soon as the news of the defeat of Hamilton reached Scotland, the covenanters of the west began to bestir themselves, and a party of them, under the command of Robert Montgomery, son of the earl of Eglinton, attacked a troop of Lanark's horse, quartered in Ayrshire, killed some and routed the rest. The committee of estates, apprehensive that the spirit of insurrection would speedily spread, immediately ordered out all the fencible men in the kingdom to put down the rising in the west. A difference, however, arose in the committee in the choice of a commander. The earl of Lanark and the earl marischal were proposed by their respective friends. His chief opponent was the earl of Roxburghe, who, (says Wishart,) "in a grave and modest speech, earnestly entreated him, for the sake of their dear sovereign and their distressed country, not to insist in demanding that dignity, which was extremely unseasonable and ill-judged at that time. He told him, that, even before the late defeat, many were much offended at the expedition into England, and reckoned that it presaged no good, chiefly because his brother the duke was appointed general; whose fidelity in the management of the king's affairs not a few suspected, though he believed without any good ground; however, it could not be denied that he had always been unfortunate; and people's judgments, with respect to the conduct or misconduct of generals, are known to depend in a great measure, though indeed wrongously, upon their success. Though, for his own part, he said, he was ready to ascribe the loss of that gallant army under his brother, which was attended with such a disgrace to the nation, to the cowardice of others, or to inevitable misfortunes; yet it was sufficiently known, that most of the populace, whose good affections ought by all means to be obtained in this critical juncture, spoke and thought very differently concerning that affair from what it was proper for him to do. And if the earl of Lanark should succeed his brother the duke in that station, as they were already highly inflamed and exasperated, they would immediately exclaim, that the king and country were now utterly undone; that both the brothers were of the same mind; that they were swayed by the same motives; that they pursued the same courses; and all their

enterprises would undoubtedly terminate in the same unlucky manner, that we wanted not many other persons of quality, wise and brave men, and proper for action, whose ancestors have had the command of the king's armies, and in that post acquired no small honour and renown. It was, therefore, his opinion, that some of these should be invited, even against their own inclinations, to take upon them the command of the army; and, if it pleased the honourable meeting, he thought the first offer ought to be made to the earl marischal, whose family may be ranked among the first of Scotland, as having often distinguished itself by its loyalty and bravery; one who has a plentiful estate, in the flower of his age, not in the least suspected of faction and disloyalty; and, which is of itself no small recommendation in the present case, one who is not courting this preferment."* This significant speech had no effect upon Lanark, who, on a vote being taken, was found to have the majority, and so anxious was he to obtain the command of the army that he actually voted for himself.† He had even the indiscretion to declare, that he would not permit any other person to command in his brother's absence. This rash and imprudent behaviour on the part of Lanark so exasperated Roxburghe and his friends, who justly dreaded the utter ruin of the king's affairs, that they henceforth withdrew altogether from public affairs.

As soon as Lanark had been appointed to the command of the new levy, he set about raising it with great expedition. For this purpose he sent circulars, plausibly written, to every part of Scotland, calling upon all classes to join him without delay. These circulars had the desired effect. The people beyond the Forth, and even the men of Fife, showed a disposition to obey the call. The earl of Seaforth raised four thousand men in the western islands and in Ross-shire, which he brought south, and the earl of Morton also brought into Lothian twelve hundred men from the Orkneys. In short, with the exception of Argyle, there were few places in Scotland from which considerable bodies of men might not have been expected.

Before the defeat of Hamilton's army, Lanark had raised three regiments of horse, which were now under his command. These, with the accessions of force which were daily arriving from different parts of the kingdom, were quite sufficient to have put down the insurrection in the west; but instead of marching thither, Lanark, to the surprise of every person, proceeded through East Lothian towards the eastern borders to meet Sir George Munro, who was retiring upon Berwick before the army of Cromwell. The people of the west being thus relieved from the apprehensions of a visit, assembled in great numbers, and taking advantage of Lanark's absence, a body of them, to the number of no less than six thousand men, headed by the chancellor, the earl of Eglin-

* Memoirs, p. 311, et seq. † Guthry, p. 327

ton, and some ministers, advanced upon the capital, which they entered without opposition, the magistrates and ministers of the city welcoming their approach by going out to meet them. Bishop Wishart describes this body as "a confused rabble, composed of farmers, cowherds, shepherds, coblers, and such like mob, without arms, and without courage," and says, that when they arrived in Edinburgh, "they were provided with arms, which, as they were unaccustomed to, were rather a burden and incumbrance than of any use,"—that "they were mounted upon horses, or jades rather, which had been long used to the drudgery of labour, equipped with pack saddles and halters, in place of saddles and bridles."* This tumultuary body, however, was soon put into proper order by the earl of Leven, who was invested with the chief command, and by David Leslie, as his lieutenant-general, and presented a rather formidable appearance, for on Lanark's return from the south, he did not venture to engage it, though his force amounted to four or five thousand horse and as many foot, many of whom were veterans who had served in Ireland under Munro.

In thus declining, however, to attack Leslie, Lanark acted contrary to the advice of Munro and his other officers. According to Dr Wishart, Lanark's advanced guard, on arriving at Musselburgh, fell in with some of Leslie's outposts, who defended the bridge over the Esk, and Lanark's advanced guard, though inferior in number, immediately put them in great disorder, and killed some of them without sustaining any loss. This success was reported to Lanark, and it was represented to him, that by following it up immediately, while the enemy continued in the state of alarm into which this affair of outposts had thrown them, he might, perhaps, obtain a bloodless victory, and secure possession of the city of Edinburgh and the town of Leith, with all the warlike stores, before sunset. "And, indeed, (says Wishart) nobody doubted, that, had he complied with this advice, Scotland might have been totally recovered and reduced to the king's obedience. But in place of that, he refused to fight, and immediately ordered his troops, who had been hitherto victorious, to be called back, and, leaving the highway which leads to Edinburgh, marched off to the left. Both officers and soldiers, surprised at this unexpected course, began first to murmur, and soon after to exclaim aloud against him for losing this opportunity which, had it been embraced, might very soon have put a period to the war in Scotland."†

Leading his army along the base of the Pentland hills, Lanark proceeded to Linlithgow, which he entered on the evening of the eleventh of September, where he almost surprised the earl of Cassillis, who, at the head of eight hundred horse from Carrick and Galloway, had taken up his quarters there for the night; but a notice having been sent to him of

* Memoirs, p. 316. † Ib. p. 317.

the earl of Lanark's approach by some friend, he fled precipitately to the Queensferry, leaving the supper which was cooking for him and his men on the fire, which repast was greedily devoured by Lanark's troops.

Ever since Lanark's march to the borders to meet Munro, the marquis of Argyle had been busily employed in raising men in his own territory to assist the insurgents, but it had been so much depopulated by the ravages of Montrose and Macdonald, that he could scarcely muster three hundred men. With these and four hundred more which he had collected in the Lennox and in the western part of Stirlingshire, he advanced to Stirling, which he entered upon the twelfth of September at eleven o'clock forenoon. After assigning to the troops their different posts in the town, and making arrangements with the magistrates for their support, Argyle went to dine with the earl of Mar at his residence in the town. But while the dinner was serving up, Argyle, to his infinite alarm, heard that a part of Lanark's forces had entered the town. This was the advanced guard, commanded by Sir George Munro, who, on hearing that Argyle was in possession of the town when only within two miles of it, had, unknown to Lanark, who was behind with the main body of the army, pushed forward and entered the town before Argyle's men were aware of his approach. Argyle, as usual, looked only to his own personal safety, and, therefore, immediately mounting his horse, galloped across Stirling bridge, and never looked behind till he reached the North Queensferry, where he instantly crossed the Frith in a small boat and proceeded to Edinburgh. Nearly two hundred of Argyle's men were either killed or drowned, and the remainder were taken prisoners.

The levies under the earl of Leven having been reinforced by some additional men from Fife and the southern shires, that general left Edinburgh in pursuit of Lanark, and arrived at Falkirk on the night of the twelfth of September. On intelligence being brought of Leslie's arrival, Munro proposed to Lanark and his friends, the earls of Lindsay and Glencairn, to attack Leslie next morning; but Munro's proposition was overruled, and instead of thanking him for the promptitude which he had displayed in capturing Stirling, they expressed disapprobation of his conduct, and Lindsay not being able to conceal the sorrow he felt at the occurrence, exclaimed, "Woes me! that I should ever have seen this unlucky and mischievous day!" The fact appears to be, that this triumvirate, who concealed all their plans from the open and unsuspecting soldier, had already thought of a treaty with the enemy, and they were afraid lest the unlucky occurrence of the day might so exasperate the parties "as to cut off all hope or inclination for the peace which they had projected."* Although Lanark and his committee had negatived Munro's proposal, yet being suspicious that he might himself attack Leslie, they sent all the horse across Stirling bridge, with instructions to

* Wishart.

quarter them along the north shore of the Frith of Forth, as far down as Burntisland. A negotiation for peace immediately ensued between the two parties, and on the fifteenth of September a treaty was entered into by which the Hamilton party agreed to refer all civil matters in dispute to a Parliament, to be held before the tenth of January, and all ecclesiastical affairs to an assembly of the kirk. It was also stipulated that both armies should be disbanded before the twenty-ninth of September, or at farthest on the fifth of October, that the adherents of the king should not be disturbed, and that all the prisoners taken in Scotland should be released. Munro perceiving that the king's affairs would be irretrievably ruined by this compromise, objected to the treaty, and would have stood out had he been backed by the other officers; but very few seconding his views, he addressed the troops, who had accompanied him from Ireland, in St Ninian's church, and offered to lead back such as were inclined to Ireland, to serve under their old commander major-general Robert Munro; but having received intelligence at Glasgow that that general had been taken prisoner and sent to London, he disbanded the troops who had followed him thither, and retired to Holland.

According to the treaty the two armies were disbanded on the appointed day, and the "Whigamores," as the insurgents from the west were called, returned immediately home to cut down their corn which was ready for the sickle. Argyle's men, who had been taken prisoners at Stirling, were set at liberty, and conducted home to their own country by one of Argyle's officers.

The marquis of Argyle, Loudon the chancellor, and the earls of Cassillis and Eglinton, and others, now met at Edinburgh, and formed themselves into a body under the title of the Committee of Estates, and having arranged matters for the better securing their own influence, they summoned a parliament to meet on the fourth of January. In the meantime, Oliver Cromwell, who, after the pursuit of Munro, had laid siege to Berwick, was waited upon by Argyle, Lord Elcho, and Sir Charles Erskine, to compliment him upon his success at Preston, and after making Ludovick Leslie deliver up Berwick to him, they invited him and Lambert to Edinburgh. Cromwell took up his residence in the house of Lady Home in the Canongate, where he received frequent visits from Argyle, Loudon, the earl of Lothian, the lords Arbuthnot, Elcho, and Burleigh, and the most noted of the ministers. It is said, that during these conferences, Cromwell communicated to his visitors his intentions with respect to the king, and obtained their consent *

About this time a violent struggle took place in the English parliament between the presbyterians and independents about the late seizure of the king by the army. A treaty had been entered into between the king and fifteen commissioners from the parliament at Newport, in the

* Guthry.

month of September contrary to the wishes of the independents, whose designs upon the life of the king they were apprehensive it would frustrate. Colonel Ludlow, a fanatical member of the lower house, thinking that the death of Charles was absolutely necessary to appease the anger of God, first attempted to draw over Fairfax to his opinion, but having failed, he tampered with Ireton, another commander in the parliamentary army, and having succeeded, Ireton made his regiment petition the commander-in-chief, that all who were concerned in the late rebellion, whether high or low, without any distinction, should be punished according to their just deserts, "and that whosoever should speak or act in favour of the king before he had been acquitted of shedding innocent blood, should incur the penalties of treason."* This petition, which was put forth as a mere feeler to sound the dispositions of the army, was quickly followed by a petition from another regiment couched in stronger and more intelligible language, and which demanded that the king and his advisers should be brought to justice; and condemned the treaty entered into with him as dangerous and unjust. These petitions were laid before a council of war, and the result was, that the officers assembled issued a remonstrance addressed to the House of Commons, requiring, *inter alia*, that "the capital and grand author of all the troubles and woes which the kingdom had endured, should be speedily brought to justice for the treason, blood, and mischief of which he had been guilty." The remonstrance was supported by the independents, but the presbyterians prevailed by a large majority in postponing consideration of the remonstrance till a distant day, and instructed the commissioners at Newport to bring the treaty with the king to a speedy conclusion.†

Thus disappointed in their views for the time, the independents prevailed upon Fairfax to order Hammond, the governor of the Isle of Wight, to attend him at Windsor, and to send Colonel Eure with orders to seize the king at Newport, where he was conferring with the commissioners, and imprison him again in Carisbrook castle; but Hammond having declined to allow Eure to interfere without an order from the parliament, Eure left the island without attempting to fulfil his instructions. Hammond, however, afterwards left the island with the commissioners, and committed the royal person to the custody of one Major Rolfe, a person who, only six months before, had been charged with a design on the life of the king, and who had escaped trial because only one witness had attested the fact before the grand jury.

The king seemed to be fully aware of the danger of his present situation, and on the morning of the twenty-eighth of November, when the commissioners left the island, he gave vent to his feelings in a strain of the most pathetic emotion, which drew tears from his attendants: "My lords," said he to the commissioners, "I believe we shall scarce ever see

* Lingard, vol. vi. p. 614.
† Journals of Commons, Nov. 20, 24, 30.

each other again, but God's will be done! I have made my peace with him, and shall undergo without fear whatever he may suffer men to do to me. My lords, you cannot but know, that in my fall and ruin you see your own, and that also near you. I pray God send you better friends than I have found. I am fully informed of the carriage of those who plot against me and mine; but nothing affects me so much as the feeling I have of the sufferings of my subjects, and the mischief that hangs over my three kingdoms, drawn upon them by those who, upon pretences of good, violently pursue their own interests and ends."* As soon as the commissioners and Hammond had quitted the island, Fairfax sent a troop of horse and a company of foot, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbett, to seize the king, who received notice of the approach of this body and of its object next morning from a person in disguise; but although advised by the duke of Richmond, the earl of Lindsay, and Colonel Coke to make his escape, which he could easily have accomplished, he declined to do so, because he considered himself bound in honour to remain twenty days after the treaty. The consequence was, that Charles was taken prisoner by Cobbett, and carried to Hurst castle.

The army having now got the king completely in their power, the council of officers issued a threatening declaration against the house of commons, and to support their pretensions to provide for the settlement of the kingdom and to punish the guilty, Fairfax quartered several regiments in London and the neighbourhood. This bold measure immediately brought the army and the presbyterian members of the house of commons, who were still the majority, into collision. Instead of being overawed by the army, as they had been in the year sixteen hundred and forty-six, the presbyterians protested against the seizure of the royal person, and carried by a large majority, after an animated debate which lasted, by adjournment, three days and a whole night, a resolution approving of the treaty of Newport. The firmness thus displayed by the presbyterian party was not to be endured by the army, which had now every thing in its power, and, accordingly, a resolution was taken by the officers to arrest the leading members, which was immediately carried into effect by the celebrated Colonel Pride. Many members of the presbyterian party seeing their friends thus illegally placed in confinement, retired into the country, and a "rump" only of about fifty members remained.

The person who was to act the principal part in the bloody tragedy which soon followed, was on his way home from Scotland during these proceedings, and arrived in London the day after the house of commons had been finally purged by Pride. Cromwell had now obtained the complete ascendancy in the army, and he perceived that the time had arrived for carrying his design upon the life of the king into execu-

* Appendix to Evelyn's Memoirs, ii. 128, 390. Clarendon, iii. 234.

tion. Accordingly, after the *purified* house of commons had passed a vote declaring that it was high treason in the king of England, for the time being, to levy war against the parliament and kingdom of England, his majesty was brought to trial before a tribunal erected *pro re nata* by the house called the high court of justice, which adjudged him "as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of the nation, to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body," a sentence which was carried into execution, in front of Whitehall, on the thirtieth of January sixteen hundred and forty-nine. The unfortunate monarch conducted himself throughout the whole of these melancholy proceedings with becoming dignity, and braved the terrors of death with the utmost fortitude and resignation.*

The duke of Hamilton, who, by his incapacity, had ruined the king's affairs when on the point of being retrieved, was not destined long to survive his royal master. In violation of the articles of his capitulation, he was brought to trial, and although he pleaded that he acted under the orders of the Scottish parliament, and was not amenable to an English tribunal, he was, under the pretence that he was earl of Cambridge in England, sentenced to be beheaded. He suffered on the ninth of March.

The marquis of Huntly had languished in prison since December sixteen hundred and forty-seven, and during the life of the king the Scottish parliament had not ventured to bring him to the block; but both the king and Hamilton, his favourite, being now put out of the way, they felt themselves no longer under restraint, and accordingly the parliament, on the sixteenth of March, ordained the marquis to be beheaded, at the market-cross of Edinburgh, on the twenty-second day of that month. As he lay under sentence of ecclesiastical excommunication, one of the "bloody ministers," says the author of the History of the family of Gordon, "asked him, when brought upon the scaffold, if he desired to be absolved from the sentence;" to which the marquis replied, "that as he was not accustomed to give ear to false prophets, he did not wish to be troubled by him." And there-

* The following stanza was written by Montrose at Brussels on hearing of the death of the king:—

> Great, good, and just! could I but rate
> My griefs to thy too rigid fate,
> I'd weep the world to such a strain,
> As it would deluge once again:
> But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies,
> More from Briareus' hands than Argus' eyes,
> I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
> And write thy epitaph with blood and wounds.

These verses appear set to music among "Songs for one, two, and three voices, with some short symphonies, collected out of the select poems of the incomparable Mr Cowley, and others, and composed by Henry Bowman, Philo-Musicus." 2d edit. printed at Oxford, 1679.—*Appendix to Wishart's Memoirs*, p. 495.

upon turning "towards the people, he told them that he was going to die for having employed some years of his life in the service of the king his master; that he was sorry he was not the first of his majesty's subjects who had suffered for his cause, so glorious in itself that it sweetened to him all the bitterness of death." He then declared that he had charity to forgive those who had voted for his death, although he could not admit that he had done any thing contrary to the laws. After throwing off his doublet, he offered up a prayer, and then embracing some friends around him, he submitted his neck, without any symptoms of emotion, to the fatal instrument.

CHAPTER II.

Charles II. proclaimed king—Conduct of Argyle—Conditions offered to the king at the Hague—Rejection of these, and return of the Commissioners—Proceedings of Montrose—Descent upon Scotland resolved upon—Rising in the north under Pluscardin—Inverness taken—March of David Leslie to the north—Submission of Sir Thomas Urquhart and others—Return of Leslie to the south—Pluscardin joined by Lord Reay—Marches into Badenoch, where he is joined by Huntly—Pluscardin's men surprised and defeated at Balveny—Landing of the earl of Kinnoul in Orkney—The castle of Birsay taken—Declaration of Montrose, and the Answers thereto—Arrival of Montrose in Orkney—Crosses the Pentland Frith, and lands in Caithness—Surrender of Dunbeath castle—Advance of Montrose into Sutherland—Defeated at Carbisdale—Capture of Montrose by Macleod of Assynt—Sent to Edinburgh—Generous conduct of the people of Dundee—Reception of Montrose in Edinburgh—Behaviour and execution.

WHILE the dominant party in England were contemplating the erection of a commonwealth upon the ruins of the monarchy they had just overthrown, the faction in Scotland, with Argyle at its head, which had usurped the reins of government in that country, in obedience to the known wish of the nation, resolved to recognize the principle of legitimacy by acknowledging the prince of Wales as successor to the crown of Scotland. No sooner, therefore, had the intelligence of the execution of the king reached Edinburgh, than the usual preparations were made for proclaiming Charles the Second, a ceremony which was performed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, on the fifth day of February, with the usual formalities.

This proceeding was contrary to the policy of Argyle, whose intentions were in exact accordance with those of the English Independents; but, as the melancholy fate of the king had excited a feeling of indignation in the Scottish nation, he was afraid to imitate the example of his English friends, and with his usual subtlety and flexibility, dissembled his views, and adopted other measures without changing his object. As he could not venture in the present disposition of the nation upon the bold step of excluding the son of the king from the crown, he fell upon the device of embroiling them on the subject of religion, than which the perverted ingenuity of man could not have invented one more likely to become a source of discord, and to estrange a nation, wrought up, at that time, to the highest pitch of religious enthusiasm, from the sovereign. With this view, Argyle, under the specious pretext of securing

the religious, and along therewith the civil liberties of the people, but in reality to secure his own power, prevailed upon his creatures in parliament to propose certain conditions to the prince as the terms on which alone he should be entitled to sway the sceptre of his father. These were, in substance, *first*, that he should sign the covenants, and endeavour to establish them by his authority in all his dominions; *secondly*, that he should ratify and confirm all the acts of the estates, approving of the two covenants, the directory, confession of faith, and the catechism, that he should renounce episcopacy and adopt the presbyterian form of worship; *thirdly*, that in all civil matters he should submit to the parliament, and in things ecclesiastical to the authority of the general assembly; and, *lastly*, that he should remove from his person and court the marquis of Montrose, "a person excommunicated by the church, and forfaulted by the parliament of Scotland, being a man most justly, if ever any, cast out of the church of God."

These conditions, so flattering to popular prejudice and the prevailing ideas of the times, were proposed only because Argyle thought they would be rejected by the youthful monarch, surrounded as he then was by counsellors to whom these terms would be particularly obnoxious. To carry these propositions to Charles II. then at the Hague, seven commissioners from the parliament and kirk were appointed, who set sail from Kirkaldy roads on the seventeenth of March.* These commissioners arrived at the Hague on the twenty-sixth. His court, which at first consisted of the few persons whom his father had placed about him, had been lately increased by the arrival of the earl of Lanark, now become, by the death of his brother, duke of Hamilton, the earls of Lauderdale and Callander, the heads of the Engagers; and by the subsequent addition of Montrose, Kinnoul, and Seaforth. The following graphic sketch is given by Dr Wishart of the appearance and reception of the commissioners:—"When these commissioners, or deputies from the estates were admitted to their first audience of the king, their solemn gait, their grave dress, and dejected countenances, had all the appearance imaginable of humility; and many who were not acquainted with the temper and practices of the men, from thence concluded that they were about to implore of his majesty a general oblivion and pardon for what was past, and to promise a perfect obedience and submission in time coming; and that they were ready to yield every thing that was just and reasonable, and would be sincere in all their proposals of peace and accommodation. They acted in a double capacity, and had instructions both from the estates and from the commission of the kirk, in both of which the earl of Cassillis was the chief person, not only in what they were charged with from the estates, as being a nobleman, but also from the commission of the kirk, of which he was a ruling elder. Their address to the king was introduced with abun-

* Balfour, vol. iii. p. 393.

dance of deep sighs and heavy groans, as if they had been labouring, as Virgil says of the Sybil, to shake the ponderous load from off their breasts, after which they at last exhibited their papers, containing the ordinances of the estates, and acts of the commission of the kirk, and pretended that the terms demanded in them were moderate, just, and reasonable, and absolutely necessary for settling the present confusions, and restoring the king; with which, if he complied, he would be immediately settled upon his father's throne by the unanimous consent of the people."*

The king endeavoured to induce the commissioners to modify the conditions to which his acceptance was required, and to declare publicly their opinions of the murder of his father, to which they had made no allusion; but they replied that they could not alter these conditions without new instructions to that effect from the parliament, "that their demands were not only just and honourable, but absolutely necessary, as being founded upon the Holy Scriptures, and of divine institution."† As they could not approve of the death of the king in presence of his son, and as a contrary declaration would have exasperated Cromwell and his party, they cautiously evaded that topic altogether. The councillors of the young king were divided in opinion as to the course he should pursue. The engagement party advised his majesty to accept the proposed conditions, but Montrose and his friends thought otherwise, and counselled him to vindicate his rights by an appeal to arms, as the demands of the commissioners, in their judgment, were contrary to conscience and honour. The latter advice being congenial to the dispositions of the king, was adopted by him, and the commissioners, therefore, received a final answer from the king, on the nineteenth of May, declining to agree to the terms proposed, and stating, that as he had been already proclaimed king of Scotland by the committee of estates, it was their duty to obey him, and that he should expect the committee of estates, the assembly of the kirk, and the nation at large, to perform their duty to him, humbly obeying, maintaining, and defending him as their lawful sovereign.‡ The commissioners thereupon returned to Scotland, and Charles went to St Germain in France, to visit Queen Henrietta Maria, his mother, before going to Ireland, whither he had been invited by the marquis of Ormond to join the royalist army.

During the captivity of Charles I., Montrose used every exertion at the court of France to raise money and men to enable him to make a descent upon the coast of England or Scotland, to rescue his sovereign from confinement; but his endeavours proving ineffectual, he entered into the service of the emperor of Germany, who honoured him with especial marks of his esteem. He had been lately residing at Brussels

* Memoirs, p. 351. † Wishart.

‡ Balfour, vol. iii. p. 405.

engaged in the affairs of the emperor, where he received letters from the Prince of Wales, then at the Hague, requiring his attendance to consult on the state of his father's affairs; but before he set out for the Hague, he received the news of the death of Charles I. He was so overwhelmed with grief at this intelligence, that according to Bishop Wishart, who was an eye-witness, he fainted and fell down in the midst of his attendants, and appeared for some time as if quite dead. When he had sufficiently recovered to give full vent to his feelings, he expressed a desire to die with his sovereign, as he could no longer enjoy, as he said, a life which had now become a grievous and heavy burden; but on Wishart remonstrating with him upon the impropriety of entertaining such a sentiment, and informing him that he should be rather more desirous of life that he might avenge the death of his royal master, and place his son and lawful successor upon the throne of his ancestors; Montrose replied with composure, that in that view he should be satisfied to live; "but (continued he) I swear before God, angels, and men, that I will dedicate the remainder of my life to the avenging the death of the royal martyr, and re-establishing his son upon his father's throne." To indulge his grief, Montrose shut himself up in a very retired apartment, in which he continued two days, without seeing or speaking to any person, during which time he composed the stanzas which have been before inserted.

On arriving at the Hague, Montrose was received by Charles II. with marked distinction. After some consultation, a descent upon Scotland was resolved upon, and Montrose, thereupon, received a commission, appointing him lieutenant-governor of Scotland, and commander-in-chief of all the forces there both by sea and land. The king also appointed him his ambassador to the emperor, the princes of Germany, the king of Denmark, and other friendly sovereigns, to solicit supplies of money, and warlike stores, to enable him to commence the war; and gave him full authority to enter into treaties to secure his object. Thus, before the commissioners had arrived, the king had made up his mind as to the course he should pursue, and being backed by the opinion of a man of such an ardent temperament as Montrose, the result of the communing between the king and the commissioners was as might have been expected.

Connected probably with Montrose's plan of a descent, a rising took place in the north under Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscardin, brother of the earl of Seaforth, Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, Colonel John Munro of Lumlair, and Colonel Hugh Fraser, who, at the head of a number of their friends and followers, entered the town of Inverness, on the twenty-second day of February, expelled the troops from the garrison, and demolished and razed the walls and fortifications of the town. The pretence set up by Mackenzie and his friends was, that the parliament had sent private commissioners to apprehend them, but the fact appears to be, that this insurrection had taken place at the instigation

of the king, between whom and Pluscardin a correspondence had been previously opened.* General David Leslie was sent to the north with a force to suppress the insurgents, who, on his approach, fled to the mountains of Ross; but he was soon obliged to retrace his steps, in consequence of a rising in Athole under the direction of Lord Ogilvy, General Middleton, and others, in favour of the king. Leslie had previously made terms with Urquhart, Munro, and Fraser, but as Mackenzie would not listen to any accommodation, he left behind him a garrison in the castle of Chanory, and also three troops of horse in Moray under the charge of Colonel Gilbert Ker, and Lieutenant-Colonels Hacket and Strachan, to watch Pluscardin's motions. But this force was quite insufficient to resist Pluscardin, who, on the departure of Leslie, descended from the mountains and attacked the castle of Chanory, which he re-took. He was thereupon joined by his nephew, Lord Reay, at the head of three hundred well armed able-bodied men, which increased his force to between eight and nine hundred.

Having suppressed the rising in Athole, Leslie was again sent north by the parliament, accompanied by the earl of Sutherland; but he had not proceeded far, when he ascertained that Mackenzie had been induced by Lord Ogilvy and General Middleton, who had lately joined him, to advance southward into Badenoch, with the view of raising the people in that and the neighbouring districts, and that they had been there joined by the young marquis of Huntly, formerly Lord Lewis Gordon, and had taken the castle of Ruthven. Leslie therefore divided his army, with one part of which he himself entered Badenoch, while he despatched the earl of Sutherland to the north to collect forces in Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, with another part, consisting of five troops of horse, under the command of Ker, Hacket, and Strachan, to prevent the royalists from again taking shelter in Ross. To hinder them also from retiring into Athole, Leslie marched southward towards Glenesk, by which movement he compelled them to leave Badenoch and to march down Spey side towards Balveny. On arriving at Balveny, they resolved to enter into a negotiation with Leslie, and accordingly Pluscardin and Middleton left Balveny with a troop of horse to meet Leslie, leaving Huntly, Reay and Ogilvy, in charge of the forces, the former of whom sent his brother Lord Charles Gordon to the Enzie, to raise some horse.

While waiting for the return of Pluscardin and Middleton, the party at Balveny had not the most distant idea of being taken by surprise; but on the eighth of May at break of day, they were most unexpectedly attacked by the horse which had been sent north with the earl of Sutherland, and which, returning from Ross, had speedily crossed the Spey, and seizing the royalist sentinels, surprised Lord Reay at the castle of Balveny, where he and about nine hundred foot were taken prisoners and about eighty killed. Huntly and Ogilvy, who had their quarters at

* See Appendix to Wishart's Memoirs, p. 140.

the church of Mortlach, about a mile from Balveny castle, escaped. Colonel Ker at once dismissed all the prisoners to their own homes on giving their oaths not to take up arms against the parliament in time coming. He sent Lord Reay along with some of his kinsmen and friends and Mackenzie of Redcastle and other prisoners of his surname to Edinburgh; all of whom were imprisoned in the jail of Edinburgh. Huntly, Ogilvy, Pluscardin and Middleton, on giving security to keep the peace, were forgiven by Leslie and returned to their homes. Colonel Ker afterwards returned to Ross, took Redcastle, which he demolished, and hanged the persons who had defended it. Thus ended this premature insurrection which, had it been delayed till the arrival of Montrose, might have been attended with a very different result.*

The projected descent by Montrose upon Scotland, was considered by many persons as a desperate measure, which none but those quite reckless of consequences would attempt; but there were others, chiefly among the ultra royalists, who viewed the affair in a different light, and who, although they considered the enterprise as one not without considerable risk, anticipated its success. Such at least were the sentiments of some of the king's friends before the insurrection under Mackenzie of Pluscardin had been crushed; but it is very probable that these were greatly altered after its suppression. But whatever change may have taken place in the minds of these supporters of royalty when they beheld the whole Scottish nation laying prostrate at the feet of Argyle, the bold and daring spirit of Montrose, raised by recent events to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, still maintained its moral altitude in those visionary regions of earthly greatness in which his vivid imagination delighted to dwell. The failure of Pluscardin's ill-timed attempt, was indeed considered by Montrose as a great misfortune, but a misfortune far from irreparable, and as he had invitations from the royalist nobility of Scotland, requesting him to enter upon his enterprise, and promising him every assistance in their power, and as he was assured that the great body of the Scottish nation was ready to second his views, he entered upon the task assigned him by his new master, with an alacrity and willingness which indicated a confidence on his part of ultimate success.

In terms of the powers he had received from the king, Montrose visited the north of Europe, and obtained promises of assistance of men, money, and ammunition, from some of the northern princes; but few of them fulfilled their engagements in consequence of the intrigues of the king's enemies with the courtiers, who thwarted with all their influence the measures of Montrose. By the most indefatigable industry and perseverance, however, he collected a force of twelve hundred men at Gottenburg, about eight hundred of whom had been raised in Holstein and Hamburg, and having received from the queen of Sweden, fifteen hundred com-

* Gordon's Continuation, p. 51. *et seq.*

plete stands of arms, for arming such persons as might join his standard on landing in Scotland, he resolved, without loss of time, to send off this armament to the Orkneys, where, in consequence of a previous arrangement with the earl of Morton, who was favourable to the king, it was agreed that a descent should be made. Accordingly, the first division of the expedition, which consisted of three parts, was despatched early in September; but it never reached its destination, the vessels having foundered at sea in a storm. The second division was more fortunate, and arrived at Kirkwall, about the end of the month. It consisted of two hundred common soldiers and eighty officers, under the command of the earl of Kinnoul, who on landing was joined by his uncle the earl of Kinnoul, and by many of the Orkney gentlemen. Kinnoul immediately laid siege to the castle of Birsay, which was soon surrendered to him; and he proceeded to raise levies among the Orcadians, but was checked in his progress in consequence of a difference with Morton, who claimed the privilege, as superior of Orkney, of commanding his own vassals, a claim which Kinnoul would not allow. Morton felt the repulse keenly, and died soon thereafter of a broken heart, as is believed. His nephew, probably hurt at the treatment he had given his uncle, speedily followed him to the grave.

The news of Kinnoul's landing reached Edinburgh about the fourteenth of October, when General David Leslie was despatched to the north with seven or eight troops of horse to watch him if he attempted to cross the Pentland Frith; but seeing no appearance of an enemy, and hearing of intended commotions among the royalists in Angus and the Mearns, he returned to the south after an absence of fifteen days,* having previously placed strong garrisons in some of the northern strengths.†

Montrose himself, with the remainder of the expedition, still tarried at Gottenburg, in the expectation of obtaining additional reinforcements or of procuring supplies of arms and money. It appears from a letter ‡ which he addressed to the earl of Seaforth, of the date of fifteenth December, that he intended to sail for Scotland the following day; but owing to various causes he did not leave Gottenburg till about the end of February following. He landed in Orkney in the beginning of March, with a force of five hundred men, accompanied by Lord Frendraught, Major General Hurry, and other gentlemen who had attached themselves to his service and fortunes.

To prepare the minds of the people of Scotland for the enterprize he was about to undertake, Montrose, about the close of the year, had circulated a "Declaration" in Scotland, as "Lieutenant-governor and Captain-general for his Majesty of the Kingdom of Scotland," in which, after detailing the proceedings of those whom he termed "an horrid and infamous faction of rebels within the kingdom of Scotland," towards

* Balfour, vol. iii. p. 452. † Gordon's Continuation, p. 551.
‡ Appendix to Wishart's Memoirs, p. 441.

his late majesty, he declared that his present majesty was not only willing to pardon every one, with the exception of those who upon clear evidence should be found guilty "of that most damnable fact of murder of his father," provided that immediately or upon the first convenient occasion, they abandoned the rebels and joined him, and therefore, he expected all persons who had "any duty left them to God, their king, country, friends, homes, wives, children, or would change now at last the tyranny, violence, and oppression of those rebels, with the mild and innocent government of their just prince, or revenge the horrid and execrable murdering of their sacred king, redeem their nation from infamy, restore the present and oblige the ages to come, would join themselves with him in the service he was about to engage."

This declaration which, by order of the committee of estates, was publicly burnt at the market cross of Edinburgh, by the hands of the common hangman, was answered on the second of January, by a "declaration and warning of the commission of the General Assembly," addressed to "all the members of the kirk and kingdom," which was followed on the twenty-fourth of the same month, by another "declaration" from the committee of estates of the parliament of Scotland, in vindication of their proceedings from "the aspersions of a scandalous pamphlet, published by that excommunicate traitor, James Graham, under the title of a 'Declaration of James, Marquis of Montrose.' The last of these documents vindicates at great length, and apparently with great success, those whom Montrose had designated the "infamous faction of rebels," not because the committee thought "it worth the while to answer the slanders and groundless reproaches of that viperous brood of Satan, James Graham, whom the estates of parliament had long since declared traitor, the church delivered into the hands of the devil, and the nation doth generally detest and abhor;" but because "their silence might be subject to misconstruction, and some of the weaker sort might be inveigled by the bold assertions and railing accusations of this impudent braggard, presenting himself to the view of the world clothed with his majesty's authority, as lieutenant-governor and captain-general of this kingdom." These declarations of the kirk and estates, backed as they were by fulminations from all the pulpits of the kingdom against Montrose, made a deep impression on men's minds, which was highly unfavourable to him, and as the committee of estates discharged all persons from aiding or assisting him under the pain of high treason, and as every action and word of those considered friendly to him were strictly watched, they did not attempt, and had they attempted, would have found it impossible, to make any preparations to receive him on his arrival.

Such was the situation of matters when Montrose landed in Orkney, where, in consequence of the death of Morton and Kinnoul, little progress had been made in raising troops. He remained several weeks in Orkney, without exciting much notice, and having collected about eight

hundred of the natives, which, with the addition of the two hundred troops carried over by Kinnoul, made his whole force amount to about fifteen hundred men, he crossed the Pentland Frith in a number of boats collected among the islands, and landed without opposition at the northern extremity of Caithness, in the immediate vicinity of John o' Groat's house. On landing, he displayed three banners, one of which was made of black taffeta, in the centre of which was exhibited a representation of the bleeding head of the late king, as struck off from the body, surrounded by two inscriptions, "Judge and avenge my cause O Lord," and "Deo et victricibus armis." Another standard had this motto, "Quos pietas virtus et honor fecit amicus." These two banners were those of the king. The third, which was Montrose's own, bore the words, "Nil medium," a motto strongly significant of the stern and uncompromising character of the man.* Montrose immediately compelled the inhabitants of Caithness to swear obedience to him as the king's lieutenant-governor. All the ministers, with the exception of one named William Smith, took the oath, and to punish Smith for his disobedience, he was sent in irons on board of a vessel.† A number of the inhabitants, however, alarmed at the arrival of foreign troops, with whose presence they considered carnage and murder to be associated, were seized with a panic and fled, nor did some of them stop till they reached Edinburgh, where they carried the alarming intelligence of Montrose's advance to the parliament which was then sitting.

As soon as the earl of Sutherland heard of Montrose's arrival in Caithness, he assembled all his countrymen to oppose his advance into Sutherland. He sent, at the same time, for two troops of horse stationed in Ross, to assist him, but their officers being in Edinburgh, they refused to obey, as they had received no orders. Being apprized of the earl's movements, and anticipating that he might secure the important pass of the Ord, and thus prevent him from entering Sutherland, Montrose despatched a body of five hundred men to the south, who obtained possession of the pass. The next step Montrose took, was against the castle of Dunbeath, belonging to Sir John Sinclair, who, on Montrose's arrival, had fled and left the place in charge of his lady. The castle was strong and well supplied with provisions, and the possession of it was considered very important by Montrose, in case he should be obliged to retreat back into Orkney. The castle, which was defended by Sir John's lady and a few servants, surrendered to General Hurry, after a short resistance, on condition that persons and property should be respected. Hurry, thereupon, put a strong garrison therein, under the command of Major Whiteford.

Having secured this important strength, Montrose marched into Sutherland, leaving Henry Graham, his natural brother, behind him with a party to raise men for the service. While in Caithness, the only

* Balfour, vol. iii. p. 410. † Gordon's Continuation, p. 552.

persons that proffered their services to Montrose, were Hugh Mackay of Skoury, Hugh Mackay of Dirlet, and Alexander Sinclair of Brims, whom he despatched to Strathnaver, to collect forces, but they appear to have neglected the matter. On the approach of Montrose, the earl of Sutherland, not conceiving himself in a condition to resist him, retired with his men, and putting strong garrisons into Dunrobin, Skelbo, Skibo, and Dornoch, and sending off a party with cattle and effects to the hills to be out of the reach of the enemy, he went himself into Ross with three hundred of his men. Montrose continued to advance and encamped the first night at Garty and Helmsdale, the second at Kintradwell, and the third night at Rhives. In passing by Dunrobin, a part of his men went between the castle and the sea, some of whom were killed, and others taken prisoners, in a sortie from the garrison. On the following day, Montrose demanded the prisoners from William Gordon the commander of Dunrobin, but his request was refused. Montrose encamped at Rian in Strathfleet the fourth night, at Gruidy on the fifth, and at Strathoikel on the sixth. He then marched to Carbisdale, on the borders of Ross-shire where he halted a few days in expectation of being joined by the Mackenzies. While reposing here in fancied security and calculating on complete success, he sent a notification to the earl of Sutherland to this effect, that though he had spared his lands for the present, yet the time was at hand when he would make his own neighbours undo him. Little did Montrose then expect that he himself who had often gratified his revenge, was so soon to be taken captive and suffer an ignominious death!

As soon as intelligence of Montrose's descent was received in Edinburgh, the most active preparations were made to send north troops to meet him. David Leslie, the commander-in-chief, appointed Brechin as the place of rendezvous for the troops; but as a considerable time would necessarily elapse before they could be all collected, and as apprehensions were entertained that Montrose might speedily penetrate into the heart of the Highlands, where he could not fail to find auxiliaries, Lieutenant-Colonel Strachan, an officer who had of late been particularly active in suppressing Pluscardin's insurrection, was despatched, in the meantime, to the north with a few troops of horse, for the purpose of keeping Montrose in check, and enabling the earl of Sutherland, and the other presbyterian leaders in the north to raise their levies. These troops, which were those of Ker, Hacket, Montgomery, and Strachan, and an Irish troop commanded by one Collace, were joined by a body of about five hundred foot under the earl of Sutherland, Ross of Balnagown, and Munro of Lumlair, all of whom were assembled at Tain when Montrose encamped at Strathoikel. This movement brought the hostile parties within twenty miles of each other, but Montrose was not aware that his enemy was so near at hand. Strachan, who had early intelligence brought him of Montrose's advance, immediately called a council of war to deliberate, at which it was re-

solved that the earl of Sutherland should, by a circuitous movement, throw himself into Montrose's rear, in order to prevent a junction between him and Henry Graham, and such of the Strathnaver and Caithness men as should attempt to join him, and to protect the country of Sutherland from the threatened ravages of Montrose, and that, at the same time, Strachan with his five troops of horse, and the Munroes, and Rosses, under Balnagown, and Lumlair, should march directly forward and attack Montrose in the level country before he should, as was contemplated, retire to the hills on the approach of Leslie, who was hastening rapidly north with a force of four thousand horse and foot, at the rate of thirty miles a-day.

It was Saturday the twenty-seventh day of April, when Strachan's officers were deliberating whether they should move immediately forward or wait till Monday, "and so decline the hazard of engaging upon the Lord's day," * when notice being brought that Montrose had advanced from Strathoikel to Carbisdale, a movement which brought him six miles nearer to them: they therefore made arrangements for attacking him without delay. Strachan advanced without observation as far as Fearn, within a mile and a half or two miles of Montrose, where he concealed his men on a muir covered with broom, whence he sent out a party of scouts under Captain Andrew Munro, son of Munro of Lumlair, to reconnoitre Montrose. Munro soon returned and reported that Montrose had sent out a body of forty horse to ascertain their movements. In order to deceive this body, Strachan ordered one troop of horse out of the broom, which being the only force observed by Montrose's scouts, they returned and reported to Montrose what they had seen. This intelligence threw Montrose completely off his guard, who, conceiving that the whole strength of the enemy consisted of a single troop of horse, made no preparations for defending himself.

In the meantime, Strachan formed his men into four divisions. The first, which consisted of about a hundred horsemen, he commanded himself; the second, amounting to upwards of eighty, was given in charge to Hacket; and the third, also horse, to the number of about forty, was led by Captain Hutcheson. The fourth division, which was composed of a body of musketeers belonging to Lawer's regiment, was commanded by one Quarter-master Shaw.†

The deception which had been so well practised upon Montrose by Strachan, in concealing the real amount of his force, might not have been attended with any serious effect to Montrose; but for another stratagem which Strachan had in reserve, which proved his ruin. Strachan's scheme was first to advance with his own division to make appear as if his whole strength consisted at first of only a hundred horse, and while Montrose was impressed with this false idea to bring up the other three divisions in rapid succession, and thus create a panic among

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 9. † Ibid. iv. p. 9.

Montrose's men as if a large army was about to attack them. This contrivance was crowned with the most complete success. Montrose little suspecting the trick, was thrown quite off his guard, and alarmed at the sudden appearance of successive bodies of cavalry, he immediately gave orders for a retreat to a wood and craggy hill at a short distance in his rear; but before Montrose's men could reach their intended place of retreat, they were overtaken when almost breathless, as they were about entering the wood, by Strachan's troopers, who charged them violently. The foreign troops received the charge with firmness, and, after discharging a volley upon the horse, flew into the wood; but most of the Orcadians threw down their arms in terror and begged for quarter. The Munroes and Rosses followed the Danish troops into the wood and killed many of them. Two hundred of the fugitives in attempting to cross the adjoining river were all drowned.

Montrose for some time made an unavailing effort to rally some of his men, and fought with his accustomed bravery; but having his horse shot under him, and seeing it utterly impossible longer to resist the enemy, he mounted the horse of Lord Frendraught, which that young and generous nobleman proffered him, and galloped off the field; and as soon as he got out of the reach of the enemy, he dismounted, and throwing away his cloak, which was decorated with the star of the garter, and his sword, sought his safety on foot.

The slaughter of Montrose's men continued about two hours, or until sunset, during which time ten of his best officers and three hundred and eighty-six common soldiers were killed. The most conspicuous among the former for bravery was Menzies younger of Pitfoddles, the bearer of the black standard, who repeatedly refused to receive quarter. Upwards of four hundred prisoners were taken, including thirty-one officers, among whom were Sir John Hurry and Lord Frendraught, the latter of whom was severely wounded. Among the prisoners taken were two ministers. This victory was achieved almost without bloodshed on the part of the victors, who had only two men wounded. One of their troopers was drowned in his eagerness pursuing the party of royalists who perished in the river. After the slaughter, the conquerors returned thanks to God on the open field for the victory they had obtained, and returned to Tain, carrying the prisoners along with them.* For several days the people of Ross and Sutherland continued to pursue some unfortunate stragglers, whom they despatched. The result was most calamitous to Orkney, as appears from a petition and memorandum by the gentlemen of Orkney to Lord Morton in sixteen hundred and sixty-two, in which it is stated, that there was scarcely a gentleman's house in that country "but lost either a son or a brother."†

* Gordon's Continuation, p. 555.

† Vide the document in the Appendix to Peterkin's Notes on Orkney and Zetland, p. 106, 107.

Montrose, accompanied by the earl of Kinnoul, who had lately succeeded to the title on the death of his brother, and six or seven companions, having, as before stated, dismounted from his horse and thrown away his cloak and sword, and having, by the advice of his friends, to avoid detection, exchanged his clothes for the more homely attire of a common highlander, he wandered all night and the two following days among bleak and solitary regions, without knowing where to proceed, and ready to perish under the accumulated distresses of hunger, fatigue, and anxiety of mind. The earl of Kinnoul, unable, from exhaustion, to follow Montrose any farther, was left among the mountains, where it is supposed he perished. When upon the point of starvation, Montrose was fortunate to light upon a small cottage, where he obtained a supply of milk and bread, * on receiving which he continued his lonely and dangerous course among the mountains of Sutherland, at the risk of being seized every hour, and dragged as a felon before the very man whom, only a few days before, he had threatened with his vengeance.

In the meantime, active search was made after Montrose. As it was conjectured that he might attempt to reach Caithness, where his natural brother, Henry Graham, still remained with some troops in possession of the castle of Dunbeath, and as it appeared probable, from the direction Montrose was supposed to have taken, that he meant to go through Assynt, Captain Andrew Munro sent instructions to Neil Macleod, the laird of Assynt, his brother-in-law, to apprehend every stranger that might enter his bounds, in the hope of catching Montrose, for whose apprehension a splendid reward was offered. In consequence of these instructions, Macleod sent out various parties in quest of Montrose, but they could not fall in with him. "At last (says Bishop Wishart) the laird of Assynt being abroad in arms with some of his tenants in search of him, lighted on him in a place where he had continued three or four days without meat or drink, and only one man in his company." The bishop then states, that "Assynt had formerly been one of Montrose's own followers; who immediately knowing him, and believing to find friendship at his hands, willingly discovered himself; but Assynt not daring to conceal him, and being greedy of the reward which was promised to the person who should apprehend him by the council of the estates, immediately seized and disarmed him."† This account differs a little from that of the author of the continuation of Sir Robert Gordon's history, who says, that it was one of Macleod's parties that apprehended Montrose, but is altogether silent as to Assynt's having been a follower of Montrose, but both writers inform us that Montrose offered Macleod a large sum of money for his liberty, which he refused to grant. Macleod kept Montrose and his companion, Major Sinclair, an Orkney gentleman, prisoners in the castle of Ardvrack, his principal

* Gordon's Continuation, p. 555. † Memoirs, p. 377.

residence. By order of Leslie, Montrose was thence removed to Skibo castle, where he was kept two nights, thereafter to the castle of Braan, and thence again to Edinburgh.

In his progress to the capital, Montrose had to endure all those indignities which vulgar minds, instigated by malevolence and fanaticism, could suggest; but he bore every insult with the most perfect composure. At a short interview which he had with two of his children at the house of the earl of South Esk, his father-in-law, on his way to Edinburgh, he exhibited the same composure, for "neither at meeting nor parting could any change of his former countenance be discerned, or the least expression heard which was not suitable to the greatness of his spirit, and the fame of his former actions. His behaviour was, during the whole journey, such as became a great man; his countenance was serene and cheerful, as one who was superior to all those reproaches which they had prepared the people to pour out upon him in all the places through which he was to pass."*

At Dundee, which had particularly suffered from his army, a very different feeling was, however, shown by the inhabitants, who displayed a generosity of feeling and a sympathy for fallen greatness, which did them immortal honour. Instead of insulting the fallen hero in his distress, they commiserated his misfortunes, and prevailed upon his guards to permit him to exchange the rustic and mean apparel in which he had been apprehended, and which, to excite the derision of the mob, they had compelled him to wear, for a more becoming dress which had been provided for him by the people of Dundee. The sensibilities of the inhabitants had probably been awakened by a bold and ineffectual attempt by the lady of the laird of Grange, at whose house, in the neighbourhood of Dundee, Montrose had passed the previous night, to rescue him. The author of the memoirs of the Somervilles, gives the following characteristic account of this affair:—

"It was at this ladye's house that that party of the covenanters their standing armie, that gairded in the marques of Montrose, efter his forces was beat and himself betrayed in the north, lodged him, whom this excellent lady designed to sett at libertie, by procureing his escape from her house; in order to this, soe soon as ther quarters was settled, and that she had observed the way and manner of the placeing of the guairds, and what officers commanded them, she not only ordered her butlers to let the souldiers want for noe drink, but she herself, out of respect and kyndnesse, as she pretended, plyed hard the officers and souldiers of the main-guaird, (which was keeped in her owne hall) with the strongest ale and acquavite, that before midnight, all of them, (being for the most part Highlandmen of Lawer's regiment) became starke drunke. If her stewarts and other servants had obeyed her directions in giving out what drinke the out-gairds should have called for, undoubtedly the business

* Memoirs, p. 380.

had been effectuat; but unhappily, when the marques had passed the first and second centinells that was sleeping upon their musquets, and likewayes through the main-gaird, that was lying in the hall lyke swyne on a midding, he was challenged a little without the outmost guaird by a wretched trouper of Strachan's troupe, that had been present at his taking. This fellow was none of the guaird that night, but being quartered hard by, was come rammelling in for his bellieful of drinke, when he made this unluckie discovery, which being done, the marques was presently seized upon, and with much rudenesse (being in the ladye's cloaths which he had put on for a disguize) turned back to his prisone chamber. The lady, her old husband, with the wholl servants of the house, were made prisoners for that night, and the morrow efter, when they came to be challenged before these that had the command of this party, and some members of that wretched committee of estates, that satt allways at Edenbrough (for mischief to the royall interest,) which they had sent for the more security, to be still with this party, fearing the great friends and weill-wishers this noble heroe had upon the way he was to come, should either by force or stratageme, be taken from them. The ladie, as she had been the only contryver of Montrose's escape, soe did she avow the same before them all; testifying she was heartily sorry it had not taken effect according to her wished desyre. This confidence of hers, as it bred some admiratione in her accusors, soe it freed her husband and the servants from being farder challenged; only they took security of the laird for his ladye's appearing before the committie of estates when called, which she never was. Ther worships gott something else to thinke upon, then to conveen soe excellent a lady before them upon such ane account, as tended greatly to her honour and ther oune shame."

The parliament, which had adjourned itself till the fifteenth of May, met on the appointed day, and that no time might be lost in getting rid of Montrose, they named a committee composed of his deadliest enemies to devise the mode of his reception into the capital and the manner of his death, in terms of whose report an act was passed on the seventeenth of May ordaining, "James Graham," to be conveyed bareheaded from the Water Gate, the eastern extremity of the city, on a cart, to which he was to be tied with a rope, and drawn by the hangman in his livery, with his hat on, to the jail of Edinburgh, and thence to be brought to the parliament house, and there on his knees to receive sentence of death to this effect,—that he should be hanged on a gibbet at the cross of Edinburgh, with the book which contained the history of his wars and the declaration which he had issued, tied to his neck, and after hinging for the space of three hours, that his body should be cut down by the hangman, his head severed from his body, fixed on an iron pike and placed on the pinnacle on the west end of the prison, that his hands and legs should also be cut off, the former to be placed over the gates of Perth and Stirling, and the latter

over those of Aberdeen and Glasgow,—that if at his death he showed any signs of repentance, and should in consequence be relieved from the sentence of excommunication, which the kirk had pronounced against him, that the trunk of his body should be interred by "pioneers" in the Gray Friars' churchyard; but otherwise, that it should be buried in the Boroughmuir, the usual place of execution, under the scaffold, by the hangman's assistants.*

The minds of the populace had, at this time, been wrought up to the highest pitch of hatred at Montrose by the ministers, who, during a fast which had lately been held in thanksgiving for his apprehension, had launched out the most dreadful and bloody invectives against him, and to this circumstance is to be attributed the ignominious plan devised for his reception, by exhibiting him as a spectacle for popular vengeance, in order to confirm, in the minds of the vulgar, the unfavourable impressions they had imbibed, and that they might overwhelm the unfortunate victim with contumely, and perhaps commit acts of violence upon his person.

On the day following the passing of the act, Montrose was brought up from Leith, mounted on an outworn horse, to the Water Gate, along with twenty-three of his officers, his fellow prisoners, where he was met about four o'clock, P.M. by the magistrates of the city in their robes, followed by the "town guard," and the common executioner. Having been delivered by his guards to the civic authorities, whose duty it now was to take charge of his person, Montrose was, for the first time, made acquainted with the fate which awaited him by one of the magistrates putting a copy of the sentence into his hands that he might read it. He perused the paper with composure, and after he had read it, he informed the magistrates that he was ready to submit to it, and only regretted, "that through him the king's majesty, whose person he represented, should be so much dishonoured."†

Before mounting the vehicle brought for his reception, Montrose was ordered by the hangman to uncover his head; but as the mandate was not immediately attended to, that abhorred instrument of the law enforced his command with his own hands. He thereupon made Montrose go into the cart, and placing him on a high chair fixed upon a small platform raised at the end of the cart, he pinioned his arms close to his sides by means of cords, which being made to pass across his breast, and fastened behind the vehicle, kept him so firmly fixed as to render his body immoveable. The other prisoners, who were tied together in pairs, having been marshalled in front of the cart in walking order and uncovered, the hangman, clothed in his terrific attire, mounted the horse attached to the cart, and the procession thereupon moved off at a slow pace up the Canongate, in presence of thousands of spectators, who lined the long and spacious street, and filled the windows of the

* Balfour, iv. p. 12, 13. † Wishart, p. 385.

adjoining houses. Among the crowd which thronged the street to view the mournful spectacle was a great number of the inferior classes of the community, chiefly females, who had come with the determined intention of venting abuse upon the fallen hero, and pelting him, as he proceeded along the street, with dirt, stones, and other missiles, in consequence of the harangues of the ministers on occasion of the late fast; but they were so overawed by the dignity of his demeanour, and the undaunted courage of soul which he displayed, that their feelings were at once overcome, and instead of covering him with reproaches, they dissolved into tears of pity at the sight of fallen greatness, and invoked the blessings of heaven upon the head of the illustrious captive. A result so totally unlooked for, could not be but exceedingly displeasing to the enemies of Montrose, and particularly to the ministers, who, on the following day, being Sunday, denounced the conduct of the people from the pulpits of the city, and threatened them with the wrath of heaven.

But displeasing as the humane reception of Montrose was to the clergy, it must have been much more mortifying to Argyle, his mortal enemy, who, regardless of decency and good feeling, displayed his hatred at his prostrate adversary by feasting his eyes with the sorrowful spectacle of a chivalrous and high-minded man, illustrious for his achievements and noble birth, dragged as a felon, by the common executioner, through the streets of the metropolis. Had he been prompted by a mere feeling of curiosity to see his defenceless victim, from whom, when armed, he had, craven-like, so often slunk away,—a feeling which no other man in Argyle's situation would have sought to indulge,—he might have adopted various ways to effect his purpose without observation; but such a line of conduct did not accord with the mean and cowardly spirit of Argyle, who, surrounded by his family and friends, appeared publicly on a balcony in front of the earl of Moray's house in the Canongate, where with malignant complacency he beheld the great Montrose in a condition to which even the vilest of mankind are seldom reduced. To add to the insult, the vehicle which carried Montrose was stopped for some time beneath the place where Argyle and his party stood, to allow them a leisurely view of the object of their hate, and that they might indulge, in his presence, in those demonstrations of unworthy triumph which little and vindictive minds never fail to exhibit towards the unfortunate. With what feelings of disdain and contemptuous pity must Montrose have been seized when his eyes met those of his pusillanimous and vindictive rival! But whatever were the inward workings of his soul, he betrayed no symptoms of inquietude, but preserved, during this trying scene, a dignified composure which overwhelmed his recreant insulters with shame.

Although the distance from the Water Gate to the prison was only about half a mile, yet so slow had the procession moved, that it was almost seven o'clock in the evening before it reached the prison. When

released from the cart Montrose gave the hangman some money for his services in having driven his "triumphal chariot,"* as he jocularly termed the cart, so well. On being lodged in jail, he was immediately visited by a small committee appointed by the parliament, which had held an extraordinary meeting at six o'clock in the evening. Balfour says, that the object of the committee, which consisted of three members and two ministers, was to ask "James Grahame if he had any thing to say, and to show him that he was to repair to the house to receive his sentence." The house remained sitting till the return of the deputation, who reported that Montrose had refused to answer any of the interrogatories put to him till he was informed upon what terms they stood with the king, and whether they had concluded any agreement with him. In consequence of this information, the parliament delayed passing sentence till 10 o'clock A. M. of Monday, the twentieth of May; and, in the meantime, appointed seven of their members to wait upon the marquis and examine him on some points respecting "Duke Hamilton and others;" and to induce him to answer, the deputation was instructed to inform him, that an agreement had been concluded between the commissioners on the part of the estates and his majesty, who was coming to Scotland.† Montrose, however, excused himself from annoyance by stating, that as his journey had been long, and as "the ceremony and compliment they had paid him that day had been somewhat wearisome and tedious," he required repose.‡ in consequence of which the deputation left him.

Montrose meant to have spent the whole of the following day, being Sunday, in devotional exercises suitable to his trying situation; but he was denied this consolation by the incessant intrusions of the ministers and members of parliament, who annoyed him by putting a variety of ensnaring questions to him, which he having refused to answer, they gave vent to the foulest reproaches against him. These insults, however, had no effect on him, nor did he show the least symptoms of impatience, but carried himself throughout with a firmness which no menaces could shake. When he broke silence at last, he said that "they were much mistaken if they imagined that they had affronted him by carrying him in a vile cart the day before; for he esteemed it the most honourable and cheerful journey he had ever performed in his life; his most merciful God and Redeemer having all the while manifested his presence to him in a most comfortable and inexpressible manner, and supplied him by his divine grace, with resolution and constancy to overlook the reproaches of men, and to behold him alone for whose cause he suffered."§

Agreeably to the order of parliament, Montrose was brought up by the magistrates of Edinburgh on Monday at ten o'clock A. M. to receive sentence. As if to give dignity and importance to the cause for which

* Wishart, p. 386. † Balfour, vol. iv. p. 14.
‡ Wishart, p. 386. § Wishart, p. 387.

he was about to suffer and to show how indifferent he was to his own fate, Montrose appeared at the bar of the parliament in a superb dress which he had provided for the purpose, after his arrival in Edinburgh. His small clothes consisted of a rich suit of black silk, covered with costly silver lace, over which he wore a scarlet rocket which reached to his knee, and which was trimmed with silver galouns, and lined with crimson taffeta. He also wore silk stockings of a carnation colour with garters, roses and corresponding ornaments, and a beaver hat having a very rich silver band.*

Having ascended "the place of delinquents," a platform on which criminals received sentence, Montrose surveyed the scene before him with his wonted composure, and though his countenance was rather pale, and exhibited other symptoms of care, his firmness never for a moment forsook him. Twice indeed was he observed to heave a sigh and to roll his eyes along the house,† during the virulent invectives which the lord-chancellor (Loudon) poured out upon him, but these emotions were only the indications of the warmth of his feelings while suffering under reproaches which he could not resent

The lord-chancellor, in rising to address Montrose, entered into a long detail of his "rebellions," as he designated the warlike actions of Montrose, who, he said, had invaded his native country with hostile arms, and had called in Irish rebels and foreigners to his assistance. He then reproached Montrose with having broken not only the national covenant, which he had bound himself to support, but also the solemn league and covenant, to which the whole nation had sworn; and he concluded by informing Montrose, that for the many murders, treasons, and impieties of which he had been guilty, God had now brought him to suffer condign punishment. After the chancellor had concluded his harangue, Montrose requested permission to say a few words in his own vindication, which being granted, though not without some difficulty, he stated,

"That as he considered the parliament to be now sitting under the authority of the king, he had appeared before them with becoming respect, and had uncovered himself, which he would not otherwise have willingly done—that in all cases, and particularly in public affairs, his chief concern had always been to act as a good Christian and a faithful subject, and that he had done nothing of which he was ashamed or had reason to repent. He freely admitted that he had engaged in the first, or national covenant, and had complied with it, and with those who took it, as long as the ends for which it was ordained were observed; but when he discovered, what soon became evident to all the world, that some private persons, under the pretence of reforming some errors in religion, and preserving public liberty, intended to abridge and take

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 16, note to Kirkton's Church History, p. 124. Relation of the execution of James Graham, London, 1650.

† Balfour, vol. iv. p. 16.

away the king's just power and lawful authority, and assume it themselves, he had then withdrawn himself from that engagement; and when, in order to disappoint these men, and to clear themselves from being concerned in such base designs, the honest part of the nation thought it necessary to enter into an association for the security of religion, and the preservation of the royal authority, he likewise joined in it and subscribed it; that as to the solemn league and covenant, he had never taken it, and never could approve or acknowledge it as a just and lawful confederacy; and therefore could not be accused of having broken it; and how far religion, which was now split into innumerable sects and parties, had been advanced by it, and what horrible mischiefs and dreadful tragedies it had occasioned, the three distressed kingdoms bore an abundant testimony—that when the late king had almost subdued his rebellious subjects in England, and a faction in Scotland, under colour of the solemn league, had sent in very powerful succours to their assistance, his majesty had been pleased to send him into Scotland clothed with his commission and authority to raise an army and make a diversion to prevent, if possible, these auxiliary forces from prosecuting their rebellious purpose: that he had acknowledged the king's command as most just, and conceived himself bound in duty and conscience to obey it, and that there were many persons who now heard him who could witness how he had executed that commission, and his carriage and behaviour during its continuance—that it was not in the power of the greatest generals altogether to prevent disorders in their army; but that he had endeavoured to do what he could to suppress them, and to punish the disorderly—that he had not spilt any blood, not even that of his most inveterate enemies, but in the field of battle; and that even in the greatest heat of action he had preserved the lives of many thousands; and that as he had first taken up arms at the command of the king, he had laid them down upon his orders, without any regard to his own interest, and had retired beyond the seas.

"With regard to his late invasion, he said, he had undertaken it at the command and by the express orders of the present king, (to whom they all owed duty and allegiance, and for whose long and happy reign he offered his sincere and earnest prayers.) in order to accelerate the treaty which was then begun betwixt him and them—that it was his intention, as soon as the treaty had been concluded, to lay down his arms and retire at the call of his majesty; and such being his authority and determination, he might justly affirm, that no subject ever acted upon more honourable grounds, nor by a more lawful power and authority than he had done in the late expedition.

"In conclusion, he called upon the assemblage to lay aside all prejudice, private animosity, and desire of revenge, and to consider him, in relation to the justice of his cause, as a man and a Christian, and an obedient subject, in relation to the commands of his sovereign, which he had faithfully executed. He then put them in mind of the great obli-

gations which many of them were under to him, for having preserved their lives and fortunes at a time when he had the power and authority, had he inclined, of destroying both, and entreated them not to judge him rashly, but according to the laws of God, the laws of nature and nations, and particularly by the laws of the land—that if they should refuse to do so, he would appeal to the just Judge of the world, who would at last judge them all, and pronounce a righteous sentence."*

This speech was delivered without affectation or embarrassment, and with such firmness and clearness of intonation, that according to a cavalier historian, many persons present were afterwards heard to declare, that he looked and spoke as he had been accustomed when at the head of his army.† The chancellor replied to Montrose, in a strain of the most furious invective, "punctually proving him, (says Balfour) by his acts of hostility, to be a person most infamous, perjured, treacherous, and of all that this land ever brought forth, the most creuell and inhumane butcher and murtherer of his natione, a sworne enimy to the covenant and peace of his countrey, and one quhosse boundlesse pryde and ambition had lost the father, and by his wicked counsells done quhat in him lay to distroy the sone lykwayes."‡

Montrose attempted to address the court a second time, but was rudely interrupted by the chancellor, who ordered him to keep silence, and to kneel down and receive his sentence. The prisoner at once obeyed, but remarked, that on falling on his knees, he meant only to honour the king his master, and not the parliament. While Sir Archibald Johnston, the clerk-register, was reading the sentence, Montrose kept his countenance erect and displayed his usual firmness After the sentence had been read, the executioner, agreeably to ancient practice, repeated the doom. Montrose was thereupon carried back to prison,§ there to remain till three o'clock the following day, the time fixed for his execution.

The feelings of humanity and the voice of religion, now demanded that the unfortunate prisoner should be allowed to spend the short time he had to live, in those solemn preparations for death, enjoined by religion, in privacy and without molestation; but it was his fate to be in the hands of men in whose breasts such feelings had no place, and whose religion was deeply imbued with a stern and gloomy fanaticism, to which charity was an entire stranger. No sooner, therefore, had Montrose returned to prison, than he was again assailed by the ministers, who endeavoured to induce him to submit to the kirk, no doubt considering the conversion of such an extraordinary *malignant* as Montrose, as a theological achievement of the first importance. To subdue his obstinacy, they magnified the power of the keys, which they said had been committed to them, and informed him that unless he reconciled himself to the kirk and obtained a re-

* Wishart, p. 391. † Monteith's Hist. of the Troubles, p. 514.
‡ Annals, vol. iv. p. 15. § Ibid. p. 16.

lease from the sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced against him, he would be eternally damned. But Montrose, regardless of their threats and denunciations, remained inflexible. Besides the ministers, he was frequently waited upon by the magistrates of the city, with whom he entered into conversation. He told them that he was much indebted to the parliament for the great honour they had decreed him,—that he was prouder to have his head fixed upon the top of the prison, than if they had decreed a golden statue to be erected to him in the market-place, or ordered his portrait to be placed in the king's bed-chamber,—that so far from grieving for the mutilation which his body was about to undergo, he was happy that the parliament had taken such an effectual method of preserving the memory of his loyalty, by transmitting such proofs of them to the four principal cities of the kingdom, and he only wished that he had flesh enough to have sent a piece to every city in Christendom, as a testimony of his unshaken love and fidelity to his king and country.* But annoying as the visits of the ministers and magistrates undoubtedly were, Montrose was still farther doomed to undergo the humiliation of being placed under the more immediate charge of Major Weir, who afterwards obtained an infamous notoriety in the annals of criminal jurisprudence. This incestuous wretch, who laid claim to superior godliness, and who pretended to be gifted with the spirit of prayer, of which he gave proofs by many extemporary effusions, gave Montrose great uneasiness by smoking tobacco, to the smell of which, Montrose had, like Charles I., a particular aversion.

During the night, when free from the intrusion of the ministers, Montrose occupied himself in prayer and mental devotion, and even found leisure to gratify his poetic taste, by composing the following lines which he wrote upon the window of the chamber in which he was confined.

Let them bestow on every airth a limb,
Then open all my veins, that I may swim
To thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake,
Then place my par-boiled head upon a stake;
Scatter my ashes, strow them in the air.
Lord, since thou knowest where all these atoms are,
I'm hopeful thou'lt recover once my dust,
And confident thou'lt raise me with the just.

On the morning of the twenty-first of May, sixteen hundred and fifty, the city of Edinburgh was put into a state of commotion by the noise of drums and trumpets, which was heard in every quarter of the city. The sound attracted the notice of Montrose, who inquired at the captain of the guard the cause of it. The officer told him that the parliament, dreading that an attempt might be made by the mob, under the influence of the malignants, to rescue him, had given orders to call

* Wishart, p. 393.

out the soldiers and citizens to arms. "Do I," said the marquis, "who was such a terror to these good men, when alive, continue still so formidable to them, now that I am about to die? But let them look to themselves; for even after I am dead, I will be continually present to their wicked consciences, and become more formidable to them than while I was alive."

After partaking of a hearty breakfast, Montrose entered upon the business of the toilet, to which he paid particular attention. While in the act of combing his hair, he was visited by Sir Archibald Johnston, the clerk-register, one of his most inveterate foes, who made some impertinent remarks on the impropriety, as he thought, of a person in the dreadful situation of the marquis, occupying some of the precious moments he had yet to live in frivolous attentions to his person. The marquis, who knew well the character of this morose man, thus addressed him with a smile of contempt, "While my head is my own, I will dress and adorn it; but to-morrow, when it becomes yours, you may treat it as you please."

About an hour before the time fixed for his execution, Montrose was waited upon by the magistrates of the city, who saw him conveyed to the place of execution on the same vehicle on which he had been carried into the city. In addition to the dress which he wore on that occasion, he was now habited in a superb scarlet cloak, ornamented with gold and silver lace, which his friends had provided him with. Long before his removal from prison, an immense assemblage of persons had congregated around the place of execution in the High-street, all of whom were deeply affected on Montrose's appearance. As he proceeded along, he had, says Wishart, "such a grand air, and so much beauty, majesty, and gravity appeared in his countenance, as shocked the whole city at the cruelty that was designed him; and extorted even from his enemies this unwilling confession, that he was a man of the most lofty and elevated soul, and of the most unshaken constancy and resolution that the age had produced."

It had always been the uniform practice in Scotland to permit all persons about to suffer the last penalty of the law to address the assembled spectators, and on mounting the scaffold Montrose was proceeding to avail himself of this privilege; but the magistrates, who probably had received their instructions from the parliament, refused to allow him to harangue the multitude. His friends, however, anticipating this, had hired a young man, skilled in stenography, who, having stationed himself near the scaffold, was enabled to take down the substance of some observations which Montrose was permitted to make in answer to questions put by some persons who surrounded him.

He began by remarking that he would consider it extremely hard indeed if the mode of his death should be esteemed any reflection upon him, or prove offensive to any good Christian, seeing that such occurrences often happened to the good, at the hands of the wicked, and often

to the wicked at the hands of the good—and that just men sometimes perish in their righteousness, while wicked men prosper in their villanies. That he, therefore, expected that those who knew him well would not esteem him the less for his present sufferings, especially as many greater and more deserving men than he had undergone the same untimely and disgraceful fate. Yet, that he could not but acknowledge that all the judgments of God were just, and that the punishment he was about to suffer was very deservedly inflicted upon him for the many private sins he had committed, and he therefore willingly submitted to it;—that he freely pardoned and forgave his enemies, whom he reckoned but the instruments of the Divine will, and prayed to God to forgive them, although they had oppressed the poor, and perverted judgment and justice.

That he had done nothing contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and that he had undertaken nothing but in obedience to the just commands of his sovereign, when reduced to the greatest difficulties by his rebellious subjects, who had risen up in arms against him—that his principal study had always been to fear God and honour the king, in a manner agreeable to the law of God, the laws of nature, and those of his own country; and that, in neither of these respects, had he transgressed against men, but against God alone, with whom he expected to find abundant mercy, and in the confidence of which, he was ready to approach the eternal throne without terror—that he could not pretend to foretell what might happen, or to pry into the secrets of Divine Providence; but he prayed to God that the indignities and cruelties which he was that day to suffer might not be a prelude of still greater miseries which would befal his afflicted country, which was fast hastening to ruin.

That with regard to the grievous censure of the church, which he was sorry some good people thought it a crime in him to die under, he observed, that he did not incur it from any fault of his own, but in the performance of his duty to his lawful prince, for the security of religion, and the preservation of his sacred person and royal authority—that the sentence of excommunication, so rashly laid upon him by the clergy, gave him much concern, and that he earnestly desired to be released from it, so far as that could be done, agreeably to the laws of God, and without hurting his conscience or allegiance, which, if they refused, he appealed to God, the righteous judge of the world, who, ere long, was to be his impartial judge and gracious redeemer.

In answer to the reproaches of some persons who had endeavoured to destroy the marquis's character and reputation by spreading a report that he had laid the whole blame of what he had done upon the king and his royal father, he observed that such a thought had never for once entered into his breast—that the late king had lived a saint and died a martyr, and he prayed to God, that as his own fate was not unlike his, so his death might be attended with the same degree of piety and resignation;

for if he could wish his soul in another man's stead, or to be conjoined with it in the same condition after this life, it would be his alone.

He then requested that the people would judge charitably of him and his actions, without prejudice and without passion. He desired the prayers of all good men for his soul; for his part, he said he prayed earnestly for them all; and with the greatest seriousness, submission and humility, deprecated the vengeance of Almighty God, which had been so long awakened, and which was still impending over his afflicted country —that his enemies were at liberty to exult and triumph over the perishing remains of his body, but the utmost indignities they could inflict should never prevail on him, now at his death, to swerve from that duty and reverence to God, and obedience and respect to the king, which he had manifested all his life long. "I can say no more (concluded the marquis), but remit myself to your charity, and I desire your prayers. You that are scandalized at me, give me your charity; I shall pray for you all. I leave my soul to God, my service to my prince, my goodwill to my friends, and my name in charity to you all. I might say more, but I have exonered my conscience; the rest I leave to God's mercy."*

A party of ministers who occupied the lower end of the scaffold now attempted, partly by persuasion and partly by threats, to induce Montrose to yield to the kirk by acknowledging his own criminality; but he denied that he had acted contrary to religion and the laws of the land, and, of course, refused to accept of a reconciliation upon such terms. Finding him inflexible, they refused to pray for him as he desired, observing, that no prayers could be of any avail to a man who was an outcast from the church of God. Being desired to pray by himself apart, he told them that if they would not permit the people to join with him, his prayers alone and separately before so large an assembly would perhaps be offensive both to them and him—that he had already poured out his soul before God, who knew his heart, and to whom he had committed his spirit. He then shut his eyes, and holding his hat before his face with his left hand, he raised his right in the attitude of prayer, in which posture he continued about a quarter of an hour in silent and fervent prayer.

As the fatal hour was fast approaching when this unfortunate nobleman was to bid a last and eternal adieu to sublunary things, he desired the executioner to hasten his preparations. This hated functionary, accordingly, brought the book of Montrose's wars, and his late declaration, which, by the sentence, were ordered to be tied round his neck with a cord. Montrose himself assisted in carrying this part of his sentence into execution, and while the operation was performing, goodhumouredly remarked, that he considered himself as much honoured then by having such tokens of his loyalty attached to his person as he

* Wishart, p. 399. Balfour, vol. iv. p. 22.

had been when his majesty had invested him with the order of the garter.*

Hitherto, Montrose had remained uncovered; but, before ascending the ladder which conducted to the top of the gibbet, which rose to the height of thirty feet from the centre of the scaffold, he requested permission to put on his hat. This request was, however, refused. He then asked leave to keep on his cloak; but this favour was also denied him. Irritated, probably at these refusals, he appears for a moment to have lost his usual equanimity of temper, and when orders were given to pinion his arms, he told the magistrates that if they could invent any further marks of ignominy, he was ready to endure them all for the sake of the cause for which he suffered.

On arriving at the top of the ladder, which he ascended with astonishing firmness, Montrose asked the executioner how long his body was to be suspended to the gibbet. "Three hours" was the answer. He then presented the executioner with three or four pieces of gold, told him he freely forgave him for the part he acted, and instructed him to throw him off as soon as he observed him uplifting his hands. The executioner watched the fatal signal with a throbbing heart, and when the noble victim raised his hands, the ill-fated functionary obeyed the mandate, and gave vent to his sorrow by a flood of tears. A feeling of horror seized the assembled multitude, who expressed their disapprobation by a general groan. Among the spectators were many persons who had indulged during the day in bitter invectives against Montrose, but whose feelings were so overpowered by the sad spectacle of his death that they could not refrain from tears.† Even the hard-hearted Argyle, who displayed, for once, at least, some good feeling, by absenting himself from the execution, is said to have shed tears on hearing of Montrose's death, but if a cavalier writer is to be believed, his son, Lord Lorne, disgraced himself by the most unfeeling barbarity.‡

* Wishart, p. 400. † Montrose Redivivus.

‡ "'Tis said that Argyle's expressions had something of grief in them, and did likewise weep at the rehearsal of his death, (for he was not present at the execution.) Howsoever, they were by many called crocodiles' tears, how worthily I leave to others judgment. But I am sure there did in his son, Lord Lorne, appear no such sign, who neither had so much tenderness of heart as to be sorry, nor so much paternal wit as to dissemble, who, entertaining his new bride (the earl of Moray's daughter) with this spectacle, mocked and laughed in the midst of that weeping assembly; and, staying afterwards to see him hewn in pieces, triumphed at every stroke which was bestowed upon his mangled body." Montrose Redivivus, edition of 1652. Note to Wishart's Memoirs, p. 401.

The dismembered portions of Montrose's body were disposed of in terms of the sentence. Lady Napier, the wife of Montrose's esteemed friend and relation, being desirous of procuring his heart, employed some adventurous persons to obtain it for her. They accomplished this object on the second day after the execution, and were handsomely rewarded by her ladyship. The heart was embalmed by a surgeon, and after being enshrined in a rich gold urn, was sent by her to the eldest son of the marquis, then in Flanders. The family of Napier possess a portrait of Lady Napier, in which there is a representation of the urn.—Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland, note, p. 125; edited by C. K. Sharpe, Esquire.

Thus died, at the early age of thirty-eight, James Graham, marquis of Montrose, who had acquired during a short career of military glory greater reputation than perhaps ever fell to the lot of any commander in ancient or modern times within the same compass of time. That partisans may have exaggerated his actions, and extolled his character too highly, may be fairly admitted; but it cannot be denied that Montrose was really a great commander, and that there were noble and generous traits about him which indicated a high and cultivated mind, far superior to the age in which he lived. But however much the military exploits of Montrose may be admired, it must never be forgotten that his sword was drawn against his own countrymen in their struggles against arbitrary power, and that although there was much to condemn in the conduct of the covenanters, subsequent events, in the reign of the second Charles, showed that they were not mistaken in the dread which they entertained of the extinction of their religious liberties, had Charles the First succeeded in his designs.

Among Montrose's officers five of the most distinguished were selected for execution, all of whom perished under 'the Maiden,' a species of the guillotine, introduced into Scotland by the Regent Morton, to which he himself became the first victim. The officers who suffered were, Sir John Hurry,* Captain Spottiswood, younger of Dairsie, Sir Francis Hay of Dalgetty, Colonel William Sibbald, and Captain Charteris, a cadet of the ancient family of Amisfield. All these met death with extraordinary fortitude. Sir Francis Hay, who was a Catholic, "and therefore, (as a cavalier historian quaintly observes) not coming within the compass of the ministers' prayers,"† displayed in particular an intrepidity worthy of his name and family.‡ After a witty metapho-

After the Restoration, the trunk was disinterred, and the other remains collected, and on 11th May, 1661, were deposited with great solemnity by order of Charles II., in the family aisle in St Giles' church. The remains of Sir Francis Hay of Dalgetty were honoured with a similar mark of respect on the same day. For an account of the ceremonial, see Nos. 27 and 28 of the Appendix to Wishart's Memoirs.

* Hurry was at first condemned by the parliament to perpetual banishment. "but the commission of the kirk voted he should die, and thereupon sent ther moderator, with other two of their number, to the parliament house, who very saucilly, in face of that great and honourable court, (if it had not been then a body without a head) told the president and chancelior that the parliament had granted life to a man whom the law had appointed for death, being a man of blood, (citing these words of our blessed Saviour to Peter—'All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword;') whereas, it was very weill knoune, all the blood that that unfortunate gentleman had shed in Scotland was in ther quarrell and defence, being but then engaged in his master's service, when he was taken prisoner, and executed at the kirk's instigatione.

"The parliament was sae farre from rebuking ther bold intruders, or resenting those acts of the commission of the kirk, now quyte besyde ther master's commissione, as they will have it understood, and ther owne solemne professione not to meddle in secular affairs, that they rescinded their former act, and passed a sentence of death upon him, hereby imitating ther dear brethren, the parliament of England, in the caice of the Hothams."—Memoirs of the Somerville Family.

† Wishart, p. 412.

‡ "His constancy at death show well he repented nothing he did, in order to his allegiance and Majesty's service, to the great shame of those who threatened him with their

rical allusion to "the Maiden," he kissed the fatal instrument, and kneeling down, laid his head upon the block. Colonel Sibbald exhibited a surprising gaiety, and, "with an undaunted behaviour, marched up to the block, as if he had been to act the part of a gallant in a play."* An instance of the unfeeling levity with which such melancholy scenes were witnessed, even by those who considered themselves the ministers of the gospel, occurred on the present as on former occasions. Captain Spottiswood, grandson of the archbishop of that name, having on his knees, said the following prayer:—"O Lord, who hath been graciously pleased to bring me through the wilderness of this world, I trust at this time you will waft me over this sea of blood to my heavenly Canaan;" was rebuked by a minister who was near him in the following words:—"Take tent, (heed) take tent, sir, that you drown not by the gate!" (way.) Spottiswood replied with great modesty that "he hoped he was no Egyptian," an answer which forced the base intruder to retire among the crowd to conceal his shame.

The execution of Captain Charteris, (the last who suffered) was a source of melancholy regret to his friends, and of triumph to the ministers. He was a man of a determined mind; but his health being much impaired by wounds which he had received, he had not firmness to resist the importunities of his friends, who, as a means of saving his life, as they thought, prevailed upon him to agree to make a public declaration of his errors. This unhappy man, accordingly, when on the scaffold, read a long speech, which had been prepared for him by the ministers, penned in a peculiarly mournful strain, in which he lamented his apostacy from the covenant, and acknowledged "other things which he had vented to them (the ministers) in *auricular confession*."† Yet, notwithstanding the expectations which he and his friends were led to entertain that his life would be spared, he had no sooner finished his speech than he was despatched.

apocryphal excommunications, to which he gave no more place than our Saviour to the devil's temptations."—Relation of the True Funerals of the Great Lord Marquesse of Montrose.

* Wishart.

† Wishart, p. 413.—The practice of auricular confession seems to have existed to a considerable extent among the covenanters. It is singular that had it not been for the evidence of the minister of Ormiston, to whom the noted Major Weir had communicated his secrets in auricular confession, he would not have been convicted.—See Arnot's Criminal Trials.

CHAPTER III.

Arrival of Charles II.—His reception—Preparations of the English to invade Scotland—Cromwell crosses the Tweed—Appearance of the country—Arrives at Musselburgh—Attacks the Scottish army between Edinburgh and Leith, and repulsed—Purging of the Scottish army—Cromwell retires to Dunbar—Returns to Musselburgh—Moves on Colinton—Scots draw up at Corstorphine—Cromwell returns to Musselburgh—The Dunfermline Declaration—Retreat of Cromwell—Battle of Dunbar—Declaration and Warning of the Kirk—Flight of the king from Perth—His capture—Insurrections in the Highlands—Repressed—Proceedings of Cromwell—Conduct of the western army—Defeated by Lambert—Preparations of the Scots for a new campaign—March of Cromwell towards Stirling—Crosses the Forth at the Queensferry—Defeat of Holburn—Death of the young chief of Maclean—Cromwell enters Perth—Scottish army invades England—Followed by Cromwell—Battle of Worcester—Flight of the king.

HAVING arranged with the commissioners, the conditions on which he was to ascend the Scottish throne, Charles, with about five hundred attendants, left Holland on the second of June, in some vessels furnished him by the prince of Orange, and after a boisterous voyage of three weeks, during which he was daily in danger of being captured by English cruizers, arrived in the Moray frith, and disembarked at Garmouth, a small village at the mouth of the Spey, on the twenty-third of that month. Before landing, however, the covenant was presented to him for signature by John Livingston, a minister,* to which the king readily adhibited his subscription, but which he had no intention of observing longer than suited his purpose. Looking upon the crowns of England and Scotland as his own by hereditary right—a right which he had never forfeited, but from the possession of which the enemies of monarchical government were attempting unjustly to exclude him—he probably considered that the circumstances in which he was placed justified him in pursuing the course he did, in order to obtain possession of his inheritance; yet, as dissimulation is never allowable, it would require no inconsiderable power of casuistry to palliate sufficiently the conduct of Charles on this occasion. The parliament certainly had no right to impose the solemn league and covenant upon him, but having accepted it without reservation, he was not entitled to disregard it altogether, far less to allow it, as he afterwards did, to be burnt in London by the hands of the common executioner.

* Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 51.

The news of the king's arrival reached Edinburgh on the twenty-sixth of June. The guns of the castle were fired in honour of the event, and the inhabitants manifested their joy by bonfires and other demonstrations of popular feeling. The same enthusiasm spread quickly throughout the kingdom, and his majesty was welcomed with warm congratulations as he proceeded on his journey towards Falkland, which had been allotted to him by parliament as the place of his residence. The pleasure he received from these professions of loyalty was, however, not without alloy, being obliged, at the request of the parliament, to dismiss from his presence some of his best friends, both Scots and English, particularly the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Lauderdale, and other "engagers," who, by an act passed on the fourth of June against "classed delinquents," were debarred from returning to the kingdom, or remaining therein, "without the express warrant of the estates of parliament."* Of the English exiles the duke of Buckingham, Lord Wilmot, and seven gentlemen of the household were allowed to remain with him.† In fact, with these exceptions, every person even suspected of being a "malignant," was carefully excluded from the court, and his majesty was thus surrounded by the heads of the covenanters and the clergy. These last scarcely ever left his person, watched his words and motions, and inflicted upon him long harangues, in which he was often reminded of the misfortunes of his family.

The rulers of the English commonwealth, aware of the negotiations which had been going on between the young king and the Scots commissioners in Holland, became apprehensive of their own stability, should a union take place between the covenanters and the English presbyterians, to support the cause of the king, and they therefore resolved to invade Scotland, and by reducing it to their authority extinguish for ever the hopes of the king and his party. Fairfax was appointed commander-in-chief, and Cromwell lieutenant-general of the army destined for this purpose; but as Fairfax considered the invasion of Scotland as a violation of the solemn league and covenant which he had sworn to observe, he refused, notwithstanding the most urgent entreaties, to accept the command, which was in consequence devolved upon Cromwell.

The preparations making in England for the invasion of Scotland, were met with corresponding activity in Scotland, the parliament of which ordered an army of thirty thousand men to be immediately raised to maintain the independence of the country. The nominal command of this army was given to the earl of Leven, who had become old and infirm; but David Leslie his relative, was in reality the commander. The levies went on with considerable rapidity, but before they were assembled Cromwell crossed the Tweed on the twenty-second day of July at the head of sixteen thousand well appointed and high disciplined

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 12. † Ibid. 77.

troops. On his march from Berwick to Musselburgh a scene of desolation was presented to the eyes of Cromwell, far surpassing any thing he had ever before witnessed. With the exception of a few old women and children, not a human being was to be seen, and the whole country appeared as one great waste over which the hand of the ruthless destroyer had exercised its ravages. To understand the cause of this it is necessary to mention, that, with the view of depriving the enemy of provisions, instructions had been issued to lay waste the country between Berwick and the capital; to remove or destroy the cattle and provisions, and that the inhabitants should retire to other parts of the kingdom under the severest penalties. To induce them to comply with this ferocious command, appalling statements of the cruelties of Cromwell in Ireland were industriously circulated among the people, and that he had given orders to put all the males between sixteen and sixty to death, to cut off the right hands of all the boys between six and sixteen, and to bore the breasts of all females of age for bearing children, with red-hot irons.* Fortunately for his army Cromwell had provided a fleet in case of exigency, which followed his course along the coast, and supplied him with provisions.

The English general continued his course along the coast till he arrived at Musselburgh, where he established his head-quarters. Here he learnt that the Scots army, consisting of upwards of thirty thousand men, had taken up a strong position between Edinburgh and Leith, and had made a deep entrenchment in front of their lines, along which they had erected several batteries. Cromwell reconnoitered this position, and tried all his art to induce the Scots to come to a general engagement; but as Leslie's plan was to act on the defensive, and thus force Cromwell either to attack him at a considerable disadvantage, or to retreat back into England after his supply of provisions should be exhausted, he kept his army within their entrenchments.

As Cromwell perceived that he would be soon reduced to the alternative of attacking the Scots in their position, or of retracing his steps through the ruined track over which his army had lately passed, he resolved upon an assault, and fixed Monday the twenty-ninth day of July for advancing on the enemy. By a singular coincidence, the king, at the instigation of the earl of Eglinton, but contrary to the wish of his council and the commanders, visited the army that very day. His presence was hailed with shouts of enthusiasm by the soldiers, who indulged in copious libations to the health of their sovereign. The soldiers in consequence neglected their duty, and great confusion prevailed in the camp;† but on the approach of Cromwell sufficient order was restored, and they patiently waited his attack. Having selected the centre of the enemy's position, near a spot called the Quarry Holes, about halfway between Edinburgh and Leith, as appearing to him the most favourable

* Whitelock, p. 465. † Balfour, vol. iv. p. 86.

point for commencing the operations of the day, Cromwell led forward his army to the assault; but after a desperate struggle he was repulsed with the loss of two of his cannon. The regiment of Lawers particularly distinguished itself on this occasion, which not only routed a considerable body of Cromwell's foot, but drove a party of artillery from the adjoining hill at St Leonard's chapel, where they had planted some cannon to play on the Scottish position. Under the protection of a large body of horse the English regained their cannon; but they lost a considerable number of men and horses from an incessant fire of musketry kept up by Lawers' men from the hedges and rocks.* Cromwell renewed the attack on the thirty-first, and would probably have carried Leslie's position but for a destructive fire from some batteries near Leith. While skirmishing with the enemy in front of the line, Sir James Hackett, who should have seconded David Leslie, "received a great fright," says Balfour, and was so alarmed that he scampered off at full gallop; but on the third of August he and Colonel Scott, who appears also to have acted a cowardly part, were exculpated by the committee, "yet that (continues Balfour) did little to save their honour amongst honest men, and soldiours of worthe and reputatione."† Cromwell retired to Musselburgh in the evening, where he was unexpectedly attacked by a body of two thousand horse and five hundred foot, commanded by Major-General Montgomery, son of the earl of Eglinton, and Colonel Strachan, which had been despatched at an early part of the day by a circuitous route to the right, for the purpose of falling on Cromwell's rear. If Balfour is to be credited, this party beat Cromwell "soundlie," and would have defeated his whole army if they had had an additional force of one thousand men; but an English writer informs us, that the Scots suffered severely.‡ According to the first mentioned author the English had five colonels and five hundred men killed, while the latter states the loss of the Scots to have been about a hundred men, and a large number of prisoners. On the following day, Cromwell, probably finding that he had enough of mouths to consume his provisions, without the aid of prisoners, offered to exchange all those he had taken the preceding day, and sent the wounded Scots back to their camp.

These rencounters, notwithstanding the expectations of the ministers, and the vaunts of the parliamentary committee of their pretended successes, inspired some of Leslie's officers with a salutary dread of the prowess of Cromwell's veterans. An amusing instance of this feeling is related by Balfour in the case of the earl of W. (he suppresses the name) who "beinng commandit the nixt day (the day after the last mentioned skirmish) in the morning, to marche out one a partey, saw he could not goe one upone service untill he had his brackefaste. The brackefaste was delayed above 4 hours in getting until the L. General being privily advertissed by a secrett frind, that my Lord was peaceably myndit that

* Balfour, vol. iv., p. 88. † Ibid, p. 89. ‡ Whitelock.

morning, sent him expresse orders not to marche, to save his reputation. One this, the gallants of the armey raissed a proverbe, 'That they wold not goe out one a partey until they gate ther brackefaste.'"*

For several days Cromwell remained inactive in his camp, during which the parliamentary committee subjected the Scots army to a purging operation, which impaired its efficiency, and, perhaps, contributed chiefly to its ruin. As the Solemn League and Covenant was considered by the covenanters as a sacred pledge to God, which no true Christian could refuse to take, they looked upon those who declined to subscribe it as the enemies of religion, with whom it would be criminal in the eye of Heaven to associate. This principle had been acted upon when the duke of Hamilton invaded England, and had led to the utter destruction of his army; but such an instructive lesson was thrown away upon the enthusiasts who usurped the direction of affairs in Scotland at this time, and, accordingly, the ministers preached incessantly against the sinfulness of allowing malignants and the enemies of the covenant to remain in the army, and they denounced the judgments of God upon the land and army if such men were suffered to remain among them. A committee of parliament had been appointed for purging the army, which now entered upon its task; but before the purgation commenced, the king received a hint, equivalent to a command, from the heads of the covenanters to retire to Dunfermline, an order which he obeyed "sore against his own mind," †by taking his departure on Friday the second of August, after spending the short space of two hours at a banquet, which had been provided for him by the city of Edinburgh. No sooner had the king departed than the purging process was commenced, and on the second, third, and fifth days of August, during which the committee held their sittings, no less than eighty officers, all men of unquestionable loyalty, besides a considerable number of common soldiers, were expelled from the army.‡

In the meantime Cromwell's army began to be in lack of provisions, but it was immediately supplied by some English vessels which arrived at Dunbar, whither Cromwell retired with his army on the fifth of August. Here he found the few inhabitants who had remained in the town in a state of starvation. Touched with commiseration, he generously distributed among them, on his supplies being landed, a considerable quantity of wheat and pease.§

While the ministers were thanking God "for sending the sectarian army (for so they designated the independents) back the way they came, and flinging such a terrror into their hearts, as made them fly when none pursued,"‖ Cromwell suddenly re-appeared at Musselburgh, and thus put an end to their thanksgivings

Seeing no hopes of the Scots army leaving its entrenchments, and

* Balfour, vol. iv., p. 87. † Balfour.
‡ Balfour, vol. iv., p. 89. § Whitelock. ‖ Ibid. p. 483.

afraid that farther delay might be injurious to him, Cromwell made a movement on the thirteenth of August to the west, as far as the village of Colinton, three miles south-west from Edinburgh, where he posted the main body of his army. The Scottish General thinking that Cromwell had an intention of attacking him in his rear, raised his camp and marched towards Corstorphine, about two miles north from Colinton, where he drew out his army. Both armies surveyed each other for several days, but neither attempted to bring the other to action. As he could not, from the nature of the ground which lay between the two armies, attack his opponents with any probability of success, Cromwell again returned to Musselburgh with his army on a Sunday, that he might not be harassed in his march by the covenanters, who never fought but on the defensive on that day.

Although the king before his landing had subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant, and although they had purged the army to their heart's content, still Argyle and his party were not satisfied, and they, therefore, required his majesty to subscribe a declaration "for the satisfaction of all honest men," to the effect after-mentioned. A copy of the proposed declaration had been put into the king's hands by the marquis of Argyle on his departure from the army, and on the ninth of August, commissioners from the committees of the army and the kirk arrived at Dunfermline to require his subscription to the declaration; but as the declaration contained several things offensive to his feelings, he absolutely refused to sign it.

The commissioners having returned to Edinburgh and reported progress, the commission of the general assembly met in the west kirk on the thirteenth of August, and drew up a declaration, setting forth that as there might be just ground of stumbling, on account of his majesty's refusal to subscribe the declaration offered to him, and considering his former carriage and resolutions for the future in reference to the cause of God, and the enemies and friends thereof, they therefore declared that the kirk and kingdom ought not to own nor espouse any malignant parties' quarrel or interest; but that they fought merely upon their former grounds and principles, and in defence of the cause of God and of the kingdom, as they had done for the last twelve years; and therefore they disclaimed all the sin and the guilt of the king, and of his house, and declared that they would not acknowledge him or his interest in any way, but in subordination to God, and that in so far as he aimed and prosecuted the cause of God, and disclaimed his and his father's opposition to the cause of God and to the covenant, and likewise all the enemies thereof, and that they would with convenient speed take into consideration the papers lately sent to them by Oliver Cromwell, and vindicate themselves from all the falsehoods therein contained, especially in those things in which the quarrel betwixt them and the sectarian party was misstated as if they owned the late king's proceedings.

This extraordinary declaration having received the approbation of the

committee of estates, was forwarded to the king, but before its arrival he had held a council at Dunfermline to consult upon the propriety of subscribing the declaration. Among those present were Argyle, Lothian, Eglinton, Tweeddale, and Lorn, who advised his majesty to sign the ungracious document, which they considered necessary to counteract the insidious and unjust accusations of Cromwell, who had openly charged the leading Presbyterians with the odious crime of aiding and abetting the cause of the malignants. His majesty yielded to this advice; but before putting his name to it he sent for two of the leading ministers (Dickson and Gillespie) to endeavour to obtain from them some modification in the language used respecting his father. After considerable altercation, some alterations agreeable to his majesty were admitted. With tears in his eyes he subscribed the declaration on the sixteenth of August, and the other declaration of the commission of the kirk was in consequence rescinded.

The "Heads of the Declaration" which his majesty subscribed, were to this effect:—

That though his majesty, as a dutiful son, was obliged to honour the memory of his royal father, and to have in estimation the person of his mother, yet he desired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit before God because of his father's opposition to the work of God, and to the Solemn League and Covenant, by which so much of the blood of the Lord's people had been shed in these kingdoms, and for the idolatry of his mother, the toleration whereof in the king's house, as it was matter of great humbling to all the Protestant churches, so could it not be but a high provocation against him who is a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children. That he had not subscribed the covenant from any sinister intention and crooked design, but sincerely, and that he would have no friends or enemies but those of the covenant, requiring all to lay down their enmity against the cause and people of God—that the treaty he had made with the Irish should be void—that no merchants following their business should be interrupted on the seas by the commissions which he had issued; and though he desired to construe favourably the intentions of those (in reference to him) that opposed the covenant, yet he would not give a commission to any such until they took the covenant, and gave evidence of their integrity, &c.

That he would satisfy the desires of his good English and Irish subjects, and if the parliament of England, sitting in freedom, should require him to accede to the propositions of the two kingdoms, he would not only adopt them without alteration, but do what was necessary for prosecuting the ends of the covenant, especially in reforming the church of England according to the standard of the Westminster divines, that the church of England so reformed might enjoy full liberty and freedom; that he would consent to pass an act of oblivion in favour of all persons laying down their arms, except the chief obstructers of the work of reformation, and the authors of the change of government,

and the murderers of his royal father, as they should be selected by the houses of parliament. And as "the sectaries" had invaded Scotland, his majesty desired and expected that the well-affected in England would seize the opportunity to promote the covenant, and establish the ancient government, &c.*

Although every sober and judicious person must have perceived that there was little probability that such a declaration would be regarded by the young monarch when released from his trammels, yet so greatly important was his majesty's subscription to the instrument considered by the covenanters, that they hailed it with the most lively emotions of joy and gratitude; and the ministers who, only two days before, had denounced the king from the pulpits as the root of malignancy, and a hypocrite, who had shown, by his refusal to sign the declaration, that he had no intention to keep the covenant, were the first to set the example. The army, excited by the harangues of the ministers during a fast, which they proclaimed to appease the anger of heaven for the sins of the king and his father, longed to meet the enemy, and it required all the influence and authority of General Leslie to restrain them from leaving their lines and rushing upon the "sectaries;" but, unfortunately for the covenanters, their wish was soon to be gratified.

It does not appear that the chiefs of the covenanters were actuated by the same enthusiasm as the ministers and the common soldiers, or that the generals of the army were very sanguine of success. They were too well aware of the composition of Cromwell's veteran host, to suppose that their raw and undisciplined levies, though numerically superior, could meet the enemy in the open field; and hence they deemed it a wise course of policy to act on the defensive, and to harass them by a desultory warfare as occasion offered. This system had been so successful as to embarrass Cromwell greatly, and to leave him no alternative but a retreat into England, a resolution which he was obliged to adopt more speedily, perhaps, than he would otherwise have done in consequence of extensive sickness in his army. No indications of any movement had appeared up to the twenty-ninth of August, as on that day the committee of estates adjourned the meeting of parliament, which was to have then assembled, till the tenth day of September, "in respecte that Oliver Cromwell and his armey of sectaries and blasphemers have invadit this kingdome, and are now laying within the bosome thereof."†

On the following day, however, Cromwell collected his army at Musselburgh, and having put all his sick on board his fleet, which lay in the adjoining bay, he gave orders to his army to march next morning to Haddington, and thence to Dunbar. He made an attempt to obtain the consent of the committee of estates to retire without molestation, promising never again to interfere in the affairs of Scotland; but they

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 92. † Ibid. vol. iv. p. 96.

refused to agree to his proposal, as they considered that they would be able to cut off his retreat and compel him to surrender at discretion.

Next morning, being the thirty-first of August, Cromwell's army was in full retreat towards Haddington. The Scots army followed in close pursuit, but with the exception of some slight skirmishing between the advanced guard of the Scots and Cromwell's rear, nothing important took place. Cromwell halted during the night at Haddington, and offered battle next day; but as the Scots declined, he continued his retreat to Dunbar, which he reached in the evening. With the intention of cutting off his retreat, Leslie drew off his army to the south towards the heights of Lammermuir, and took up a position on Doon hill. Having at the same time secured an important pass called the Peaths, through which Cromwell had necessarily to pass on his way to Berwick, the situation of Cromwell became extremely critical, as he had no chance of escape but by cutting his way through the Scots army, which had now completely placed itself on his line of retreat. Cromwell perceived the danger of his situation, but he was too much of an enthusiast to give way to despair; he deliberately, and within view of the enemy, shipped off the remainder of his sick at Dunbar, on the second of September, intending, should providence not directly interpose in his behalf, to put his foot also on board, and at the head of his cavalry to cut his way through the Scots army.* But as, in an affair of such importance, nothing could be done without prayer, he directed his men to "seek the Lord for a way of deliverance and salvation."† A part of the day was accordingly spent in prayer, and at the conclusion, Cromwell declared, that while he prayed he felt an enlargement of heart and a buoyancy of spirit which assured him that God had hearkened to their prayers.‡

While Cromwell and his men were employed in their devotional exercises, a council of war was held by the Scottish commander to deliberate upon the course to be pursued in the present crisis. As Leslie considered himself perfectly secure in his position, which could not be assailed by the enemy without evident risk of a defeat, and as he was apprehensive of a most formidable and desperate resistance should he venture to attack the brave and enthusiastic independents, who were drawn out within two miles of his camp; he gave as his opinion that the Scottish army should not only remain in its position, but that Cromwell should be allowed to retire into England on certain easy conditions. The officers of the army concurred in the views of the general, but this opinion was overruled by the committees of the estates and kirk, who, anxious to secure their prey, lest by any possibility it might escape, insisted that the army should descend from the heights and attack the "army of sectaries and blasphemers," which they fully expected the

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 97. † Cromwelliana, p. 80.

‡ Burnet's own Times, vol. i. p. 54.

Lord would deliver into their hands; an event which they probably looked for with the greater confidence from a meteor having been observed, on the night of the thirtieth of August, coming out of the north and proceeding in a south-easterly direction, which appeared to the imagination of those who witnessed it, in the shape of "a fiery-forked sword,"* an appearance which was doubtless looked upon by the covenanters as a favourable omen.

In pursuance of the orders of the committees to attack Cromwell early the following morning, Leslie drew down his men on the evening of the second of September from the heights which they occupied to the level ground below, that he might be the sooner ready to commence the attack before the enemy should be fully on their guard. But nothing could escape the penetrating eye of Cromwell, who, though pondering with solicitude upon the difficulties of his situation, was not inattentive to the enemy, whose motions he personally watched with the utmost vigilance and assiduity. During the evening in question he perambulated the gardens adjoining Broxmouth-house, a seat of the earl of Roxburgh, near Dunbar, surveying the Scottish army, but could observe no indications of any movement. He was about retiring for the night, when looking through his glass for the last time that evening, he perceived, to his infinite joy, the Scottish army in motion down the hill. The object of this movement at once occurred to him, and in a rapture of enthusiasm he exclaimed, "they are coming down, the Lord hath delivered them into our hands." The same feeling was communicated by Cromwell to his soldiers, to whom, it is related, he gave an assurance that a supernatural voice had informed him that he would obtain a victory.† A strong spirit of religious enthusiasm had in fact seized both armies, and each considered itself the peculiar favourite of heaven.

Unfortunately for the Scots their movements were considerably impeded by the state of the weather, which, during the night, became very rainy and tempestuous, and, whether from accident or design, their matches were suffered to be extinguished by the rain. Confident in their numbers, they seem to have disregarded the ordinary rules of military prudence, and such was the slowness of their movements, that they found themselves unexpectedly attacked at the dawn of day before the last of their forces had left the hill where they had been stationed. Cromwell had, during the night, advanced his army to the edge of a deep ravine which had hitherto separated the advanced posts of both parties, along which his troops reposed waiting in deep silence the order for attack. As soon as Cromwell was enabled by the approach of day to obtain a partial view of the position selected by the Scots, he perceived that the Scottish general had posted a large body of cavalry on

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 94.

† Sagredo. Relation to the Venetian Senate.

his right wing near to a pass on the road from Dunbar to Berwick, with the evident intention of preventing the English from effecting an escape. To this point, therefore, Cromwell directed his attack with the main body of his horse, and some regiments of foot, with which he endeavoured to obtain possession of the pass; but they were charged by the Scottish lancers, who, aided by some artillery, drove them down the hill. Cromwell, thereupon, brought up a reserve of horse and foot and renewed the attack, but was again repulsed. He still persevered, however, and the cavalry were again giving way, when just as the sun was emerging from the ocean, and beginning, through the mist of the morning, to dart its rays upon the armour of the embattled hosts, he exclaimed with impassioned fervour in the sublime language of the psalmist,—"Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered." In a moment Cromwell's own regiment of foot, to whom his exclamation had been more particularly addressed, advanced with their pikes levelled, the cavalry rallied, and the Scottish horse, as if seized with a panic, turned their backs and fled, producing the utmost confusion among the foot, who were posted in their rear.

As soon as the Scots perceived the defeat and flight of their cavalry, they were seized with a feeling of consternation, and throwing away their arms, sought their safety in flight. They were closely pursued by Cromwell's dragoons, who followed them to the distance of many miles in the direction of Edinburgh, and cut them down without mercy. Out of a force of twenty-seven thousand men, who, a few hours before, had assured themselves of victory, not more than fourteen thousand escaped. Three thousand of the Scots lay lifeless corpses on the fertile plains of East Lothian, and about ten thousand were taken prisoners, of whom not less than five thousand one hundred were wounded.* All the ammunition, artillery, and baggage of the Scots' army fell into the hands of the conquerors. The loss on the side of Cromwell was trifling, not amounting to more than thirty men killed. The battle of Dunbar took place on the third of September, sixteen hundred and fifty, and was long familiarly known among the Scots by the name of "the Tyesday's chase."

Cromwell spent the following day at Dunbar writing despatches to the parliament. He ordered all the wounded to be taken particular care of, and after their wounds were dressed they were released on their parole. The remainder of the prisoners were sent to England, where about two thousand of them died of a pestilential disease, and the rest were sold as slaves, and sent to the English plantations in the West Indies. Cromwell, of course, now abandoned his intention of returning to England. In furtherance of his design to subject Scotland to his authority, he marched to Edinburgh, which he entered without opposition.

In the meantime, the Scottish horse and the few foot which had escaped from the slaughter of Dunbar were collected together at Stir-

* Whitelock, p. 471.

ling. Here the Commissioners of the General Assembly held a meeting on the twelfth of September, at which they drew up a "declaration and warning to all the congregations of the kirk of Scotland," exhorting the people to bear the recent disaster with becoming fortitude, and to humble themselves before God that he might turn away his anger from them. And they ordained a "soleme publicke humiliatione upone the defait of the armey," to be kept throughout the kingdom, for which they assigned thirteen causes, viz. the continued ignorance and profaneness of the land; the manifest provocations of the king's house; the importation by the king of "a great many malignants;" not purging his family "from malignant and profane men;" leaving a most malignant and profane guard of horse about the king; not purging the judicatories and armies "from malignant and scandalous persons;" the exceeding great diffidence of some of the chief leaders of the army, and others, who thought that they could not be saved but by a numerous army; the looseness, insolence, and oppression of many in the army; and the little care taken to preserve the corn; great unthankfulness for former mercies and deliverances; attending to the king's interest "without subordination to religion," &c.; the carnal selfishness and crooked ways of sundry in the judicatories and armies, making no difference between those who feared God, and those who did not fear him, in the public appointments; and the exceeding great negligence, "in great ones and many others," in performing family worship.*

It is probable that this "declaration and warning" had little effect upon the minds of the people, whose enthusiasm had been somewhat cooled by Cromwell's success, and although they did not, perhaps, like their unfortunate countrymen, who were taken captives on the third of September and sent into England, curse the king and clergy for insnaring them in misery, as Whitelock observes, they could not but look upon the perpetual meddling of the ministers with the affairs of the State, as the real source of all the calamities which had recently befallen the country. As to the king he had become so thoroughly disgusted with the conduct of the Argyle faction, whose sole object seemed to be to use him as a tool for their own purposes, that he regarded the recent defeat of the covenanters in the light of a triumph to his cause, which, by destroying the power of Argyle, would pave the way for the due exercise of the royal authority.

The king now entertained the idea of forming a party for himself among the numerous royalists in the Highlands, for which purpose he opened up a correspondence with Huntly, Moray, and Athole, and other chiefs; but before matters were fully concocted, the negotiation was disclosed to Argyle, who took immediate means to defeat it. Accordingly, on the twenty-seventh of September, the committee of estates ordered the whole cavaliers who still remained about the king's person, with the

* Balfour, vol. iv. pp. 93—107.

exception of three, to quit the court within twenty-four hours, and the kingdom in twenty days. As Buckingham was excepted, and as he was known to have disapproved of the king's design, it has been supposed, with some reason, that he was the person who had made the secret known to Argyle. Sir James Balfour, the Lord Lyon, was intrusted with the execution of this "acte for purging the king's housse," as he terms the order of the committee of estates, and he repaired therewith to Perth where the king then resided, and where he arrived on the third of October. The king desired that nine of the proscribed persons, whose names he underscored in the roll, should be allowed to remain with him till the meeting of parliament, but the committee refused to comply with his request.

As Charles was to be thus summarily deprived of the society and advice of his friends, he took the resolution of leaving Perth the following day, and retiring to the Highlands among his friends. Accordingly, under the pretence of hawking, he left Perth about half past one o'clock in the afternoon of the fourth of October, accompanied by five of his livery servants in a plain riding dress. To lull suspicion, he rode through the South Inch at a slow pace; but as soon as he cleared it, he set off at full gallop, and arrived at Dudhope in an hour and a half. From thence he proceeded to Auchter-house along with Viscount Dudhope, whence he was conveyed by the earl of Buchan and the Viscount to Cortuquhuy, the seat of the earl of Airly. After partaking of some refreshment he proceeded the same night up the glen, under the protection of sixty or eighty highlanders, to a poor cottage, forty-two miles from Perth, belonging to the laird of Clova. Fatigued by such a long journey, he threw himself down on an old mattress, but he had not enjoyed many hours repose when the house was entered, a little before break of day, by Lieutenant-Colonel Nairne, and Colonel Baynton, an Englishman, who had been sent by Colonel Montgomery in quest of him. Shortly after Montgomery himself appeared, accompanied by the laird of Scotscraig, who had given him information of the place of his Majesty's retreat, and Sir Alexander Hope bearing one of the king's hawks. This party advised the king to get on horseback, offered to attend him, and promised to live and die with him if necessary.

Perceiving their intention to carry him back to Perth, the king told Montgomery that he had left Perth in consequence of information he had received from Dr Fraser, his physician, that it was the intention of the committee of estates to have delivered him up to the English, and to hang all his servants: Montgomery assured his Majesty that the statement was false, and that no person but a traitor could have invented it. While this altercation was going on, Dudhope and the Highlanders who attended the king strongly advised him to retire instantly to the mountains, and they gave him to understand that a force of two thousand horse and five thousand foot was waiting for him within the distance of five or six miles ready to execute his orders; but before his Majesty had come to any

resolution as to the course he should adopt, two regiments of covenanting horse appeared, on observing whom, says Balfour, "Buchan, Dudhope and ther begerly guard begane to shecke ther eares, and speake more calmley, and in a lower strain." The king thereupon gave his consent to return to Perth, whither he was accordingly conducted by Montgomery at the head of his horse.*

This attempt of the king to escape (familiarly known by the name of "the Start") produced a salutary effect upon the committee of estates, and they now began to treat him with more respect. They saw that he had grown weary of the state of durance in which they had kept him, and they were apprehensive, should they continue to show him the same disrespect they had hitherto done, that he would seize the first favourable opportunity of trying another "Start" in order to place himself at the head of the royalists then organizing in the north. They, therefore, for the first time, admitted him to their deliberations, and they even suspended the act they had issued ordering the English cavaliers to leave the kingdom, in return for which courtesy his majesty expressed his sorrow that he should have been induced "by the wicked counsel of some men who had deluded him," to leave Perth, and as "he was not a very good orator himself," the Lord Chancellor, at his request, explained to the committee in a "long narration," the circumstances of his departure from Perth, to which "his majesty addit that, as he was a christian, quhen he went first out, that he had na mind to depairt; and he trusted in God it wold be a lessone to him all the dayes of his lyffe." *

As a considerable part of the Highlands was now up in arms to support the king, the committee induced him to write letters to the chief leaders of the insurrection to lay down their arms, which correspondence led to a protracted negotiation. An act of indemnity was passed on the twelfth of October, in favour of the people of Athole, who had taken up arms; but as it was couched in language which they disliked, and contained conditions of which they disapproved, the Earl of Athole and his people presented a petition to his majesty and the committee, craving, (1) that the word *rebellion*, should be expunged from the pardon, and that a more favourable term should be substituted; (2) that instead of delivering up one John Robertson, who had killed a lieutenant belonging to Sir John Brown's regiment, the friends of the lieutenant should be compelled to receive an assythment, and that Robertson should be pardoned; (3) that the earl should have the keeping of his own house at Blair, on giving surety for his fidelity. The committee of estates acceded only to the first of these demands.

In order to enforce the orders of the king to the northern royalists, to lay down their arms, Sir John Brown's regiment was despatched to the north; but they were surprised during the night of the twenty first of October, and defeated by a party under Sir David Ogilvy, brother to

* Balfour vol. iv. p. 116. * Ibid. vol. iv. p. 119.

Lord Ogilvy. On receiving this intelligence, General Leslie hastened to Perth from Stirling, and crossed the Tay on the twenty-fourth of October, with a force of three thousand cavalry, with which he was ordered to proceed to Dundee and scour Angus. At this time General Middleton was lying at Forfar, who, on hearing of Leslie's advance, sent him a letter, inclosing a copy of a "bond and oath of engagement" which had been entered into by Huntly, Athole, Seaforth, Middleton, and other individuals, by which they had pledged themselves to join firmly and faithfully together, and neither for fear, threatening, allurement, nor advantage, to relinquish the cause of religion, of the king and of the kingdom, nor to lay down their arms without a general consent; and as the best undertakings often did not escape censure and malice, they promised and swore, for the satisfaction of all reasonable persons, that they would maintain the true religion, as then established in Scotland, the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant; and defend the person of the king, his prerogative, greatness, and authority, and the privileges of parliament, and the freedom of the subject. Middleton stated that Leslie would perceive from the terms of the document inclosed, that the only aim of himself and friends was to unite Scotsmen in defence of their common rights, and that the grounds on which they had entered into the association were precisely the same as those professed by Leslie himself. As the independence of Scotland was at stake, and as Scotsmen should unite for the preservation of their liberties, he proposed to join Leslie, and to put himself under his command, and he expressed a hope that Leslie would not shed the blood of his countrymen, or force them to the unhappy necessity of shedding the blood of their brethren in self defence.* The negotiation thus begun was finally concluded on the fourth of November at Strathbogie, agreeably to a treaty between Leslie and the chief royalists, by which the latter accepted an indemnity and laid down their arms.

Cromwell did not follow up his success as might have been expected, but contented himself with laying siege to the castle of Edinburgh, and pushing forward his advanced posts as far as Linlithgow. While at Edinburgh he frequently sermonised his officers in his peculiar strain, exhorting them to brotherly love, to repent from dead works, and to bewail the blindness of their Scottish adversaries, and he opened a theological correspondence with some ministers who had taken refuge in the castle of Edinburgh after the battle of Dunbar, to whom he communicated his views of independency; but he failed in making any proselytes among these sturdy sons of the kirk, but with all his fondness for theological controversy, in which he considered himself no ordinary adept, a controversy to him of a much more important character than the contest between independency and presbytery now presented itself among the Scots, of which he did not fail to avail himself.

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 129.

Among the leading covenanters both in parliament and the church, there were some whose political ideas were pretty similar to those of Cromwell, respecting monarchical government, and who had not only approved of the execution of the late king, but were desirous of excluding his son from the crown of Scotland. This party, though a minority, made up for its numerical inferiority, by the talents, fanaticism, and restless activity of its partisans; but formidable as their opposition in parliament was, they found themselves unable effectually to resist the general wish of the nation in favour of the king, and yielded to the force of circumstances. By excluding, however, the royalists from the camp, and keeping the king in a state of subjection to their authority, they had succeeded in usurping the government, and had the disaster of Dunbar not occurred, might have been enabled to carry their designs against the monarchy into effect; but notwithstanding this catastrophe, they were not discouraged, and as soon as they had recovered from the temporary state of alarm into which the success of Cromwell had thrown them, they began to concert measures, in accordance with a plan they now contemplated, for making themselves altogether independent of parliament. For this purpose, under the pretence of opposing the common enemy, they solicited and obtained permission from the committee of estates to raise forces in the counties of Dumfries, Galloway, Wigton, Air, and Renfrew, the inhabitants of which were inbued with a sterner spirit of fanaticism, and therefore more ready to support their plans, than those of any other parts of Scotland. By bringing in the exhortations of Gillespie and others of the more rigid among the ministers to their aid, they succeeded in a short time in raising a body of nearly five thousand horse, over which Strachan, Kerr, and two other colonels, all mere tools of the party, were placed.

As soon as the leaders of this faction, of whom Johnston of Warriston, the clerk-register, was chief, had collected these levies, they began to develope the plan they had formed of withdrawing themselves from the control of the committee of estates by raising a variety of objections against the line of conduct pursued by the committee, and, till these were removed, they refused to unite "the western army," as this new force was called, with the army under Leslie. Cromwell, aware of this division in the Scottish army, endeavoured to widen the breach by opening a correspondence with Strachan, who had fought under him at Preston, which had this effect that Strachan soon went over to the English army with a body of troopers. Leslie complained to the estates of the refusal of the western forces to join him, and solicited to be recalled from his charge, but they declined to receive his resignation, and sent a deputation, consisting of Argyle, Cassilis, and other members to the western army, "to solicit unity for the good of the kingdom."* So unsuccessful, however, was the deputation in bring

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 123.

ing about this desired "unity," that, on the seventeenth of October, an elaborate paper, titled, "the humble Remonstrance of the Gentlemen, Commanders, and Ministers attending the forces in the west," addressed to the committee of estates, was drawn up and presented by Sir George Maxwell to them, at Stirling, on the twenty-second. In this document the remonstrants professed to inform the committee "freely and faithfully concerning the causes and remedies of the Lord's indignation," which had gone out against his people, among the first of which they reckoned the backsliding from the covenant, "the great and mother sin of the nation," as the principal. The chief remedy proposed was to remove from the presence of the king, the judicatories and the armies, the "malignants," whom many of the committee were accused of having received "into intimate friendship," admitting them to their councils, and bringing in some of them to the parliament and committees, and about the king, thereby affording "many pregnant presumptions," of a design on the part of some of the committee of estates, "to set up and employ the malignant party," or at least, giving "evidences of a strong inclination to intrust them again in the managing of the work of God."* The committee of estates paid no regard to this remonstrance, a circumstance which gave such umbrage to Warriston and the leaders of the western army, that they drew up another, couched in still stronger language, on the thirtieth of October, at Dumfries, whither they had retired with the army on a movement made by Cromwell to the west. In this fresh remonstrance the faction declared that as it was now manifest that the king was opposed to the work of God and the covenants, and cleaving to the enemies of both, they would not regard him or his interest in their quarrel with the invaders; that he ought not to be intrusted in Scotland with the exercise of his power till he gave proofs of a real change in his conduct; and that an effectual course ought to be taken for preventing, in time coming, "his conjunction with the malignant party," and for investigating into the cause of his late flight; and that the malignants should be rendered incapable in future of hurting the work and people of God.†

A petition having been presented to the committee of estates on the nineteenth of November, requiring a satisfactory answer to the first remonstrance, a joint declaration was issued by the king and the committee on the twenty-fifth, declaring "the said paper, as it related to the parliament and civil judicatories, to be scandalous and injurious to his majesty's person, and prejudicial to his authority;" and the commission of the General Assembly having been required to give their opinion upon the remonstrance, in so far as it related to religion and church judicatories, acknowledged that, although it contained "many sad truths in relation to the sins charged upon the king, his family, and the public judicatories," which they were "resolved to hold out, and

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 152. † Ibid, p. 136.

press upon them in a right and orderly way," together with such other sins as by impartial search, and the help of the Lord's Spirit, on their endeavours therein, they should find, nevertheless, the commission declared itself dissatisfied with the remonstrance, which it considered "apt to breed division in kirk and kingdom."* This declaration of the commission was not only approved of by the General Assembly, but what was of equal importance, that venerable body passed a resolution declaring that in such a perilous crisis all Scotsmen might be employed to defend their country. An exception of persons "excommunicated, forfeited, notoriously profane, or flagitious, and professed enemies and opposers of the covenant and cause of God,"† was no doubt made, but this exemption did not exclude *all* the "malignants." A breach was now made in the unity of the Scottish church, and the nation was split into two parties—a division which paved the way for the subjugation of Scotland to the yoke of Cromwell. The party which adhered to the king was distinguished by the name of *Resolutioners*, and the other were denominated *Protesters*, a distinction which was kept up for several years.

Nothing could be more gratifying to Cromwell than to see the Scots thus divided among themselves, and keeping up two distinct armies in the field, mutually opposed to each other. He had by negotiation and intrigue contributed to increase the irritation between the two parties, and he had even succeeded in sowing the seeds of dissension among the leaders of the western army itself. Strachan, his old friend, had resigned the command which had been conferred on Kerr, who was by no means hearty in the cause. In this situation of matters Cromwell resolved, in the meantime, to confine his attention to the operations of the western army, with the intention, if he succeeded in defeating it, of marching north with the whole of his forces, and attacking the royal army. As the castle of Edinburgh was still in the hands of the covenanters, Cromwell could only spare a force of about seven thousand horse, which he accordingly sent west about the end of November, under Lambert, to watch Kerr's motions. Intelligence of this movement was received by the parliament then sitting at Perth, on the thirtieth of November, in consequence of which Colonel Robert Montgomery was despatched with three regiments to support the western army, the command of which he was requested by the parliament to take; and, to enforce this order, the committee on military affairs was directed to send a deputation to the western forces to intimate to them the command of the parliament. Before the arrival, however, of Montgomery, Kerr was defeated on the first of December, in an attack he made on Lambert at Hamilton, in which he himself was taken prisoner, and the whole of his forces dispersed.* This victory gave Cromwell quiet possession of the whole of

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 175. † Wodrow Introduct. iii.
‡ Balfour, vol. iv. p. 193—195.

Scotland, south of the Clyde and the Forth, with the exception of Stirling, and a small tract around it; and as the castle of Edinburgh surrendered on the twenty-fourth of December, Stirling castle was the only fortress of any note, south of the Forth, which remained in the possession of the royalists at the close of the year.

A considerable time, however, elapsed before Cromwell found himself in a condition to commence his intended campaign beyond the Forth. His inactivity is to be ascribed partly to an ague with which he was seized in February, and which had impaired his health so much that in May he obtained permission to return to England to recruit his debilitated constitution; but a sudden and favourable change having taken place in the state of his health, he gladly remained with the army, which he put in motion towards Stirling on the third of July, sixteen hundred and fifty-one.

The Scottish parliament was fully aware of the impending danger, and made the necessary preparations to meet it, but the engagers and the party of Argyle did not always draw together; yet the king had the address by his accommodating and insinuating behaviour, to smooth down many differences, and thus prepared the way for that ascendency which his friends, the Hamiltons, afterwards obtained. The coronation of the king took place at Scone, on the first of January, sixteen hundred and fifty-one, in pursuance of an order of the parliament. His conduct on that occasion added greatly to his growing popularity. The first trial of strength, to borrow a modern parliamentary phrase, which took place in the parliament, was on the twenty-third of December, sixteen hundred and fifty, on the nomination of colonels to the different horse and foot regiments then in the course of being raised. A list of them had been submitted to the house on the twentieth, which contained about an equal number of royalists and covenanters. This gave rise to a long debate, but the list was finally approved of. On the following day, however, the lord-chancellor (Loudon) protested against the nomination, on the ground that some of the persons appointed had served under Montrose, while others were "engagers." A conference of the house "for removing of jealousies and prejudices in the business of the nomination of colonels," was in consequence ordered, and the parliament having met on the twenty-third, the house resolved itself into a committee for a conference, and adjourned for half an hour. The conference, however, came to nothing, and when the house resumed its sitting a motion was made by the covenanting party that the names of the lords Erskine, Drummond, and Ogilvy should be struck off the list of colonels, which being put to the vote, was negatived.*

Among the colonels of foot, were the earls of Athole and Tulliebardine, and the master of Gray for Perth, the lairds of Maclean and Ard-

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 214.

kinlass for Argyle and Bute; the laird of Grant and the sheriff of Moray for Nairne, Elgin, and "Grant's Lands;" the lairds of Pluscardine, Balnagowan, the master of Lovat, and the laird of Lumlair, for Inverness and Ross; Lord Sutherland and Henry Mackay of Skowrie, for Sutherland and Strathnaver; the master of Caithness for Caithness; and Duncan Macpherson for Badenoch. The clans in the Highlands and the Isles were to be commanded respectively by Macdonald, the tutor of Macleod, Clanranald, the tutor of Keppoch, the laird of Lochaber, the tutor of Maclean, Lochiel, Macneil of Barra, Lauchlane Mackintosh, and the laird of Jura.*

Argyle and his party made several attempts, afterwards, to check the rising influence of the Hamiltons, by opposing the different plans submitted to the parliament for rendering the army more efficient, but they were outvoted. The finishing blow was given to their hopes by the appointment of the king to the chief command of the army, and by the repeal of the "act of classes," which excluded the royalists from having any share in the administration of the affairs of the kingdom, and from serving their country.

In expectation of Cromwell's advance, the Scots had raised, during the spring, strong fortifications along the fords of the river Forth, to obstruct his passage, and had entrenched themselves at the Torwood, having the town of Stirling at their back, in which position Cromwell found them when he advanced west in July. As he considered it dangerous to attempt to carry such a strong position in the face of an army of about twenty thousand men, (for such it is said was the number of the Scots,) he endeavoured, by marches and countermarches, to draw them out; but although they followed his motions, they took care not to commit themselves, by going too far from their lines of defence. Seeing no chance of bringing them to a general engagement, Cromwell adopted the bold plan of crossing the Frith of Forth at Queensferry, and of throwing himself into the rear of the Scottish army. While, therefore, he continued, by his motions along the Scottish lines, to draw off the attention of the Scottish commanders from his plan, he, on the twentieth of July, sent over Lambert, with a large division of his army in a number of boats which had been provided for the occasion. He landed without opposition and proceeded immediately to fortify himself on the hill between the North Ferry and Inverkeithing. General Holburn was immediately despatched with a large force to keep Lambert in check. The parties encountered each other on the twentieth of July, and the Scots, though they fought with great bravery, were defeated. A body of Highlanders particularly distinguished themselves. The loss of the Scots was considerable; and among the slain were the young chief of Maclean and about a hundred of his friends and followers. This victory opened a free passage to Cromwell to the north of Scot-

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 210—212.

land. He immediately, therefore, crossed the Forth with the remainder of his army, and proceeded to Perth, of which he took possession on the second of August.

While the Scottish leaders were puzzled how to extricate themselves from the dilemma into which they had been thrown by the singular change which had lately taken place in the relative position of the two armies, the king alone seemed free from embarrassment, and at once proposed to his generals, that, instead of following Cromwell, or waiting till he should attack them, they should immediately invade England, where he expected to be joined by numerous royalists, who only required his presence among them at the head of such an army, to declare themselves. Under existing circumstances, the plan, though at once bold and decisive, was certainly judicious, and, therefore, it is not surprising that it should have received the approbation of the chiefs of the army. Having obtained their concurrence, the king immediately issued a proclamation on the thirtieth of July, to the army, announcing his intention of marching for England the following day, accompanied by such of his subjects as were willing to give proofs of their loyalty by sharing his fortunes. This appeal was not made in vain, and Charles found himself next morning in full march on the road to Carlisle, at the head of eleven, or, as some accounts state, of fourteen thousand men. Argyle, as was to be expected, excused himself from accompanying the army, and obtained permission to retire to his castle.†

Although Cromwell was within almost a day's march of the Scottish army, yet, so sudden and unexpected had been its departure, and so secretly had the whole affair been managed, that it was not until the fourth of August that he received the extraordinary intelligence of its departure for England. Cromwell was now as much embarrassed as the Scottish commanders had lately been, for he had not the most distant idea, when he threw himself so abruptly into their rear, that they would adopt the bold resolution of marching into England. As soon, however, as he had recovered from the surprise into which such an alarming event had thrown him, he despatched letters to the parliament, assuring them of his intention to follow the Scots army without delay, and exhorting them not to be discouraged, but to rely on his activity. He also sent Lambert with a force of three thousand cavalry to harass the rear of the Scots army, and forwarded orders to Harrison, who was then at Newcastle, to press upon their flank with a similar number; and, in a few days, he himself crossed the Forth with an army of ten thousand men and proceeded along the eastern coast, in the direction of York, leaving Monk behind him with a force of five thousand horse and foot to complete the reduction of Scotland.

The Scottish army made a rapid march, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Warrington on the sixteenth of August. Here Lambert and Harrison, who had just met at Warrington, and whose united forces amounted to

† Leicester's Journal, p. 110. Whitelock, 501. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 397.

nine thousand men, resolved to dispute the passage of the Mersey, but the Scottish army had passed the bridge before their arrival. A few charges ensued, and Lambert and Harrison, in expectation of a general engagement, drew up their forces on Knutsford-heath; but the king declined battle, and continued his march towards Worcester, which he entered on the twenty-second. A number of the country gentlemen who were confined in that city on account of their loyalty, welcomed the king with the warmest congratulations, and he was immediately proclaimed by the Mayor with great solemnity, amidst the rejoicings of the royalists. *

The approach of the Scottish army filled the minds of the English parliamentary leaders with dismay, and they at first imagined that a private arrangement had been made between Cromwell and the king; but their apprehensions were soon relieved, by the receipt of Cromwell's despatches, and by a proclamation which the king had issued on entering England, promising pardon to all his subjects, with the exception of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Cook. As soon as the alarm had subsided, measures, the most active and strong, were adopted by Cromwell's council, to meet the pressing emergency. They proclaimed the king and his supporters guilty of high treason, and the declaration of the king was burned in London, by the hands of the hangman. All persons suspected of loyalty, were either confined, or narrowly watched, and death was declared to be the penalty of those who should enter into any correspondence with the king. Bodies of militia were instantly raised in several counties, and marched off to the aid of the regular forces. † Had these exertions been met by similar efforts on the part of the English royalists, the cause of the king might have triumphed, but so sudden and unexpected had been the arrival of the king, that they were quite unprepared to receive him, and the measures of the leaders at Westminster were so prompt and energetic, that they had not sufficient time to collect their scattered strength, or to concert any combined plan of operations. Yet notwithstanding these difficulties, a pretty considerable force might have been drawn together, but for the fanaticism of the Scots, who would not, contrary to the order of the king, allow any auxiliaries to join them, who had not taken the covenant.

When Charles, therefore, arrived at Worcester, he found that he had obtained no accession of force on his march, and he even found that his little army had been reduced by desertion. To increase the army he issued a proclamation, calling upon all his male subjects, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, to join his standard at a general muster to be held on the twenty-sixth of August; but little attention was paid to the order, and when the day of muster arrived, he found that his army amounted to about twelve thousand men only, including about two thousand Englishmen. To attack this force, large bodies of troops were concentrating near Worces-

* Leicester's Journal, 113, 114. Whitelock, 502—3. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 402.
† Journals, Augt. 12.

ter, and on the twenty-eighth of August, when Cromwell arrived to take the command, the army of the republic amounted to upwards of thirty thousand men, who hailed the presence of their commander with rapture.

The Lord General now perceived that the time had arrived for striking a decisive blow; but as the aniversary of the battle of Dunbar was near at hand, he resolved to defer his grand attack till that day, so fortunate for his arms, and, in the mean time, employed himself in a series of operations for hemming in the royal army, in the course of which several brilliant affairs took place with alternate success. At last, on the morning of the third of September, sixteen hundred and fifty one, just twelve months after the defeat of the Scots at Dunbar, Cromwell, after reminding his troops of the victory they had achieved on that auspicious day, put his army in motion. The first movement was made by Fleetwood, who having advanced from Upton to Powick, proceeded towards the Team, the passage of which he was ordered to force, and to keep up a communication with him, Cromwell threw a bridge of boats across the Severn at Buns hill, near the confluence of the two rivers. A discharge of musketry in the direction of Powick about one in the afternoon, when the king and his staff were observing the position of the enemy from the tower of the cathedral, was the first intimation they received of Cromwell's attack. The party immediately descended, and the king at the head of a party of horse and foot under the command of Montgomery, flew forward to oppose the advance of Fleetwood's brigade across the Team. A furious contest took place, but the steadiness and perseverance of Fleetwood's men, overcame all oppositition; yet although they effected the passage of the river, and were afterwards aided by four regiments which Cromwell sent to their assistance, the Scots disputed every inch of ground, and repeatedly charged the enemy with the pike.

While this sanguinary struggle was going on, Cromwell, after securing the communication across the Severn by the bridge of boats which he threw over it, advanced to Perry-wood and Red-hill, and directed a fire to be opened from a battery of heavy guns upon a fortification named Fort Royal, which had been recently raised to cover the Sidbury gate of the city. This movement, which isolated the divisions of Fleetwood and Cromwell from each other by the interposition of the Severn, seemed to the king a favourable opportunity for attacking that of Cromwell with success, whilst the other was kept in check on the opposite bank. He, therefore, immediately drew together the remainder of his infantry, with which and the Duke of Hamilton's troop of horse, and the English volunteers, he attacked the division under Cromwell. The king himself at the head of the Highlanders, whom he commanded in person, fought with great bravery; his example animated his troops, who drove back the enemy's vanguard, consisting of some regiments of militia, and captured their cannon. Had Leslie come up with his cavalry as was expected, the defeat of Cromwell would have been inevitable, but that officer from some cause or other, never explained, unfortunately remain-

ed in the city and did not make his appearance till Cromwell, who brought up a large body of veteran troops which he had placed in reserve, had repulsed the royalists, who, unable to rally, were fleeing in confusion towards Fort Royal, to seek for protection under its guns. The fugitives entered the city in great disorder, and the king succeeded in rallying them in Friar Street; but although he tried every means which circumstances could admit of, to raise their drooping spirits, he could not prevail upon them to stand firm, and many threw away their arms and fled. In a fit of despair he exclaimed, "Then shoot me dead rather than let me live to see the sad consequences of this day."

In the mean time Fleetwood, after dispersing the division opposed to him, took St Johns, and Cromwell afterwards carried Fort Royal by storm, and put its defenders to the sword. The utmost confusion now prevailed in the city, which was still farther increased by the entrance of Cromwell's troops, who poured into it by the quay, the castle hill, and the Sidbury gate. The situation of the king became critical in the extreme, and his friends advised him to provide immediately for his own safety, as no time was to be lost; he, therefore, instantly threw himself among the Scottish cavalry, and whilst, thus surrounded, he was effecting his escape by the gate of St Martin's to the north, the Earl of Cleveland, Sir James Hamilton, Colonel Careless, and a few other devoted adherents at the head of some determined troopers, charged the enemy in their advance in the contrary direction up Sidbury Street, and checked them effectually till the king was out of danger. *

This battle, which Cromwell admits "was as stiff a contest for four or five hours as ever he had seen," † was very disastrous to the royalists, three thousand of whom were killed on the spot, and a considerably larger number taken prisoners, and even the greater part of the cavalry, who escaped from the city, were afterwards taken by detachments of the enemy. The duke of Hamilton was mortally wounded in the field of battle, and the earls of Derby, Lauderdale, Rothes, Cleveland and Kelly; the lords Sinclair, Kenmure and Grandison, and the generals Leslie, Middleton, Massey and Montgomery, were successively made prisoners after the battle. When the king considered himself free from immediate danger, he separated, during the darkness of the night, from the body of cavalry which surrounded him, and with a party of sixty horse proceeded to Whiteladies, a house belonging to one Giffard a recusant, and royalist, at which he arrived at an early hour in the morning, after a ride of twenty five miles. Here commenced, on the same day, the first of those extraordinary adventures which befel the king, accompanied by a series of the most singular hair-breadth escapes, as related by the historians of the period, between the third of September and the seventeenth of October, the day on which he landed in safety at Fecamp in Normandy.

* Boscobel, p. 10, 14, 22. Whitelock, p. 507, 8. Bates, part ii. p. 221. Par. Hist. vol. xx. p. 40, 44—55 Ludlow, vol. i. p. 314. Lingard, vol. vii. p. 61.

† Parli. Hist. vol. xx. p. 44.

CHAPTER IV.

Operations of Monk in Scotland—Storming of Dundee—Treaty with the Marquis of Huntly and Lord Balcarras—Fruitless expeditions into the Highlands—Administration of affairs under Monk—Insurrection in the Highlands, under the Earl of Glencairn—Defeat of Colonel Kidd—Retreat of Glencairn to Abernethy forest—Defection of Lord Lorn—Pursued by Glengarry—Glencairn joined by Colonel Wogan—Marches to Elgin—Landing of Middleton in Sutherland—Joined by Glencairn—Muster of the army at Dornoch—Disputes among the royalists—Defection of Glencairn—Arrival of Monk—Defeat of Middleton—Intrigues of Cromwell and Mazarine—Doubtful policy of Monk—Negotiation between Monk and Charles II.—Restoration of Charles—Trial and execution of the Marquis of Argyle—Feud between the Earl of Argyle and the Macleans—Argyle invades Mull—Submission of the Macleans—They refuse to pay the sums promised—Supported by other clans—Ineffectual attempt to invade Mull a second time—Dispute referred to the privy council—The Highland host in the west—Trial and condemnation of the Earl of Argyle—He escapes—His expedition into Scotland—Apprehension and execution.

While Cromwell was following the king through England, Monk proceeded to complete the subjugation of Scotland. He first laid siege to Stirling castle, into which he threw shells from batteries he had raised, the explosion of which so alarmed the Highlanders who composed the garrison, that they forced the governor to surrender. All the records of the kingdom, the royal robes, and part of the regalia, which had been locked up in the castle as a place of perfect security, fell into the hands of the captors, and were sent by Monk to England. He next proceeded to Dundee, which was strongly fortified, and well garrisoned, and contained within it an immense quantity of costly furniture and plate, besides a large sum of money, all of which had been lodged in the town for safety. After arriving in the neighbourhood of Dundee, information was brought to him that the committees of estates and the kirk were sitting at Ellet in Angus. Monk, thereupon, despatched five hundred horse under the command of Colonels Alured and Morgan, who entered Ellet at four o'clock in the morning of Thursday the twenty eighth of August, and surprised the whole party and made them prisoners, along with several gentlemen of the neighbourhood. Among those taken were old Leslie Earl of Leven, the Earl of Crawford, the Earl Marshall, Lord James Oglivy, Sirs Adam Hepburn and James Foulis, the Lairds of Ormiston and Pourie, and eight ministers, all of whom were shipped at Broughty and sent prisoners to England. * It is said that one Buchan who held the commission of "scout-master" in the Scottish army, conducted the English cavalry to Ellet by a private road, to prevent their approach being discovered.†

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 314–15. † Gordon's Continuation, p. 560.

When the necessary preparations for an assault had been completed, Monk sent a summons to Lumsden, the governor of Dundee, to surrender, but he rejected it with disdain. The obstinacy of Lumsden exasperated Monk, who ordered his troops to storm the town, and to put the garrison and all the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, to the sword. The town was accordingly carried by assault on the first of September, and was followed by all the horrors which an infuriated soldiery could inflict upon a defenceless population. The townsmen gave no aid to the garrison, and when the republican troops entered the town, they found the greater part of them lying drunk in the streets. The carnage was stayed, but not until eight hundred males, including the greater part of the garrison, and about two hundred women and children, were killed. Among the slain, was Lumsden the governor, who although he had quarter given him by Captain Kelly, was nevertheless shot dead by Major Butler as Kelly was conducting him along the street to Monk. Besides the immense booty which was in the town, about sixty ships which were in the harbour of Dundee with their cargoes, fell into the hands of the English. *

The capture of Dundee was immediately followed by the voluntary surrender of St Andrews, Montrose and Aberdeen. Some of the committee of estates who had been absent from Ellet, held a meeting at Inverury, to deliberate on the state of matters, at which the Marquis of Huntly presided, and at which a motion was made, to invest him with full authority, to act in the absence of the king: but the meeting broke up on hearing of Monk's approach. The committee retired across the Spey, but Huntly went to Strathdon along with his forces. Monk did not proceed farther north than Aberdeen at this time.

The Marquis of Argyle, who had given great offence to Cromwell, by his double dealing, seeing now no chance of opposing successfully the republican arms, made an attempt at negotiation, and sent a letter by a trumpeter to Monk, proposing a meeting at some convenient place, "as a means to stop the shedding of more Christian blood." The only answer which Monk gave to the messenger, who arrived at Dundee on the nineteenth of October, was, that he could not treat without orders from the parliament of England. This refusal on the part of Monk to negotiate, was a sore disappointment to Argyle, as it disappointed the hopes he entertained of getting the English government to acknowledge a debt which he claimed from them. †

Monk now turned his whole attention to the state of matters in the North, where some forces were still on foot, under the respective commands of the marquis of Huntly, and lord Balcarras. With the former he concluded an agreement on the twenty first of November, under which Huntly consented to disband his men; and on the third of December, a similar treaty was entered into between Balcarras and Colo-

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 315. Echard, 698.

† Heath, 304, 308, 310, 313. Whitelock, 514, 531, 543.

nels Overton and Lilburn. Shortly after the English army crossed the Spey and entered Inverness, where they planted a garrison; so that before the end of the year, the whole of the Lowlands and a part of the Highlands had submitted to the arms of the republic. * To complete the destruction of the independence of Scotland, a destruction accomplished less by the power of her enemy, than by the perversity of her sons, and to reduce it to a province of England, the English army was augmented to twenty thousand men, and citadels erected in several towns, and a long chain of military stations drawn across the country to curb the inhabitants. All the crown lands were declared public property by the English parliament, and the estates of all persons who had joined in the English invasions, under the king and the duke of Hamilton, were confiscated by the same authority. An exception was, however, made in favour of those engaged in trade, whose property did not exceed £5 value; and of persons not so engaged, who were worth no more than £100. A proclamation was issued, abolishing all authority not derived from the English parliament: all persons holding public appointments, whose fidelity to the new order of things was suspected, were dismissed, and their places supplied by others of more subservient principles; and the supreme courts of justice were abolished, and English judges appointed to discharge the judicial functions, aided by a few natives.†

As several bodies of Highlanders still remained under arms in the interior of the Highlands, Monk directed three distinct parties to cross the mountains, simultaneously, in the summer of sixteen hundred and fifty two. While colonel Lilburn advanced from Inverness towards Lochaber on one side, general Dean led his troops from Perth in the same direction on the other, and colonel Overton landed in Kintyre with a force from Ayr. But they were all obliged speedily to retrace their steps, amid the jeers and laughter of the Highlanders.‡

The administration of the affairs of Scotland was committed to Monk, than whom a more prudent person, and better calculated to disarm the indignant feelings of the Scots at their national degradation, could not have been selected. But as it was evident that order could not be restored,

* Balfour, vol. iv. p. 345. Gordon's Continuation, p. 561.

† Whitelock, p. 528, 542. Leicester's Journal, p. 129. Journals Nov. 19.

‡ Alluding to Lilburne's expedition, Balfour says, "The Frassers came in to them, and condiscendit to pay them cesse; bot Glengarey stood out, and in effecte the heighlandmen fooled them home againe to the lowlandes; some with faire wordes; others stoode to ther defence; and the Inglishe finding nothing amongest them save hunger and strokes, were glad, (ther bisquet and cheesse being all spent, and ther clothes worne, with their horsses out-tyred,) to returne, cursing the heighlandes, to ther winter quarters." He says that General Dean "lost some few men and horsses in viewing of the heighlanders." But Overton encountered the greatest danger: for, says the same writer, "If my Lord Marquesse of Argyle had not protected him, he and all that wes with him had gottin ther throttes cutte. So, weill laughin at by the heighlanders, he wes forced to returne with penurey aneuche, werey glade all of them that ther lives were saved."—Vol. iv. p. 349—50.

or obedience enforced, as long as the clergy were allowed to continue their impertinent meddling in state affairs, and to which all the calamities which had befallen the kingdom were to be attributed, he prohibited the meetings of the General Assembly, and, in one instance, dispersed that body by a military force. In doing so, it was afterwards admitted by some of the clergy themselves,* that he had acted wisely, as the shutting up of the assembly tended greatly to allay those fierce contentions between the protesters and resolutioners, which, for several years, distracted the nation, and made them attend more to the spiritual concerns of their flocks.† The spirit of dissention was not, however, confined to the clergy, but extended its withering influence to many of the laity, who, to gratify their revenge, accused one another of the most atrocious crimes before the newly constituted tribunal. The English judges were called to decide upon numerous acts alleged to have been committed twenty or thirty years before, of which no proofs were offered, but extorted confessions in the kirk, and no less than sixty persons were brought before them accused of witchcraft, who had been tortured into an admission of its practices. All these cases were dismissed, and the new judges administered the laws throughout with an equity and moderation which was almost unknown before in Scotland, and which formed a singular contrast with the disregard of justice, and the extreme violence which had of late disgraced the Scottish tribunals.

With a short interruption, occasioned by an insurrection, under the earl of Glencairn, in the Highlands, Scotland now enjoyed tranquillity till the restoration of Charles II., and comparative prosperity and hap-

* "They, (the English,) did not permit the General Assembly to site, (and in this I believe they did no bad office,) for both the authority of that meetting was denyed by the protesters, and the assembly seemed to be more sett upon establishing themselves than promoving religion. . . . . Besides the ministers, after some years, began to look at the questions about which they had decided as inconsiderable. And what did it import, whether the king was a real covenanter and presbyterian, as the public resolutioners said, or that he hade only dissembled for his interest, as the protesters said, while in the mean time he was a banished man, and out of case either to fulfill or violate his covenant?"—*Kirkton*, p. 54—5.

† "And I verily believe there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time, than in any season since the Reformation, though of treeple its duration. Nor was there ever greater purity and plenty of the means of grace than was in their time. Ministers were painful, people were diligent; and if a man hade seen one of their solemn communions, where many congregations mett in great multitudes, some dozen of Ministers used to preach, and the people continued, as it were, in a sort of trance, (so serious were they in spiritual exercises,) for three days at least, he would have thought it a solemnity unknown to the rest of the world."—*Ibid.*

"It is not to be forgotten, that from the year 1652 to the year 1660, there was great good done by the preaching of the Gospell in the west of Scotland, more than was observed to have been for twenty or thirty years before; a great many brought in to Christ Jesus by a saving work of conversion, which occasioned through ministers preaching nothing all that tyme but the gospell, and had left off to preach up parliaments, armies, leagues, resolutions, and remonstrances, which was much in use before, from the year 1638 till that time 52, which occasioned a great number of hypocrytes in the church, who, out of hope of preferment, honour, riches, and worldly credit, took on the forme of godliness, but wanted the power of it."—*Law's Memorials*

piness, a compensation in some degree for the loss of her liberties. The interruption alluded to took place in the year sixteen hundred and fifty-three, on the departure of Monk from Scotland to take the command of the English fleet, of which interruption the following are the details :—

In the month of August, sixteen hundred and fifty-three, a meeting was held at Lochearn, which was attended by Glencairn, the earl of Athole, Lord Lorn, eldest son of the marquis of Argyle, Glengarry, Lochiel, Graham of Deuchrie, Macgregor, tutor of Macgregor, Farquharson of Inverey, Robertson of Strowan, Macnaughton of Macnaughton, and Colonel Blackadder of Tullyallan. At this meeting, which continued several days, it was ultimately agreed that the persons present should assemble their vassals and dependents with as little delay as possible, and place themselves under the command of Glencairn, who was to wait in the neighbourhood of Lochearn till the different parties should collect and bring together their respective forces. Six weeks were, however, allowed to expire before any assemblage took place, during all which time Glencairn roamed through the neighbouring mountains, attended only by one companion and three servants. The first who made his appearance was Graham of Deuchrie, at the head of forty men. He was followed, in two or three days, by the tutor of Macgregor, and eighty of that clan. With this force he went to Deuchrie house, where he was joined by Lord Kenmure, and about forty horsemen from the west, and by Colonel Blackadder, with thirty more whom he had raised in Fife. The laird of Macnaughton also arrived with twelve horse, and a party of between sixty and eighty lowlanders, under the command of Captain Hamilton, brother to the laird of Miln town. The earl's force thus amounted to nearly three hundred men.

On hearing of the assemblage of this body, Colonel Kidd, the governor of Stirling castle, at the head of the greater part of a regiment of foot, and a troop of horse, marched towards Aberfoyle, which was within three miles of Glencairn's camp; but having received notice of his approach, the earl took care to secure the adjoining pass. He posted his foot to the best advantage on both sides, and he drew up the horse under Lord Kenmure in the centre. Although Kidd must have perceived the great risk he would run in attempting to carry the pass, he nevertheless made the attempt, but his advance was driven back at the first charge by the lowlanders and Deuchrie's men, with whom they first came in contact, with the loss of about sixty men. The whole of Kidd's party, thereupon, turned their backs and fled. They were hotly pursued by Glencairn's horse and foot, who killed about eighty of them.

The news of Kidd's defeat, trifling as it was, raised the hopes of the royalists, and small parties of Highlanders flocked daily to Glencairn's standard. Leaving Aberfoyle, he marched to Lochearn, and thence to Loch Rannoch where he was met by several of the clans. Glengarry brought three hundred, Lochiel four hundred, and Macgregor

about two hundred men. The earl of Athole appeared at the head of a hundred horse, and brought also a regiment of foot, consisting of about twelve hundred men, commanded by Andrew Drummond, brother to Sir James Drummond of Mechaney, as his lieutenant-colonel. Sir Arthur Forbes and some officers, with about eighty horsemen, also joined the royal army.

Having despatched some officers to the lowlands, with instructions to raise forces, Glencairn marched north to join Farquharson of Inverey, who was raising a regiment in Cromar. In the course of his march, several gentlemen of the adjoining country joined him. Morgan, the English general, who was lying at the time in Aberdeen, being apprised of Farquharson's movements, collected a force of two thousand foot and one thousand horse, with which he advanced, by forced marches, towards Cromar, and a brisk attack upon the outposts of Glencairn's army was the first intelligence they received of Morgan's approach. In the situation in which Glencairn thus found himself unexpectedly placed, he had no remedy but an immediate retreat through a long and narrow glen leading to the forest of Abernethy, which he was enabled to reach chiefly by the bravery of Graham of Deuchrie, who, at the head of a resolute party of forty men, kept in check a body of the enemy who had entered the glen before the royalists, and prevented them from securing the passes. Morgan pursued the fugitives through the glen very closely, and did not desist till prevented by the darkness of the night. He thereafter returned to Aberdeen.

Glencairn passed about five weeks in Cromar and Badenoch, waiting for additional reinforcements; and as Lord Lorn had not yet joined him, he despatched Lord Kenmure with a hundred horse into Argyleshire to urge him to hurry forward the levies in that quarter. Lorn soon arrived in Badenoch with a thousand foot and about fifty horse; but he had not remained above a fortnight in the field when, on some pretence or other, he clandestinely left the army, and carried off his men along with him, taking the direction of Ruthven castle, which was then garrisoned by English troops. Glencairn was greatly exasperated at Lorn's defection, and sent a party of horse, under the command of Glengarry and Lochiel, with instructions either to bring him and his men back to the army, or, in case of refusal, to attack them. Glengarry followed the Campbells so hard that he came up with them within half a mile of the castle. Lord Lorn escaped, and was followed by his horse, of whom about twenty were brought back by a party sent in pursuit by Glengarry; the foot halted on a hill, and offered to return to the camp. Glengarry, who had imbibed a great antipathy at the whole race of the Campbells ever since Montrose's wars, would, contrary to his instructions, have attacked them; but Glencairn fortunately arrived in time to prevent bloodshed, and having ordered Graham of Deuchrie to acquaint them that he could not receive any proposals from them with arms in their hands, they delivered them up. Glencairn, along with some

officers, then rode up to them, and having addressed them on the impropriety of their conduct, they all declared their willingness to serve the king and to obey him as their commander, a declaration which both officers and men confirmed with an oath. Their arms were then restored to them, but they all deserted within a fortnight.*

About this time Glencairn was joined by a small party of English royalists, under Colonel Wogan, an enterprising officer, who had landed at Dover, and having raised a body of volunteers in London, traversed England under the banners of the commonwealth, and entered Scotland by Carlisle.

Notwithstanding the desertion of the Campbells, Glencairn's army was so increased by daily accessions of force that he considered himself in a condition to cope with the enemy, and, by the advice of his officers, resolved to descend into Aberdeenshire, and beat up the quarters of the English. Another reason which urged him to leave the Highlands was a scarcity of provisions in the districts which had been occupied by his army, and which could no longer afford to support such a large body of men. Descending by Balveny, he took up his quarters at Whitelums, near the castle of Kildrummie, belonging to the earl of Mar, then garrisoned by the English. After lying about a fortnight at Whitelums unmolested, Glencairn raised his camp, and marching into Morayshire, took possession of Elgin, where he established his head quarters. Here he was joined by the marquis of Montrose, Lord Forrester, and some country gentlemen.

After spending a month at Elgin, where, according to Graham of Deuchrie's narrative, the army had "very good quarters, and where they made themselves merry," the earl received letters from General Middleton, who had sometime before made his escape from the tower of London, where he had been imprisoned after the battle of Worcester, announcing his arrival in Sutherland, with a commission from the king, appointing him generalissimo of all the royal forces in Scotland. Some dissensions had existed among the royalists respecting the chief command of the army, which had been finally conceded to Glencairn; but neither he, nor the nobility who were with him, were prepared to expect that the king would have appointed a man so much their inferior in station as Middleton was to such an important charge. The intelligence was accordingly received with discontent by these feudal sovereigns; but, as the king's commission could not, without serious injury to the royal cause, be disputed, in the present conjuncture they stifled their displeasure, and Glencairn, in terms of the instructions he had received from Middleton to march north, put his army in motion. Morgan, the English commander, having drawn together a body of troops, followed Glencairn, between whose rear and Morgan's advanced guard many warm skirmishes took place. In his march north, Glencairn

* Graham of Deuchrie's Account of Glencairn's Expedition.

tarried a short time before Lethen house, which he summoned its proprietor to surrender for behoof of the king; but he refused to do so, and fired upon the besiegers, of whom four or five were killed. Exasperated at the loss of his men, Glencairn ordered his troops to fill the courts and gates of the house with some stacks of corn which stood in the adjoining inclosures, and to set fire to them, with the intention of stifling the besieged with the smoke. This order was promptly obeyed, but it failed of its intended effect, and Glencairn had the mortification to lose three or four additional men in this absurd enterprise. In revenge for this disappointment, he burnt the stack-yards, and wasted all the lands around the castle belonging to the refractory laird.

Glencairn, thereupon, continued his march, and his men crossed the river Ness, eight miles above Inverness. The horses were made to swim over. The earl having placed guards along the northern bank of the river to watch the approach of the enemy, hastened to Dornoch to meet Middleton. In a few days a grand muster of the army took place, which was ascertained to amount to three thousand five hundred foot, and one thousand five hundred horse. Glencairn then resigned the command to Middleton, in presence of the army, and, riding along the lines, acquainted the troops that he was no longer their general, and expressed a hope that they would find themselves happy in serving under such a commander as Middleton. The troops expressed great dissatisfaction at this announcement by their looks, and some, "both officers and soldiers, shed tears, and vowed that they would serve with their old general in any corner of the world."*

After the review, the earl gave a sumptuous entertainment to Middleton and the principal officers of the army, at which an occurrence took place which soured the temper of the officers, and sowed the seeds of new divisions in the camp. On the cloth being removed, Glencairn proposed the health of the commander-in-chief, whom he thus addressed:—"My lord general, you see what a gallant army these worthy gentlemen here present and I have gathered together, at a time when it could hardly be expected that any number durst meet together: these men have come out to serve his majesty, at the hazard of their lives and all that is dear to them: I hope, therefore, you will give them all the encouragement to do their duty that lies in your power." Scarcely had these words been uttered when Sir George Munro, who had come over with Middleton from France to act as his lieutenant-general, started up from his seat, and addressing himself to the earl, swore by G— that the men he had that day seen were nothing but a number of thieves and robbers, and that ere long he would bring a very different set of men into the field. These imprudent observations called up Glengarry, but he was restrained by Glencairn, who said that he was more concerned in the affront put upon the army by Munro than he was, and, turning to

* Graham.

Munro, he thus addressed him—"You, Sir, are a base liar; for they are neither thieves nor robbers, but brave gentlemen and good soldiers." A meeting took place in consequence early next morning between Glencairn and Munro, about two miles to the south of Dornoch. The former was accompanied by a servant named White, and the latter by his brother, Alexander Munro. The parties were both mounted on horseback, and it was agreed, that after discharging pistols at each other, they should fight with broadswords. They accordingly fired, but without effect, and immediately began the combat with their swords. Sir George, after a few passes, received a severe wound on the bridle hand. Fearing that he could no longer manage his horse, he called out to the earl that as he was wounded in his left hand he hoped he would allow him to fight on foot. "Yes," exclaimed the earl, "I will show you that I can match you either on foot or on horseback." They then dismounted, and renewed the contest; but Munro, at the first onset, received a severe cut in the forehead, from which the blood issued so copiously as to obscure his vision, and prevent him from following the motions of his adversary. Glencairn was just about running Munro through the body, but was prevented by White, who forced up his sword. The parties then returned to head quarters, when Glencairn was put under arrest in his chamber, by orders of Middleton, and his sword taken from him.

The partiality thus shown to Munro, who was the aggressor, and who had sent the challenge to Glencairn, was exceedingly mortifying to the earl, which being followed by another affair which soon took place, and in which the same partiality was displayed, made him resolve to retire from the army. The occurrence was this:—A dispute having taken place on the merits of the recent quarrel between a Captain Livingston, a friend of Munro, and a gentleman of the name of Lindsay, who had accompanied Lord Napier from the continent, in which Livingston maintained that Munro had acted properly, and the contrary insisted upon by Lindsay; mutual challenges were given, and the parties met on the links of Dornoch to decide the dispute by the sword. Lindsay, being a superior swordsman, run Livingston through the heart at the first thrust, and he expired immediately. Lindsay was immediately apprehended, and although Glencairn, backed by other officers, used every exertion to save him, he was brought to trial before a court-martial, by order of Middleton, and condemned to be shot at the cross of Dornoch, a sentence which was carried into execution the same day.

These unfortunate disputes divided the officers of the army into two parties, and afforded but a sorry prognostic of the prospects of the royalists. Glencairn, no longer able to curb his displeasure, slipped off about a fortnight after Lindsay's death, with his own troop of horse, and a few gentlemen volunteers—a hundred horse in all—and took the direction of Assint. The laird of Assint, who had betrayed Montrose,

on the arrival of Glencairn's party on his lands, offered to assist him to secure the passes, so as to prevent him from being overtaken that night, of which offer Glencairn, though distrustful of Macleod, agreed to accept. Middleton indeed sent a party in pursuit, but they did not come up with Glencairn, who reached Kintail the following day, where he was well received by the earl of Seaforth's people. He remained there a few days, and afterwards traversed the Highlands till he arrived at Killin, at the head of Loch Tay, where he was successively joined by Sir George Maxwell, the earl of Selkirk, and Lord Forrester, each of whom brought a small party of horse along with them, by which additions his force was increased to four hundred horsemen. The earl now appears, for the first time, to have seen the impropriety of his conduct in withdrawing from the army; but as he could not endure the idea of returning himself, he endeavoured to make some reparation by sending this body north to join Middleton, and sought a retreat with the laird of Luss at his castle of Rosedoe, where he despatched some officers to raise men in the lowlands for the king's service.

In the meantime Monk had returned to Scotland, and had brought along with him a strong reinforcement of troops from England, with which he joined Morgan in the north, and marched directly into the Highlands in search of Middleton. It was the intention of the latter to have remained for some time in the Highlands, and to have collected all the forces he possibly could, and to make occasional descents upon the lowlands, and by marches and countermarches to have distracted the enemy; but the advance of Monk into the very bosom of the Highlands, with a large army, frustrated his design. Middleton soon found himself sorely pressed by his able adversary, who brought forward his army in separate divisions, yet not so isolated as not to be able to support each other in case of attack. In an attempt to elude his pursuers, Middleton was surprised in a defile near Lochgarry, by one of these divisions under the command of Morgan. His men were either slain or dispersed, and he himself escaped with difficulty. The chiefs of the insurrection immediately made their peace with Monk, who treated them with great lenity.*

Whilst the Scottish royalists were making an ineffectual attempt to free their country from the yoke of Cromwell, the king appeared to take little concern in the matter, and spent the greater part of his time in indolence and amusement at Paris. Though straitened in his pecuniary circumstances, and wholly dependent upon the liberality of the French king and the eleemosynary aid of his friends in England, he still retained about him the officers of his household and thus kept up the appearance, at least, of a court. The gaieties of the French capital were so congenial to the disposition of the king, as to make the supposition probable, that the longer he remained there the more indiffer-

* Deuchrie's Narrative.

ent he would have become to his own interests and those of his people; but a change of residence to Cologne, whence he had been induced to remove on a negotiation being entered into with Cromwell, by Cardinal Mazarin, made him think more seriously of the affairs of his kingdoms.

During his retreat at Cologne a rupture took place between England and Spain, of which the king endeavoured immediately to avail himself with the view of forwarding his restoration. There were, at this time, several English and Irish regiments in the French service, which he proposed to call from France, and with these, aided by such succours as Spain might afford, he offered to make a descent on England; but although this proposal was entertained by the Spanish ministers at Brussels, in the neighbourhood of which Charles had latterly taken up his residence, it was interrupted for some time by another offer made to the court of Spain, by Colonel Sexby, formerly the adherent, but now the mortal enemy of Cromwell, whom he considered an apostate from the cause of liberty. This man went to Brussels in the month of May, sixteen hundred and fifty-five, and after revealing to the court there, the destination and object of a secret expedition under Venables and Penn, he offered to obtain the aid of the levellers in England to destroy the power of Cromwell, provided they were supplied with money, and had the co-operation of the English and Irish troops in the service of Spain. The court of Spain listened to Sexby's proposals and advanced him a large sum of money, part of which he transmitted to his adherents in England. Sexby, whose designs were made known to Cromwell, afterwards visited England, and after making the necessary arrangements with his brother levellers, returned in safety to the continent. *

The Spanish ministers, who at first were very suspicious of Sexby, were now satisfied of his sincerity, and became anxious to effect a union between him and the king, by means of which they expected to render the subjugation of Cromwell of easier performance. At a meeting which was held in the month of December, sixteen hundred and fifty-six, Sexby agreed to the restoration of a limited monarchy if settled by a free parliament, but in making the attempt to overthrow the usurper, he was anxious that the restoration of the king should not be mentioned, but that their object should be ostensibly confined to the destruction of Cromwell, and to the restoration of public liberty. Though desirous of making use of Sexby's services, Charles considered that he had greatly over-rated his means, and he thought that even according to Sexby's own statement, his associates would not be hostile to royalty.

Both Cromwell and Mazarin grew alarmed at these negotiations. Whilst the latter anticipated a defection of the English and Irish regiments from the French service, as the result, the other dreaded a descent upon England; but fertile in expedients, these two wily politicians soon

* Clarendon, Pap. iii. p. 271, 2, 4, 7—281, 5. Thurloe, Vol. iv. p. 698; v. p. 37, 100, 319, 349; vi. p. 829—33. Carles Letters, Vol. ii. p. 85, 103.

devised means for counteracting the designs of these different parties. The duke of York, afterwards King James II. had served with great honour under Marshal Turenne, and, by his bravery, had not only gained the esteem of that able commander, but also the hearts of his countrymen. By a secret article in the treaty between France and the Protector it was stipulated that the duke should be banished from France; but in consequence of Charles' offer to the Spanish court the article remained a dead letter, and to prevent a junction between the two brothers, and the consequent defection of the English and Irish regiments in the service of France, the appointment of Captain General in the army of Italy, was conferred upon him by Mazarin, with the approbation of Cromwell who had been consulted in the matter. This plan was, however, frustrated by Charles, who ordered the duke to repair to Bruges immediately, and who, although he had accepted the offer of Mazarin with eagerness, at once complied. This event induced almost the whole of the English and Irish officers in the French army to resign their commissions, and many of the men, following the example of their officers, also left the service. Foiled in this attempt, Cromwell and Mazarin endeavoured by secret intrigue to sow the seeds of distrust in the mind of Don Juan, the governor of the Netherlands, against the duke of York, by spreading a report that James was sincerely attached to France, and that of course little reliance could be placed on him by Spain, and Mazarin and Cromwell so far succeeded in their scheme, that Don Juan gave the real command of the English and Irish forces to Marsin a foreigner, and, with the consent of Charles, made the officers and soldiers take an oath of fidelity to Spain. But this marked distrust of James did not stop here, for Charles was prevailed upon to order his brother to dismiss Sir John Berkeley, a favourite, and the secret agent of the French court. The young prince complied, but he was so displeased with the treatment he had received, that he followed Berkeley into Holland intending to proceed through Germany to France. The success of this intrigue was as gratifying to Cromwell as it was annoying to Charles; but Cromwell's joy was of short duration, for a reconciliation soon took place between the royal brothers, and James returned to Breda followed by Berkeley whom the king raised to the peerage. *

The war with Spain was exceedingly unpopular in England, and there seems to be little doubt that had Charles invaded it in due time with a few thousand men, he would have destroyed Cromwell; but the expedition was postponed from month to month, by the Spanish ministers, till the advance of winter when it was too late in the year to undertake it. But the death of Cromwell, which took place on the third of September, sixteen hundred and fifty-eight, and the new aspect of affairs in England altered his views.

* Memoirs of James, Vol. i. p. 266, 273, 293. Thurloe, Vol. v. p. 736.

Charles was led to believe that Monk, who still held the chief command in Scotland, was by no means unfavourable to him, and even before the death of Cromwell he had been induced to make proposals to him, to which Monk's wife and his domestic chaplain were privy; but although these offers were very tempting and were received by Monk without disapprobation, he never could be prevailed upon to unbosom himself to those who were appointed to sound him. These intrigues were suspected by Cromwell, but as he could never find a clue to their discovery, he facetiously put Monk on his guard by the following postscript to one of his letters to that general. "'Tis said there is a cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who lies in wait there to serve Charles Stuart; pray, use your diligence to take him, and send him up to me."* This notification made Monk even still more reserved, and he observed the same taciturnity when, after the death of Cromwell, a message was brought by Dr Monk, his brother, a clergyman of Cornwall, who was sent down to Scotland by Sir John Grenville, with a letter to Monk from the king. He even dismissed his brother without any particular allusion to the object of his visit, on being informed by him in answer to a preliminary question, that he had already made Monk's chaplain, who was friendly to the king, a party to the secret.

It is clear, however, that Monk had now resolved to join the royal cause; but as secrecy seemed to be indispensable, he concealed his designs, and so effectually, that the most clear sighted could not perceive his object. To break at once with Lambert, Fleetwood, and the other leading republicans who had endeavoured to undermine his power, and who had become very unpopular of late, was the prelude to that successful plan of operations which he carried through to, and by which he accomplished, the restoration of the king. Accordingly, no sooner had he heard of the expulsion of the English parliament, and the high rank of major general of all the forces, which had been conferred on Lambert by his partizans, than he openly declared himself in opposition to Lambert the "assertor of the ancient laws and liberties of the country." Lambert was immediately despatched to the north with a force of seven thousand men against Monk, who was by no means yet ready to receive him. He therefore had recourse to negotiation to obtain delay, and succeeded. Lambert's army did not advance in consequence farther north than Newcastle, and Monk employed the time thus afforded him in raising troops in Scotland, with which he filled up the blanks in his army, occasioned by the dismissal of such of his men as were unfriendly to him He, thereafter, called a convention of the Scottish estates at Berwick, from which, on the sixth of December, sixteen hundred and fifty-nine, he obtained a grant of a year's arrears of taxes, amounting to £60,000, besides the duties of excise and customs. The restoration of the English parliament, which had been expelled by Lambert, favoured the designs of Monk, who crossed the

* Price, p. 712.

Tweed on the first of January, sixteen hundred and sixty, to meet Lambert; but a message from the parliament ordering the latter to withdraw, prevented a meeting. Monk proceeded on his march, and entered London on the third of February at the head of his army.

Though appearing to act in conjunction with the parliament, suspicions were entertained that Monk was favourable to the king, and at York he had even caned an officer who had laid to his charge the design of restoring the king. A successful interference, which he made at Nottingham, to prevent his officers from signing a declaration to be obedient to the parliament in all things, "except the bringing in of Charles Stuart," confirmed in some degree these suspicions. But his adherence to the republican party was now to be put to the test by the parliament, which required him as a member of the council of state to abjure the house of Stuart. He hesitated, and as seven of the counsellors had not yet abjured, he required to be first informed why they had not done so. He observed that oaths were easily violated, and that as providence might see fit to restore Charles Stuart, it appeared to him to be a crime to swear against what providence might ordain; that he had already given proofs of his obedience to the parliament, and was ready to give farther marks of his devotion to them. A dispute between the parliament and the common council of London, who had issued a declaration, demanding "a full and free parliament according to the ancient and fundamental laws of the land," soon put Monk's sincerity to the test. On the ninth of February, two hours after midnight, he was ordered to enter the city, to arrest eleven of the principal citizens, and to remove the barricades which had been raised for its defence. He demurred, but at last obeyed; he was received by the citizens with groans and hisses, the soldiers murmured and the officers tendered their resignations; but it was easy to perceive that Monk acted with reluctance; he however proceeded, and after removing the posts and chains of the city, wrote a letter to the speaker, giving his opinion that enough had been done to curb the refractory citizens. The parliament again ordered him to proceed, on which he demolished the gates and portcullises. The discontents of the soldiers now rose to such a height that Monk was obliged to desist, and he returned to his residence at Whitehall. *

Monk on reflection thought he perceived, in the orders he had received, an intention on the part of the parliamentary leaders to embroil him with the citizens, and he therefore took immediate steps to redeem himself, before the parliament should have time to carry its ulterior views respecting him into effect. Accordingly at a council of officers which was held the following day, a letter to the speaker, which with the aid of his confidential advisers he had prepared the previous evening, was laid before them and approved of. In this letter the officers were made to

* Journal, Feb. 9. Price, 761. Ludlow, Vol. ii. p. 336. Philips, 599.

complain, that they had been used as instruments of personal resentment against the citizens, and they were made to require that certain vacancies in the house should be immediately filled, previous to a dissolution of the parliament. After despatching this letter, Monk, without waiting for an answer, marched into Finsbury fields, and summoned a meeting of the common council which had been lately dissolved by a vote of the parliament. At this meeting he declared himself the friend of the citizens, that he would make common cause with them, and endeavour to obtain a full and free parliament. The citizens were thrown into ecstacies at this declaration, and they manifested their joy by the ringing of bells, bon-fires, feasting the soldiers, and "the roasting of the rump."*

At first the parliamentary leaders seemed to disregard this alarming state of things, but on reflection they submitted, invited Monk to return to Whitehall, and ordered writs to be issued for the return of members to supply the vacancies in the representation. In a bill which they introduced for fixing the qualifications of the candidates and electors, they attempted to exclude the royalists by a provision that no person should elect or be elected who did not bind himself to support a republic; but this clause was opposed by those members who had been excluded in the year sixteen hundred and forty eight. Monk purposely avoided taking any share in this dispute, and so indifferent did he appear about it, that, trusting to the impartiality of himself and his officers, the leaders on both sides agreed to refer the dispute to their arbitrament, nine of whom on each side argued the case before this new court. The question was decided in favour of the excluded members, who took their seats on the twenty-first of February, after receiving a declaration from Monk at Whitehall, where he had summoned them to meet him, that he considered republicanism and moderate presbyterianism essential to preserve the tranquillity of the nation. On resuming their seats some of the more furious among the republicans withdrew from the house, a circumstance which favoured the designs of the royalists greatly.†

This declaration alarmed Charles and his friends, who really considered that Monk was sincere in his professions, particularly as he never ceased to declare, both to cavaliers and republicans, that he was for supporting a republican form of government in the state, and presbytery in the church, and so successfully had he practised this deception upon the republican party that many of them believed him sincere, and it was not until he had declared in favour of the claim of the excluded members

* "At Strand-bridge I could at one time tell thirty-one fires; in King street, seven or eight, and all along burning and roasting, and drinking for rumps; there being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down. The butchers at the Maypole in the strand, rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied to it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination." Pepys, Vol. i. p. 28.

† Journals, Feb. 21. Price, 766—773. Ludlow, Vol. ii. 345, 351. Hutchinson, 362.

to their seats, that they began to suspect him; but it was now too late for them to repair the blunder they had committed in trusting so implicitly to him. The presbyterian party had now the ascendancy in parliament, and one of the earliest acts was to appoint Monk commander in chief of the forces in the three kingdoms, and joint commander of the fleet with Admiral Montague. As an indication of their intentions in regard to the king, they released all the Scottish lords, and others who had been taken prisoners after the battle of Worcester.*

Notwithstanding these indications in favour of royalty, Monk still continued to act a doubtful and very mysterious part, and he even stationed guards at the door of the house of lords, to prevent that branch of the legislature from meeting to give its approval to the acts of the commons, lest by doing so, the royal authority might be acknowledged. But the slow motions of Monk did not suit the populace, who proclaimed Charles in several places. The surviving regicides and the purchasers of forfeited property grew alarmed, and to prevent the restoration of the king, they made an offer to the commander in chief of the supreme power, but this he pointedly refused. At length the long parliament, which had sat nineteen years and a half, dissolved itself by its own act, on the sixteenth of March, sixteen hundred and sixty, and having ordered the several officers to join their regiments, and dismissed those whom he distrusted, Monk was left to pursue unmolested his designs for restoring Charles.

Sir John Grenville, who had formerly sent down Monk's brother to Scotland, with a letter from the king, made several attempts to obtain an interview with the Lord General at St James's; but Monk always avoided him. At length by the intervention of one Morrice, well known to both, Grenville was introduced, and delivered a letter to the general from the king, couched in language highly flattering to Monk. He perused the letter with attention, and when he had done reading, remarked that he could not till then declare his intentions with safety, and as there were many persons still about him, who were either inimical to his views, or whose sentiments as to the propriety of a restoration might be doubtful, he would be still constrained for a time to observe a strict secresy. He therefore jotted down the heads of his answer in writing, and after reading it to Grenville threw the paper into the fire, and desired him to carry the answer in his memory, and after enjoining him to deliver it personally to the king dismissed him.†

Although the republicans used great exertions in the elections, they were defeated in most places by the cavaliers and moderate presbyterians, who having united carried every thing before them. Disappointed in the struggle, the republicans made an appeal to arms, but the few men they were able to bring into the field refused to fight, and Lam-

* Price, 773. Ludlow, 349, 355. Clar. Papers, Vol. iii. p. 678, 697, 783, 711, Journals.
† Clar. Hist. Vol. iii. p. 706, 711, 734–6. Price, 785. Philips, 605.

bert their commander was taken prisoner. The "convention" parliament met on the twenty-fifth of April. The time had now arrived when Monk had determined to throw off the veil of mystery with which he had covered his designs. Grenville had brought over from Brussels five letters from the king, one of which was addressed to the speaker of the house of commons, another to the lords, a third to the lord mayor and city of London, a fourth to Monk and the army, and a fifth to Montague and the navy. By an arrangement between Monk and Grenville, the latter came to the door of the house of commons whilst Monk was in his seat, and meeting with a member who was entering the council chamber, requested him to inform Monk that a person at the door wished to speak to him; Monk rose from his seat, went to the door, and received a letter, but observing the royal arms on the seal, he ordered the guards to detain the messenger; Grenville was brought in by order of the house, and after being interrogated by the speaker how he had come by the letter, was ordered to be taken into custody. Monk interfered, informed the house that the bearer of the letter was his near kinsman, and that he would be security for his appearance. *

This declaration, which revealed the secret of Monk's policy, produced an instantaneous effect in favour of the King, and Grenville took advantage of the favourable opportunity of delivering the letters addressed to the two houses, as well as those to the army and navy, and the city of London. The letters to the two houses contained a paper known in history by the name of the declaration of Breda, where it had been drawn up, in which his majesty, after granting a pardon to all persons but those whom the parliament might except, and declaring that no persons should be disturbed on account of their religious opinions, if consistent with the peace of the kingdom, promised to leave the settlement of all questions which might arise about property which had been purchased or forfeited during the revolution, to the wisdom of parliament; and he, moreover, promised that the arrears of pay due to Monk's army should be liquidated, that both officers and men should be retained in the service; and that they should continue to receive the same amount of pay, and enjoy all the privileges they were then vested with.

Though the declaration was not exactly what Monk had required in his private communication to the king, it was deemed so satisfactory that the two houses, the army and navy, and the common council of London, each voted an address of thanks and congratulation to the king, and the nation at large demanded his immediate return. In accordance with this feeling, both houses invited his majesty to come and take possession of his inheritance, and they sent him a present of £50,000 to relieve his immediate wants, £10,000 to the duke of York, and £5,000 to his younger brother the duke of Gloucester. The king was not long in obeying the invitation. He was received at Dover by

* L. Journ. xi. 4, 5, 6.

Monk, at the head of the nobility, whence he proceeded to London which he entered on the twenty-ninth of May, sixteen hundred and sixty, amidst the acclamations of the citizens.

The news of the king's arrival was received in Scotland with a burst of enthusiasm, not quite in accordance with the national character,* but the idea that the nation was about to regain its liberties, made Scotsmen forget their wonted propriety. Preparatory to the assembling of the Scottish parliament, which was summoned to meet at Edinburgh on the first of January, sixteen hundred and sixty-one; Middleton, who had lately been created an Earl, was appointed his majesty's commissioner; the earl of Glencairn, chancellor; the earl of Lauderdale, secretary of state; the earl of Rothes, president of the council; and the earl of Crawford, lord-treasurer.

It would be quite apart from the object of this work to detail the many unconstitutional acts passed by this "terrible parliament," as it is well named by Kirkton; but the trial of the marquis of Argyle must not be overlooked. That nobleman had, on the restoration of the king, gone to London to congratulate his majesty on his return; but on his arrival he was immediately seized and committed to the Tower. He petitioned the king for a personal interview, which was refused, and, to get rid of his importunities, his majesty directed that he should be sent back to Scotland for trial. Being brought to trial, he applied for delay, till some witnesses at a distance should be examined on commission; but this was refused. He, thereupon, claimed the benefit of the amnesty which the king had granted at Stirling. This plea was sustained by desire of the king; but as there were other charges against him, arising out of transactions subsequent to the year sixteen hundred and fifty-one, to which year only the amnesty extended, the trial was proceeded in. These charges were, that he had aided the English in destroying the liberties of Scotland—that he had accepted a grant of £12,000 from Cromwell—that he had repeatedly used defamatory and traitorous language in speaking of the royal family; and, lastly, that he had voted for a bill abjuring the right of the royal family to the crowns of the three kingdoms, which had been passed in the parliament of Richard Cromwell, in which he sat. Argyle denied that he had ever given any countenance or assistance to the English in their invasion of Scotland; but he admitted the grant from Cromwell, which he stated was given, not in lieu of services, but as a compensation for losses sustained by him. He, moreover, denied that he had ever used

* "I believe there was never accident in the world altered the disposition of a people more than that (the king's return) did the Scottish nation. Sober men observed, it not only inebriat but really intoxicate, and made people not only drunk but frantick; men did not think they could handsomely express their joy except they turned brutes for debauch, rebels, and pugeants; yea, many a sober man was tempted to exceed, lest he should be condemned as unnatural, disloyal, and unsensible. Most of the nobility, and many of the gentry, and hungry old souldiers, flew to London, just as the vulture does to the carcase. And though many of them were bare enough, they made no bones to give 15 of the 100 of exchange."—Kirkton, p. 65.

the words attributed to him respecting the royal family, and with regard to the charge of sitting in Richard Cromwell's parliament, he stated that he had taken his seat to protect his country from oppression, and to be ready, should occasion offer, to support by his vote, the restoration of the king. This defence staggered the parliament, and judgment was postponed. In the meantime Glencairn and Rothes hastened to London to lay the matter before the king, and to urge the necessity of Argyle's condemnation. Unfortunately for that nobleman, they had recovered some letters which he had written to Monk and other English officers, in which were found some expressions very hostile to the king, but as these letters have not been preserved, their precise contents are not known. Argyle was again brought before parliament, and the letters read in his presence. He had no explanation to give, and his friends, vexed and dismayed, retired from the house, and left him to his fate. He accordingly received sentence of death on the twenty-fifth of May, sixteen hundred and sixty-one, and, that he might not have an opportunity of appealing to the clemency of the king, he was ordered to be beheaded within forty-eight hours. He employed the short time he had to live in devotion, and in receiving the consolations of his friends, some of whom dined with him a few hours before his execution. After dinner he retired a short time for private prayer, and on returning, told his friends that "the Lord had sealed his charter, and said to him, Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven." When brought to the scaffold he addressed the people, protested his innocence, declared his adherence to the covenant, reproved "the abounding wickedness of the land, and vindicated himself from the charge of being accessory to the death of Charles I." With the greatest fortitude he laid his head upon the block, which was immediately severed from his body by the maiden. This event took place upon Monday the twenty-seventh day of May, sixteen hundred and sixty-one. By a singular destiny the head of Argyle was fixed on the same spike which had borne that of his great rival Montrose.*

Argyle was highly esteemed by his party; but there is nothing in his conduct which can be justified by the impartial historian. Duplicity, cunning, cowardice, and avarice, were his characteristic traits. His zeal for religion and the covenant was a mere pretence to enable him to obtain that ascendancy among the covenanters which he acquired, and his affected patriotism was regulated entirely by his personal interests. Yet, whatever were his motives, it cannot be denied that to the exertions of Argyle Scotland is chiefly indebted for the successful stand which was made against the unconstitutional attempts of the elder Charles upon the civil and religious liberties of his Scottish subjects. But, criminal as Argyle was in vituperating the royal family, and showing a predilection for Cromwell, the circumstances of the times would, by impartial

* State Trials, vol. v., 1369—1508. Kirkton, 100—4.

judges, have been considered as affording some extenuation for his conduct, but it was his misfortune to be tried by men who were his enemies, and who did not scruple to violate all the forms of justice to bring him to the block, in the hope of obtaining his vast possessions.

The execution of Argyle was not in accordance with the views of the king, and there is no doubt, that if sufficient time had been allowed him for soliciting the royal mercy, that his life would have been spared. To show his disapprobation of the death of Argyle, the king received Lord Lorn, his eldest son, with favour at court, from which circumstance the enemies of the house of Argyle anticipated that they would be disappointed in their expectations of sharing among them the confiscated estates of the marquis. To impair, therefore, these estates was their next object. Argyle had obtained from the Scottish parliament a grant of the confiscated estate of the marquis of Huntly, his brother-in-law, on the ground that he was a considerable creditor, but as Huntly was indebted to other persons to the extent of 400,000 merks, the estate was burdened to that amount on passing into Argyle's possession. Middleton and his colleagues immediately passed an act, restoring Huntly's estate free of incumbrance, leaving to Huntly's creditors recourse upon the estates of Argyle for payment of their debts. Young Argyle was exasperated at this proceeding, and in a letter to Lord Duffus, his brother-in-law, expressed himself in very unguarded terms respecting the parliament. This letter was intercepted by Middleton, and on it the parliament grounded a charge of verbal sedition, or *leasing-making* as the crime is known in the statutory law of Scotland, an offence which was declared capital by the acts 1424, c. 43 ; and 1540, c. 83 of the Scottish parliament. Upon this vague charge the young nobleman was brought to trial before the parliament, and condemned to death. The enemies of the house of Argyle now supposed that the estates of the family were again within their grasp ; but the king, at the intercession of Lauderdale, the rival of Middleton, pardoned Lorn, released him from prison after about a year's confinement, restored to him the family estates, and allowed him to retain the title of Earl.*

After the suppression of Glencairn's short-lived insurrection, the Highlands enjoyed repose till the year sixteen hundred and seventy-four, when a combustion took place which threatened to involve the greater part of that country in the horrors of feudal war. The occasion was this. The marquis of Argyle had purchased up some debts due by the laird of Maclean, for which his son, the earl, applied for payment; but the laird being unwilling or unable to pay, the earl apprised his lands, and followed out other legal proceedings, to make the claim effectual against Maclean's estates. In the meantime the latter died, leaving a son under the guardianship of his brother, to whom, on Maclean's death, the earl renewed his application for payment. The tutor of

* Kirkton p. 113, 166.

Maclean stated his readiness to settle, either by appropriating as much of the rents of his ward's lands in Mull and Tirey as would be sufficient to pay the interest of the debt, or by selling or conveying to him in security as much of the property as would be sufficient to pay off the debt itself; but he required, before entering into this arrangement, that the earl should restrict his claim to what was justly due. The earl professed his readiness to comply with the tutor's offer; but the latter contrived to evade the matter for a considerable time, and at length showed a disposition to resist the earl's demand by force.

The earl, therefore, resolved to enforce compliance, and armed with a decree of the court of session, and supported by a body of two thousand of his tenants and vassals, he crossed into Mull, in which he landed at three different places without opposition, although the Macleans had seven or eight hundred men in the island. The Macleans had sent their cattle into Mull for safety, a considerable number of which were killed or houghed by Lord Neill, brother to the earl, at the head of a party of the Campbells. The islanders at once submitted, and the earl having obtained possession of the castle of Duart, and placed a garrison therein, left the island. Although the Macleans had promised to pay their rents to the earl, they refused when applied to the following year, a refusal which induced him to prepare for a second invasion of Mull. In September, sixteen hundred and seventy-five, he had collected a force of about fifteen hundred men, including a hundred of the king's troops from Glasgow, under the command of Captain Crichton, and a similar number of militia-men under Andrew M'Farlane the laird of M'Farlane, the use of which corps had been granted the earl on application to the Council. The Macleans, aware of their danger, had strengthened themselves by an alliance with Lord Macdonald and other chieftains, who sent a force of about a thousand men to their aid; but Argyle's forces never reached the island, his ships having been driven back damaged and dismantled by a dreadful hurricane, which lasted two days.*

This misfortune, and intelligence which the earl received from the commander of Duart castle, that the Macleans were in great force in the island, made him postpone his enterprise. With the exception of five hundred men, whom he retained for the protection of his coasts, and about three or four hundred to protect his lands against the incursions of the Macleans, he dismissed his forces, after giving them instructions to reassemble on the eighteenth of October, unless countermanded before that time. The earl then went to Edinburgh to crave additional aid from the government, but receiving no encouragement he posted to London, where he expected, with the assistance of his friend the duke of Lauderdale, to obtain assistance. Lord Macdonald and the other

* "A rumour went that there was a witch-wife named Muddock who had promised to the M'Lains, that, so long as she lived, the earle of Argile should not enter Mull; and indeed, many of the people imputed the rise of that great storme under her paction with the devil, how true I cannot assert."—Law's Memorials, p. 83.

friends of the Macleans hearing of Argyle's departure, immediately followed him to London, and laid a state of the dispute before the king, who, in February, sixteen hundred and seventy-six, remitted the matter to three lords of the privy council of Scotland for judgment. The earl returned to Edinburgh in June following. A meeting of the parties took place before the lords to whom the matter had been referred, but they came to no decision, and the subsequent fate of Argyle put an end to these differences, although it appears that he was allowed to take possession of the island of Mull without resistance in the year sixteen hundred and eighty.*

Except upon one occasion, now to be noticed, the highlanders took no share in any of the public transactions in Scotland during the reigns of Charles the Second and his brother James. Isolated from the lowlands by a mountain barrier which prevented almost any intercourse between them and their southern neighbours, they happily kept free from the contagion of that religious fanaticism which spread over the lowlands of Scotland, in consequence of the unconstitutional attempts of the government to force episcopacy upon the people. Had the highlanders been imbued with the same spirit which actuated the Scottish whigs, the government might have found it a difficult task to have suppressed them; but they did not concern themselves with these theological disputes, and they did not hesitate when their chiefs, at the call of the government, required their services, to march to the lowlands to suppress the disturbances in the western counties. Accordingly, an army of about eight thousand men, known in Scottish history by the name of the "Highland Host," descended from the mountains under the command of their respective chiefs, and encamped at Stirling on the twenty-fourth of June, sixteen hundred and seventy-eight, whence they spread themselves over Clydesdale, Renfrew, Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick, and overawed the whigs so effectually, that they did not attempt to oppose the government during the stay of these hardy mountaineers among them. According to Wodrow and Kirkton, the highlanders were guilty of great oppression and cruelty, but they kept their hands free from blood, as it has been correctly stated, that not one whig lost his life during the invasion of these highland crusaders.† After remaining about eight months in the lowlands the Highlanders were sent home, the government having no farther occasion for their services, but before their departure they took care to carry along with them a large quantity of plunder they had collected during their stay.‡

* Note to Kirkton by Sharpe, p. 391. † Law's Memorials, p. 80, 1, 2, 3, 94, 159.

‡ "But when this goodly army retreated homeward, you would have thought by their baggage they had been at the sack of a besieged city; and, therefore, when they passed Stirling bridge every man drew his sword to show the world they hade returned conquerors from their enemies land; but they might as well have showen the pots, pans, girdles, shoes taken off country men's feet, and other bodily and household furniture with which they were burdened; and among all, none purchast so well as the two earles Airly and Strathmore, chiefly the last, who sent home the money, not in purses but in bags and great quantities."—Kirkton, 390–1.

After the departure of the highlanders, the covenanters again appeared upon the stage, and proceeded so far as even to murder some soldiers who had been quartered on some landlords who had refused to pay cess. The assassination of Archbishop Sharp, and the insurrection of the covenanters under a preacher named Hamilton, followed by the defeat of the celebrated Graham of Claverhouse at Drumclog on the first of June sixteen hundred and seventy-nine, alarmed the government; but the defeat of the rebels by the king's forces at Bothwell bridge on the twenty-second of June, quieted their apprehensions. Fresh measures of severity were adopted against the unfortunate whigs, who, driven to despair, again flew to arms, encouraged by the exhortations of the celebrated enthusiast, Richard Cameron, from whom the religious sect, known by the name of Cameronians, takes its name; and Donald Cargill another fanatic; but they were defeated in an action at Airs-moss in Kyle, in which Cameron, their ecclesiastical head, was killed.

To check the diffusion of anti-monarchical principles, which were spreading fast throughout the kingdom under the auspices of the disciples of Cameron, the government, on the meeting of the Scottish parliament on the twenty-eighth of July, sixteen hundred and eighty-one, devised a test, which was required to be taken by all persons possessed of any civil, military, or ecclesiastical office. The parties taking this test were made to declare their adhesion to the true protestant religion, as contained in the original confession of faith, ratified by parliament in the year fifteen hundred and sixty, to recognise the supremacy of the king over all persons civil and ecclesiastical, and to acknowledge that there "lay no obligation from the national covenant, or the solemn league and covenant, or any other manner of way whatsoever, to endeavour any alteration in the government in church or state, as it was then established by the laws of the kingdom."*

The terms of this test were far from satisfactory to some, even of the best friends of the government, as it was full of contradictions and absurdities, and it was not until the privy council issued an explanatory declaration that they could be prevailed upon to take it. The dukes of Hamilton and Monmouth, however, rather than take the test, resigned their offices. Among others, who had distinguished themselves in opposing the passing of the test, was the earl of Argyle, who supported an amendment proposed by Lord Belhaven, for setting aside a clause, excepting the duke of York, brother to the king, and the other princes of the blood from its operation. The conduct of Argyle gave great offence to the duke, who sat as commissioner in the parliament, and encouraged his enemies to set about accomplishing his ruin. The earl of Errol brought in a bill reviving some old claims upon his estates, and the king's advocate endeavoured to deprive him of his hereditary offices; but the duke of York interposed and prevented the adoption of these

* Scots Acts, 1681, c. vi.

intended measures. To gratify his enemies, however, and to show the displeasure of the court at his recent opposition, Argyle was deprived of his seat in the court of session; but this did not sufficiently appease their resentment, and, anxious for an opportunity of gratifying their malice, they hoped that he would refuse to take the test. Accordingly, he was required to subscribe it: he hesitated, and craved time to deliberate. Aware of the plot which had been long hatching against him, and as he saw that if he refused he would be deprived of his important hereditary jurisdictions, he resolved to take the test with a declaratory explanation, which, it is understood, received the approbation of the duke of York, to whom the earl had submitted it. The earl then subscribed the test in presence of the council, and added the explanation above mentioned. It was as follows: "I have considered the test, and am very desirous of giving obedience as far as I can. I am confident that the parliament never intended to impose contradictory oaths: Therefore I think no man can explain it but for himself. Accordingly, I take it so far as it is consistent with itself and the protestant religion. And I do declare, that I mean not to bind myself, in my station, in a lawful way, from wishing, and endeavouring any alteration which I think to the advantage of Church or State, and not repugnant to the protestant religion and my loyalty. And this I understand as a part of my oath." This declaration did not please the council, but as the duke appeared to be satisfied, the matter was passed over, and Argyle kept his seat at the council board.

Although the duke of York had been heard to declare, that no honest man could take the test, a declaration which fully justified the course Argyle had pursued; yet the enemies of that nobleman wrought so far upon the mind of his royal highness, as to induce him to think that Argyle's declaration was a highly criminal act. The earl therefore was required to take the test a second time, without explanation, and having refused, he was committed a prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, and on the slight foundation of a declaration, which had been sanctioned by the next heir to the crown, was raised a hideous superstructure of high treason, leasing-making and perjury.

Argyle was brought to trial, on Monday the twelfth day of December, sixteen hundred and eighty one, before the high court of justiciary. The earl of Queensbury, the justice-general, and four other judges, sat upon the bench, and fifteen noblemen acted as jurors. The absurdity of the charges, and the iniquity of the attempt, to deprive a nobleman, who had even in the worst times shown an attachment to the royal family, of his fortune, his honours, and his life were ably exposed by the counsel for the earl; but so lost was a majority of the judges to every sense of justice, that, regardless of the infamy which would for ever attach to them, they found the libel relevant; and on the following day the assize or jury, of which the marquis of Montrose, cousin-german to Argyle, was chancellor, found him guilty. Intelligence of Argyle's

condemnation was immediately sent to the king, but the messenger was anticipated in his arrival, by an express from the earl himself to the king, who, although he gave orders that sentence should be passed against Argyle, sent positive injunctions to delay the execution till his pleasure should be known. Argyle, however, did not wish to trust to the royal clemency, and as he understood preparations were making for his execution, he made his escape from the castle of Edinburgh, disguised as a page carrying the train of Lady Sophia Lindsay, his daughter-in-law. * He went to London, where he lay some time in concealment, whence he went over to Holland. On the day of his escape, being the twenty-first of December, he was proclaimed a fugitive at the market cross of Edinburgh, and on the twenty-fourth, the court of justiciary passed sentence of death against him, ordered his arms to be reversed, and torn at the market cross of Edinburgh, and declared his titles and estates forfeited.

In exculpation of their infamous proceedings, the persecutors of Argyle pretended that their only object in resorting to such unjustifiable measures, was to force him to surrender his extensive hereditary jurisdictions, which, they considered, gave him too great authority in the highlands, and the exercise of which in his family, might obstruct the ends of justice; and that they had no designs either upon his life or fortune. But this is an excuse which cannot be admitted, for they had influence enough with the crown, to have deprived Argyle of these hereditary jurisdictions, without having recourse to measures so glaringly subversive of justice.

The only advantage taken by the king, of Argyle's forfeiture, was the retention of the heritable jurisdictions, which were parcelled out among the friends of the court, during pleasure. The Lord Lorn, the earl's son, had the forfeited estates restored to him, after provision had been made for satisfying the demands of his father's creditors.

During the latter years of Charles II. a number of persons from England and Scotland had taken refuge in Holland to escape state prosecutions, with which they were threatened. Among the Scottish exiles, besides Argyle, were Sir James Dalrymple, afterwards earl of Stair, the celebrated Fletcher of Salton, and Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, all of whom, as martyrs of liberty, longed for an opportunity of vindicating its cause in the face of their country. The accession of James II. to the crown of his brother, seemed an event favourable to their plans, and at a meeting which some of the exiled leaders held at Rotterdam, they resolved to raise the standard of revolt in England and Scotland, and invited the duke of Monmouth, also an exile, and the earl of Argyle to join them. † Monmouth, who was then living in retire-

* "It is reported that the earl, in his agitation, dropt the lady's gown, when about to pass the sentinel at the castle gate; but she, with admirable presence of mind, snatched up her train from the mud, and in a pretended rage, threw it in Argyle's face, with many reproaches of "careless loun," &c. which so besmeared him, that his features were not recognised."—Note to Law's memorials, by Sharpe, p. 210.

† Hume's Narrative, p. 5—9.

ment at Brussels, spending his time in illicit amours, accepted the invitation, and having repaired to Rotterdam, offered either to attempt a descent on England, at the head of the English exiles, or to go to Scotland as a volunteer, under Argyle. * The latter, who had never ceased since his flight from keeping up a correspondence with his friends in Scotland, had already been making preparations, and by means of a large sum of money he had received from a rich widow of Amsterdam, had there purchased a ship and arms, and ammunition. He now also repaired to Rotterdam, where it was finally arranged that two expeditions should be fitted out, one for England, under Monmouth, and the other for Scotland, under the command of Argyle, who was appointed by the council at Rotterdam, captain general of the army, "with as full power as was usually given to generals by the free states in Europe.†

On the second of May, sixteen hundred and eighty-five, the expedition under Argyle, which consisted of three ships and about three hundred men, left the shores of Holland, and reached Cairston in the Orkneys on the sixth, after a pleasant voyage. The seizure, by the natives, of Spence, the earl's secretary, and of Blackadder, his surgeon, both of whom had incautiously ventured on shore, afforded the government the necessary information as to the strength and destination of the expedition. A proclamation had been issued on the twenty-eighth of April for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence, hostages had been taken from the vassals of Argyle as sureties for their fidelity, and all persons whose loyalty was suspected were either imprisoned, or had to find security for their fidelity to the government; but as soon as the council at Edinburgh received the intelligence of Argyle's having reached the Orkneys, they despatched troops to the west, and ordered several frigates to cruise among the western isles. After taking four Orcadians as hostages for the lives of his secretary and surgeon, Argyle left the Orkneys on the seventh of May, and arrived at Tobermory in the isle of Mull on the eleventh, whence he sailed to the mainland and landed in Kintyre. Here he published a declaration which had been drawn up in Holland by Sir James Stuart, afterwards king's advocate, full of invective against the government, and attributing all the grievances under which the country had laboured in the preceding reign to a conspiracy between popery and tyranny, which had, he observed, been evidently disclosed by the cutting off of the late king and the ascension of the duke of York to the throne. It declared that the object of the invaders was to restore the true protestant religion, and that as the duke of York was, from his religion, as they supposed, incapable of giving security on that head, they declared that they would never enter into any treaty with him. The earl issued, a few days thereafter, a second declaration from Tarbet, reciting his own wrongs, and calling upon his former vassals to join his standard. Messengers were despatched in

* Hume's Nar. p. 15. Wellwood App. p. 325. † Hume's Nar. p. 9. 12—14. 15—18.

all directions bearing aloft the fiery cross, and in a short time about eight hundred of his clan, headed by Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, rallied around their chief. Other reinforcements arrived, which increased his army to two thousand five hundred men; a force wholly insufficient to meet a body of about seven thousand militia and a considerable number of regular troops already assembled in the west to oppose his advance.

Although Argyle's obvious plan was at once to have dashed into the western lowlands where the spirit of disaffection was deeply prevalent, and where a great accession of force might have been expected, he, contrary to the advice of some of his officers, remained in Argyle a considerable time in expectation of hearing of Monmouth's landing, and spent the precious moments in chasing out of his territories a few stragglers who infested his borders. Amid the dissensions which naturally arose from this difference of opinion, the royalists were hemming Argyle in on all sides. Whilst the duke of Gordon was advancing upon his rear with the northern forces, and the earl of Dumbarton with the regular troops pressing him in front, the marquis of Athole and Lord Charles Murray at the head of fifteen hundred men, kept hanging on his right wing, and a fleet watched his ships to prevent his escape by sea. In this conjuncture Argyle yielded to the opinion of his officers, and leaving his stores in the castle of Allangreg in charge of a garrison of one hundred and fifty men, he began his march, on the tenth of June, to the lowlands, and gave orders that his vessels should follow close along the coast. The commander of the castle, on the approach of the king's ships under Sir Thomas Hamilton, abandoned it five days thereafter, without firing a single shot, and the warlike stores which it contained, consisting of five thousand stand of arms, and three hundred barrels of powder, besides a standard, bearing the inscription "against popery, prelacy, and Erastianism," fell a prey to the royalists. The vessels also belonging to Argyle were taken at the same time.*

On the sixteenth of June Argyle crossed the Leven near Dumbarton, but finding it impracticable, from the numerous forces opposed to him, and which met him at every point, to proceed on his intended route to Glasgow by the ordinary road, he betook himself to the hills in the expectation of eluding his foes during the darkness of the night; but this desperate expedient did not succeed, and next morning Argyle found his force diminished by desertion to five hundred men. Thus abandoned by the greater part of his men, he, in his turn, deserted those who remained with him, and endeavoured to secure his own safety, and disguising himself in a common dress he wandered for some time in the company of Major Fullarton in the vicinity of Dumbarton, and, in attempting to cross the Clyde at Inchinnan was taken prisoner by a few militia men. About a hundred of the volunteers from Holland

* Hume's Narrative, p. 46–56. Gazette, 2044.

crossed the Clyde in boats, but being attacked by the royalists were dispersed. Thus ended this ill concerted and unfortunate expedition.*

Argyle was carried to Glasgow, and thence to Edinburgh, where he underwent the same ignominious and brutal treatment which the brave Montrose had suffered on being brought to the capital after his capture, a spectacle which Argyle himself, thirty-five years before, had witnessed with approbation from a balcony in front of the earl of Moray's house in the Canongate. As the judgment which had been pronounced against Argyle, after his escape from the castle of Edinburgh, was still in force, no trial was considered necessary. He was beheaded accordingly on the twenty-sixth of June, evincing in his last moments the courage of a Roman, and the fortitude of a martyr. His two sons, Lord Lorn and Lord Neill Campbell, were banished. Monmouth, who did not land in England till the eleventh of June, was equally unfortunate, and suffered the death of a traitor on Tower Hill on the fifteenth of July.

* Hume's Narrative, p 56–67. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 533–537. Gazette, 2015.

See Macaulay. Wm's
is much fuller, better
& fairer than Hume's
(P.P.
23d Nov. 1870

CHAPTER V.

Unconstitutional proceedings of the king—Discontents—Designs of the Prince of Orange—Remonstrances of James—Recriminations of the prince—Negotiations—Intrigues of William—Pregnancy of the queen—Calumnious reports—Birth of the Prince of Wales—Concessions of the king—He prepares for defence—Offers of service—Scottish army marches into England—Meeting of the malcontents in Edinburgh—Landing of the Prince of Orange—Tumult in Edinburgh—Meeting of the privy council—Departure of the young prince of Wales and the queen for France—Flight and arrest of the king—Riots in London—Return of the king to London—Negotiates with the city—Departure of the king for France—Conduct of the duke of Gordon—Meeting of Scottish peers and gentlemen in London—Convention of estates called—Castle of Edinburgh summoned—Duke of Gordon denounced—Proceedings of the convention—Departure of Dundee from Edinburgh.

The ill-fated result of Argyle's expedition, and the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, enabled James to turn the whole of his attention to the accomplishment of an object more valuable, in his opinion, than the crown itself—the restoration of the Catholic religion. In furtherance of this design, the king adopted a series of the most unconstitutional and impolitic measures, which destroyed the popularity he had acquired on his accession, and finally ended in his expulsion from the throne. It is due to the king, however, to state, that in assuming the dispensing power, he merely followed the footsteps of his predecessors, and that his conduct, though illegal, was quite the reverse of intolerant, as he merely wished to see all civil disabilities removed on account of religious opinions, and all his subjects enjoy complete toleration, a principle which the legislature has lately recognised by the repeal of the test act, and the passing of the Catholic relief bill.

It was not, however, till the Scottish parliament, which met on the twenty-eighth of April, sixteen hundred and eighty six, and on the obsequiousness of which the king had placed great reliance, had refused to repeal the test, that he resolved upon those desperate measures which proved so fatal to him. This parliament was prorogued by order of the king on the fifteenth day of June, and in a few months thereafter, he addressed a succession of letters to the council,—and from which he had previously removed some individuals who were opposed to his plans,—in which he stated, that in requiring the parliament to repeal the penal statutes, he merely meant to give them an opportunity of evincing their loyalty, as he considered that he had sufficient power, by virtue

of his prerogative, to suspend or dispense with those laws; a most erroneous and dangerous doctrine certainly, but which could never be said to have been exploded till the era of the revolution. In these letters the king ordered the council to allow the Catholics to exercise their worship freely in private, to extend the protection of government to his Protestant as well as Catholic subjects, to receive the conformist clergy in general to livings in the church, and to admit certain individuals whom he named to offices in the state without requiring any of them to take the test.*

But these letters, though disapproved in part by the council, were merely preparatory to much more important steps. These were the issuing of two successive proclamations by the king on the twelfth of February and the fifth of July in the following year, granting full and free toleration to Presbyterians, Catholics, and Quakers, with liberty to exercise their worship in houses and chapels. He also suspended the severe penal statutes against the Catholics, which had been passed during the minority of his grandfather; but he declared his resolution to preserve inviolate the rights and privileges of the then established (episcopal) church of Scotland, and to protect the holders of church property in their possessions.

By the Presbyterians who had for so many years writhed under the lash of persecution, these proclamations were received with great satisfaction; and at a meeting which was held at Edinburgh of the Presbyterian ministers, who had assembled from all parts of the country, to consider the matter, a great majority not only accepted the boon with cheerfulness, but voted a loyal address to his majesty, thanking him for the indulgence he had granted them. Some there were, however, of the more rigorous kind, who denounced any communication with the king, whom they declared "an apostate, bigotted, excommunicated papist, under the malediction of the Mediator; yea, heir to the imprecation of his grandfather," and who found warm abettors in the clergy of the Episcopal church in Scotland, who displayed their anger even in their discourses from the pulpit.†

Although the Presbyterians reaped great advantages from the toleration which the king had granted, by being allowed the free and undisturbed exercise of their worship, and by being, many of them, admitted into offices of the state, yet, as they perceived that a much greater proportion of Catholics was admitted to similar employments, they began to grow suspicious of the king's intentions, and instead of continuing their gratitude, they openly declared that they did not any longer consider themselves under any obligation to his majesty, as the toleration had been granted for the purpose of introducing Catholics into places of

* Fountainhall, 1177.

† Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 624, App. 187, 192, 194, 195. Fountainhall, State Trials, vol. x. p. 785, vol. xi. p. 1179. Balcarras's Account, p. 3.

trust, and of dividing Protestants among themselves. These apprehensions were encouraged by the Episcopal party, who, alarmed at the violent proceedings of the king against the English universities, and the bishops who had refused to read his proclamation for liberty of conscience in the churches, endeavoured to instil the same dread of popery and arbitrary power into the minds of their Presbyterian countrymen which they themselves entertained. By these and similar means, discontent spread rapidly among the people of Scotland, who considered their civil and religious liberties in imminent danger, and were, therefore, ready to join in any measure which might be proposed for their protection.

William, prince of Orange, who had married the princess Mary, the eldest daughter of James, next in succession to the crown, and who had long entertained the idea of mounting the throne of the Stuarts, watched the progress of this struggle between arbitrary power and popular rights with extreme anxiety. He had incurred the displeasure of his father-in-law, while duke of York, by joining the party whose object it was to exclude James from the throne, by the reception which he gave the duke of Monmouth in Holland, and by his connivance, apparent at least, at the attempts of the earl of Argyle and Monmouth. But, upon the defeat of the latter, William, by offering his congratulations on that event, reinstated himself in the good graces of his father-in-law. As James, however, could not reconcile the protection which the prince afforded to the numerous disaffected exiles from England and Scotland who had taken refuge in Holland, with the prince's professions of friendship, he demanded their removal; but this was refused, through the influence of the prince with the States, and though, upon a hint being given that a war might ensue in consequence of this refusal, they were removed from the Hague, yet they still continued to reside in other parts of Holland, and kept up a regular communication with the prince. Another demand made by the king to dismiss the officers of the British regiments serving in Holland, whose fidelity was suspected, met with the same evasive compliance; for although William displaced those officers, he refused commissions to all persons whom he suspected of attachment to the king or the catholic faith. The wise policy of this proceeding was exemplified in the subsequent conduct of the regiments which declared themselves in favour of the prince's pretensions.*

But if James had to complain of the conduct of his son-in-law, the latter was, in his turn, prepared with a list of grievances. Among other subjects of complaint, was the report of a design on the part of the king to exclude the princess Mary from the throne. This report was credited by William, on whom it made a deep impression. He demanded an explanation. The king, who was perfectly innocent, was indignant at the charge; but William was by no means satisfied, and

* D'Avaux.

to try the king's sincerity, he required the settlement of a yearly allowance on the princess, as presumptive heir to the crown. James, contrary to the advice of some of his catholic counsellors, refused to accede to this request, alleging as his reason, that as the money was not to be spent in the kingdom, it was not claimable.*

As James considered it of the utmost importance, for the success of his contemplated plan for a total abrogation of the penal laws, to obtain the consent and approbation of the prince of Orange, he sent over to Holland, Penn, the celebrated quaker, who was a favourite with the king, and on whose integrity James placed the most perfect reliance, to endeavour to induce the prince to accede to his plan of toleration ; but the sterling honesty of Penn, and his able advocacy of the rights of conscience, were counteracted by the influence of a more dextrous and wily politician in the person of Burnet the historian. The king was not more successful in another attempt he made through the marquis of Abbeville, who, although he succeeded in getting Burnet removed from the court of the prince, could only procure from William a declaration, that though a friend to toleration, he was only such in a general sense, and was opposed to the repeal of the test act, which he considered the only security the church of England had under a catholic king.†

Early in the year sixteen hundred and eighty-seven, William perceived that matters were approaching to a crisis in England, but he did not think that the time had then arrived for putting his intended design of invading England into execution. To sound the dispositions of the people, he sent over in February, that year, Dyckvelt, an acute statesman, who kept up a secret communication with those who favoured the designs of his master. Dyckvelt soon returned to Holland, with letters from several of the nobility addressed to the prince, all couched in favourable terms, which encouraged him to send Zuleistein, another agent, into England to assure his friends there that if James attempted, with the aid "of a packed parliament," to repeal the penal laws and the test act, he would oppose him with an armed force.‡

Although the king was aware of the prince's intrigues, he could never be persuaded that the latter had any intention to dispossess him of his crown, and he continued to pursue the desperate course he had resolved upon with a pertinacity and zeal which blinded him to the dangers which surrounded him. The preparations of the prince for a descent on England went on in the mean time with activity ; but a temporary damp was cast on his hopes by reports of the pregnancy of the queen, an event which, if a son was the result, might prevent the accession of his wife, the princess Mary. To counteract the effect of this report upon the public mind, the enemies of the king circulated with uncommon industry a counter report that the intelligence was untrue, and that it was

* D'Avaux, Burnet, vol. iii. p. 125.
† D'Avaux, Lettre du 23. Janv. ‡ Dalrymple, p. 200—210.

merely preparatory to a design to force a supposititious child upon the nation, to the exclusion of the true protestant heir to the crown. But this malicious falsehood was refuted by the birth of a prince on the tenth of June, sixteen hundred and eighty-eight, an event which has been indubitably attested by the most convincing proofs. The opponents of the king, however, though disappointed, were not depressed, and as they had made the nation believe that a supposititious prince was to be expected, they resorted to every expedient which ingenuity could invent to persuade their dupes that their predictions had been realized. Reports the most incredible were circulated, and although many of them were too inconsistent and absurd to be believed, they were greedily swallowed, and even credited by persons of the best intentions. These reports were carefully raked together by Burnet, who, to please his patron, published them, a circumstance highly discreditable to his memory.* Though the king felt keenly the indignity thus offered him, he disdained to give any public contradiction to the calumny which he probably supposed would be sufficiently answered by appointing a day for a general thanksgiving, throughout the kingdom.

It was not till the month of September, when James was on the utmost verge of the precipice, that he saw the danger of his situation. He now began, when too late, to attempt to repair the errors of his reign, by a variety of popular concessions, but although these were granted with apparent cheerfulness, and accepted with similar indications of thankfulness, it was evident that they were forced from the king by the necessity of his situation, and might be withdrawn when that necessity ceased to exist, an idea which the enemies of the king did not fail to propagate among the people.

Being now convinced that the prince of Orange contemplated an invasion of England, James began to make the necessary preparations for defence. In September, sixteen hundred and eighty-eight, he sent down an express to Scotland to the members of the privy council, acquainting them of the prince's preparations, and requiring them to place that part of his dominions on the war establishment. The militia were accordingly embodied, the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, &c. provisioned, and orders were sent to the chiefs of the Highland clans to be ready to assemble their men on a short notice. Many persons at first discredited the report of an invasion from Holland, and considered that it was a mere device of the king either to raise money or to collect an army for some sinister purpose; but their suspicions were allayed by intelligence being brought by some seamen from Holland of the warlike preparations which were making in the Dutch ports. The jealousies which were entertained of the king's intentions were dissipated by the dread of a foreign invasion, and addresses were sent in to the privy

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 236—245.

council from the different towns, and from the country gentlemen, with offers of service.*

Whilst the privy council were engaged in fulfilling the king's instructions, they received an order from his majesty to concentrate the regular army, and despatch it without delay into England. This force, which did not exceed three thousand men, was in a state of excellent discipline, and was so advantageously posted throughout the kingdom that any insurrection which might break out could be easily suppressed. As the prince of Orange had many adherents in Scotland, and as the spirit of disaffection to the existing government in the western counties, though subdued, had not been extinguished, the privy council considered that to send the army, under such circumstances, out of the kingdom, would be a most imprudent step, and they, therefore, sent an express to the king, representing the danger of such a movement, of which the disaffected would not fail to avail themselves, should an opportunity occur. They proposed that the army should remain as it was then stationed, and that in lieu thereof, a body of militia, and a detachment of Highlanders, amounting together to thirteen thousand men, should be despatched to the borders, or marched into the north of England, to watch the movements of the king's enemies in that quarter, and to suppress any risings which they might attempt in favour of the prince. But, although the council were unanimous in giving this advice, the king disregarded it altogether, reiterated the order he had formerly given, and intimated, that if any of them were afraid to remain in Scotland, they might accompany the army into England.

Accordingly, the Scottish army began its march early in October, in two divisions. The first, consisting of the foot, at the head of which was General Douglas, brother of the duke of Queensberry, who had the chief command of the army, took the road to Chester; and the second, consisting of the horse, under the direction of Graham of Claverhouse, as major-general, marched by York. These detachments, on their arrival at London, joined the English army under the command of the earl of Feversham, about the end of October.

To supply the absence of the regular troops, and to prevent the disaffected from making the capital the focus of insurrection, a large body of militia, under the command of Sir George Munro, was quartered in Edinburgh and the suburbs; but no sooner had the army passed the borders, than crowds from all parts of the kingdom congregated, as if by mutual consent, into the metropolis, where they held private meetings, which were attended by the earls of Glencairn, Crawford, Dundonald, and others. The objects of these meetings were made known to the council by spies, who were employed to attend them; and although they were clearly treasonable, the council had not the courage to arrest

* Balcarras, p. 9. † Ibid, p. 16, 17.

a single individual. Among other things, the leaders of these meetings resolved to intercept all correspondence between the king and the council, a task which Sir James Montgomery undertook to see accomplished, and which he so effectually discharged that very few despatches reached their destination.*

For several weeks the privy council, owing to this interruption, was kept in a state of painful uncertainty as to the state of the king's affairs in England; but at last an express arrived from the earl of Melfort, announcing the important intelligence that the prince of Orange had landed in England with a considerable force, and that his majesty had gone to meet him at the head of his army. The earl, in his despatches, which were addressed to his brother, the duke of Perth, the chancellor, expressed himself in very sanguine terms as to the result of the ensuing contest; but Graham, who had been just created a peer by the king, under the title of Viscount Dundee, in a letter to his friends in the council, did not disguise his apprehensions as to the probable unfavourable issue of the conflict. These discordant opinions produced an irresolution in the minds of the members of council, who appear to have been quite at a loss how to act under this new posture of affairs. To ascertain the exact state of matters in England, they despatched, on the recommendation of the viscount of Tarbet, one Brand, a merchant, and one of the magistrates of the city, who, being in the practice of travelling into England on business, it was supposed would not be suspected as the bearer of any communication to the king; but Brand basely betrayed his trust by carrying his despatches to the camp of the prince of Orange, to whom he was introduced by Dr Burnet.†

The landing of the prince, which was effected without opposition on the fifth of November sixteen hundred and eighty eight, at Torbay in Devonshire, excited the greatest alarm in the mind of the king, who had entertained hopes that a well appointed fleet of thirty-seven men-of-war, and seventeen fire-ships which had been stationed off the Gun-fleet under the earl of Dartmouth, an old and experienced commander, would have intercepted the prince in his voyage; but unfortunately for the king, the cruisers which the admiral had sent out to watch the approach of the enemy had been driven back by the violence of the wind, and when the fleet of the prince passed the Downs towards its destined place of disembarkation, the royal fleet was riding at anchor abreast of the Long-sand, several miles to leeward, with the yards and topmasts struck, and as twenty-four hours elapsed before it could be got ready to commence the pursuit, the commander, on the representation of his officers, desisted from the attempt.

As soon as the king had recovered from the panic into which the news of the prince's arrival had thrown him, he ordered twenty batta-

* Balcarras, p. 19. † Ibid, p. 19, 20.

lions of infantry and thirty squadrons of cavalry to march towards Salisbury and Marlborough, leaving six squadrons and six battalions behind to preserve tranquillity in the capital.* The prince, who had been led to expect that he would be received with open arms by all classes on his arrival, met at first with a very cold reception, and he felt so disappointed that he even threatened to re-embark his army. Had James therefore adopted the advice given him by the king of France, to push forward his troops immediately in person and attack the invader before the spirit of disaffection should spread, he might, perhaps, by one stroke, have for ever annihilated the hopes of his son-in-law and preserved his crown, but James thought and acted differently, and he soon had cause to repent bitterly of the course he pursued. Owing to the open defection of some of his officers and the secret machinations of others, the king soon found, that with the exception perhaps of the Scottish regiments, he could no longer rely upon the fidelity of his army. On the twentieth of November he arrived at Salisbury, and reviewed a division of the army stationed there; and intended to inspect the following day, another division which lay at Warminster; but being informed that General Kirk, its commander, the Lord Churchill and others had entered into a conspiracy to seize him and carry him a prisoner to the enemy's camp, he summoned a council of war, at which these officers were present, and without making them aware that he was in the knowledge of such a plot, proposed a retreat beyond the Thames. This proposition met with a keen opposition from Churchill, but was supported by the earl of Feversham, his brother the Count de Roye, and the earl of Dumbarton, who commanded one of the Scottish foot regiments. The proposal having been adopted, Churchill and some other officers went over to the prince during the night. †

The army accordingly retired behind the Thames, and the king, without leaving any particular in tructions to his officers, proceeded to London, to attend a council of peers which he had summoned to meet him at Whitehall. The departure of the king was a subject of deep regret to his real friends in the army, and particularly to the earl of Dumbarton, and Lord Dundee, who had offered to engage the enemy with the Scots troops alone, but this offer his majesty thought proper to decline, and in a conference which Dundee and the earl of Balcarras afterwards had with him in London, when he had made up his mind to retire to France, he gave them to understand that he meant to intrust the latter with the administration of his civil affairs in Scotland, and to appoint the former the generalissimo of his forces.

In the Scottish privy council there were several persons who were inimical to the king, and who only watched an opportunity, when they should no longer consider themselves in danger, of offering their alle-

* Barillon.

† James' Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 222. &c. Barillon. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 316.

giance and services to the prince of Orange. These were the marquis of Athole, the Viscount Tarbet, and Sir John Dalrymple, the lord-president of the court of session. The two latter, in conjunction with Balcarras, had been appointed by the council to proceed to England, to obtain personally from the king the necessary instructions how to act on the landing of the prince in consequence of the stoppage of the despatches on the road; but they declined the journey on some frivolous pretexts, and Balcarras, a nobleman of undoubted loyalty, was obliged to go alone, and had the meeting with his majesty to which allusion has been made. These counsellors were duly apprised of the advance of the prince, the defection of some of the king's officers, and of his return to London; but as the result of the struggle seemed still to be dubious, they abstained from openly declaring themselves, but in order to get rid of the chancellor, the earl of Perth, and get the government into their own hands, as preliminary to their designs, Viscount Tarbet proposed that, with the exception of four companies of foot and two troops of horse to collect the revenue, the remainder of the troops should be disbanded, as he considered it quite unnecessary to keep up such a force in time of peace, as the prince of Orange had stated in a declaration which he had issued, that that was one of the grievances complained of by the nation. The chancellor, not foreseeing the consequences, assented to the proposal, and he had the mortification, after the order for dismissal had been given, to receive an intimation from the marquis of Athole and his party who waited personally upon him at his lodgings, that as they considered it dangerous to act with him and other Catholic counsellors who were incapacitated by law, they meant to take the government into their own hands in behalf of the king, and they demanded that he and his party should retire from the administration of affairs. The duke of Gordon and the other Catholic members of the council, on hearing of this proceeding, assembled in the chancellor's house to consult with him as to the nature of the answer which should be given to this extraordinary demand. As they saw resistance hopeless, particularly as from appearances the populace meant to join in enforcing the order, they advised the chancellor to submit, and, probably to avoid personal danger, he retired immediately to the country. A tumultuous mob, which had been drawn together by some evil disposed persons after the departure of the chancellor, proceeded to the palace of Holy-rood, to pull down the chapel royal; but they were repulsed with some loss by Captain Wallace, who had charge of the palace. A report having been instantly spread that Wallace was butchering the people, the whole of the inhabitants flew to arms, and a warrant having been granted to the magistrates of the city by the marquis of Athole, the earl of Breadalbane, Viscount Tarbet, and Sir John Dalrymple, to obtain possession of the palace from Wallace, they proceeded in their robes preceded by the town guard, a number of "discontented gentlemen," among whom was Lord Mersington, "the fanatic judge," as

Lord Balcarras calls him, "with a halbert in his hand, as drunk as al or brandy could make him." A mob of between two and three thousand persons formed the rear; but although Wallace was summoned to surrender by trumpeters and heralds, he refused to obey unless they produced a warrant from the king and council. This refusal was immediately followed by an exchange of shots, which so terrified the magistrates and their friends, that they immediately sought for safety in the lanes and stairs of the adjoining houses. The contest was of short duration, for Wallace having imprudently advanced into the outer court of the palace, he was attacked in his rear by the town guard. He thereupon fled, leaving his men to defend themselves as they best could; but when they found that Wallace had abandoned them, they threw away their arms and cried out for quarter. Some, however, were killed by the infuriated mob, and the remainder were taken prisoners, of whom several afterwards died of their wounds, others from starvation. The populace thereafter entered the chapel and palace, which they completely gutted, and broke into the earl of Perth's cellars, which they emptied of their contents. In a state of beastly intoxication the rabble continued for two or three days, rambling through the city in quest of and plundering the houses of the few Catholic inhabitants, and committed the most atrocious acts upon the persons of some Catholic ladies, without any attempt being made by the public authorities to restrain such brutalities.*

After these violences had in some degree subsided, the marquis of Athole called a meeting of the council, and proposed an address of congratulation to the prince of Orange, strongly expressive of gratitude to him for his generous undertaking to relieve them from popery and arbitrary power, and offering a tender of their services; but this address was warmly opposed by the two archbishops, Sir John Dalrymple, Sir George Mackenzie and others, and was finally negatived. They even opposed the voting of any address under existing circumstances, but the marquis and his party succeeded in carrying a short address, drawn up in general terms. Lord Glammis was sent up with it, but it was so different from what the Prince expected, that it met with a very cold reception.

The fate of the unfortunate monarch had by this time been decided. Before his return to London a great defection had taken place among the officers of his army, and he had at last the mortification to see himself deserted by his son-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, and by his daughter the Princess Anne, the wife of the Prince, who, with a perfidy, which fortunately has had few parallels in the annals of filial depravity, had pledged her word to the prince of Orange for the desertion of her husband six days before the return of her father to the capital. "God help me! my very children have forsaken me," such was the exclama-

* Balcarras, p. 22–27.

tion uttered by the unhappy monarch, his countenance suffused with tears, when he received the afflicting intelligence of the flight of Anne from Whitehall. When the king saw he could no longer resist the torrent of popular indignation, and that an imperious necessity required that he should leave the kingdom, his first solicitude was to provide for the safety of the queen and his son. The young prince was sent to Portsmouth, under the charge of Lord and Lady Powis, where they arrived on the first of December. A yacht was in readiness to receive them on board. Instructions had been privately sent to Lord Dartmouth, whose fleet lay at Spithead, to aid the escape of the prince; but the admiral being influenced by some of the disaffected officers, excused himself from fulfilling the orders he had received. To prevent the danger of seizure, the king ordered three regiments to escort the prince back to the capital, where arrangements were made by Caryll, the queen's secretary, to effect his escape down the river.* The queen, who had hitherto refused to leave the king, consented, on receiving an assurance from him that he would follow her within twenty-four hours, to accompany the prince, and, accordingly at two o'clock in the morning of the tenth of December, she left Whitehall, disguised as an Italian lady, attended by a female Italian servant, and the nurse carrying the young prince in her arms. The whole party, although the night was dark and stormy, crossed the river, and landed on the opposite side at Lambeth. Here they expected to find a carriage in waiting to take them up, but unfortunately it had not arrived. The rain fell in torrents, and the party was obliged to shelter themselves under a high wall, exposed every moment to the risk of detection; but they were soon relieved from their perilous situation, carried to Gravesend, and put on board a yacht, in which were Lord and Lady Powis, and three Irish officers, who saw them safely landed at Calais. The king was soon relieved of the extreme anxiety he felt respecting them, by the arrival of St Victor, a French gentleman, who witnessed the departure of the yacht.†

The resolution of the king to quit the kingdom was hastened after a fruitless attempt at negotiation with the prince of Orange, by the appearance of an infamous proclamation, issued under the signature of the prince, which, though afterwards disowned by him, was believed to be genuine at the time. In this paper, all catholics who attempted to exercise any office in virtue of the royal authority, or who bore arms, or had arms in their houses, were denounced as banditti, robbers, and freebooters, to whom no quarter should be given, and all magistrates were called upon to disarm them, under the penalty of being answerable for all the protestant blood which might be spilt, and the property of the protestants which might be destroyed, if the catholics were allowed, through their negligence, to carry the dreadful designs imputed to them in the pro-

* Dalrymple 526—530. Memoirs of James, vol. ii., p. 253—257.—Barillon.
† James (Memoirs) vol. ii., p. 246.—Barillon.

clamation into effect.* Having, therefore, made up his mind to follow the queen without delay, the king wrote a letter to the earl of Feversham, the commander of the forces, intimating his intention, and after thanking him and the army for their loyalty, he informed them that he did not wish them any longer to run the risk of resisting "a foreign army and a poisoned nation." This letter he delivered, on the evening of the day of the queen's departure, to the Count de Roye, to be sent by him to his brother, the earl, after which he retired to rest. He rose shortly after midnight, and having disguised himself as a country gentleman, he left the palace, and descending by the back stairs, entered into a hackney coach, along with Sir Edward Hales, which conveyed them to the Horse-ferry, whence they crossed the river, into which the king threw the great seal. From Vauxhall they proceeded towards the appointed place of embarkation, and arrived at Emley ferry near Feversham by ten o'clock. They embarked on board the custom-house hoy, but before she could be got ready for sea the king was apprehended, and placed under a strong guard.

An extraordinary sensation was created in London as soon as the king's flight was known. The fury of the populace against the catholics, which had been excited to the highest pitch by the proclamation alluded to, now displayed itself in the demolition of the catholic chapels, and in the plundering of the houses of the defenceless catholics. The most absurd rumours, scarcely exceeded by the extravagancies of Oates' plot, were circulated by the disturbers of the public peace, and greedily swallowed by the unthinking multitude.

When the king's arrest was first reported in London, the intelligence was not believed; but all uncertainty on the subject was removed by a communication from James himself in the shape of a letter, but without any address, which was put into the hands of Lord Mulgrave by a stranger at the door of the council chamber at Whitehall. A body of about thirty peers and bishops had, on the flight of the king, formed themselves into a council, and had assumed the reins of government, and many of these, on this letter being read, were desirous of taking no notice of it, lest they might, by so doing, displease the prince. Lord Halifax, the chairman, who favoured the prince's designs, attempted to quash the matter, by adjourning the meeting, but Mulgrave prevailed on the members of the council to remain, and obtained an order to despatch the earl of Feversham with two hundred of the life-guards to protect the person of the king.

On the arrival of Feversham the king resolved to remain in the kingdom, and to return to London, a resolution which he adopted at the urgent entreaty of Lord Winchelsea, whom, on his apprehension, he had appointed lord-lieutenant of Kent. James was not without hopes that the prince would still come to terms, and to ascertain his sentiments

* Eclard, p. 1171.

he sent Feversham to Windsor to invite the prince to a personal conference in the capital, and to inform him that St James's palace would be ready for his reception. The arrival of the earl with such a proposal was exceedingly annoying to William and his adherents, the former of whom, on the supposition that the king had taken a final adieu of the kingdom, had begun to act the part of the sovereign, while the latter were already intriguing for the great offices of the state. Instead of returning an answer to the king's message, William, on the pretence that Feversham had disbanded the army without orders, and had come to Windsor without a passport, ordered him to be arrested, and committed a prisoner to the round tower, an order which was promptly obeyed.

At Rochester, whence he had despatched Feversham, the king was met by his guards, and thence proceeded to London, which he entered on the sixteenth of December amidst the acclamations of the citizens, and the ringing of bells, and other popular manifestations of joy, a remarkable proof of the instability and inconstancy of feeling which actuate masses of people in popular excitements. Whatever were the ideas of the king on this occasion as to his future prospects, the receipt of a letter, almost upon his arrival in the capital, from William, of which Zuleistein was the bearer, convinced him that he had now to do with a man who not merely aspired to his crown, but who already considered himself invested with sovereign authority. In this letter, William desired his uncle not to advance nearer London than Rochester. The letter of course was too late, and James having again expressed his wish to Zuleistein for an interview with his son-in-law, the latter observed that his master must decline it as he could not venture his person among the royal troops. "Then," rejoined James, "let him come with his own guards to St James's, and I will dismiss mine; for I am as well without any, as with those whom I dare not trust." But, in truth, William had no intention whatever of ever meeting his uncle.*

As James conceived that the only chance he now had of securing the confidence of his subjects and preserving his crown, consisted in giving some signal proof of his sincerity to act constitutionally, he, on the morning following his interview with Zuleistein, made the humiliating offer to Lewis and Stamps, two of the city aldermen, to deliver himself up into their hands on receiving an assurance that the civil authorities would gurantee his personal safety, and to remain in custody till parliament should pass such measures as might be considered necessary for securing the religion and liberties of the nation. But Sir Robert Clayton dissuaded the common council from entering into any engagement which the city might possibly be unable to fulfil, and thus a negotiation was dropt, which, if successful, might have placed William in a situation of great embarrassment.†

* James, Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 261–263.

† James (Memoirs) vol. ii., p. 271.—Great Britain's just complaint, p. 8.

But although James did not succeed in his offer to the city, his return to Whitehall had changed the aspect of affairs, and had placed William in a dilemma from which he could only extricate himself by withdrawing altogether his pretensions to the crown, or by driving his uncle out of it by force; but as he had already gone too far to adopt the first alternative, he consulted his friends, not collectively as heretofore, but individually and privately, as to the measures that should be adopted to get rid of the king. To secure the person of the king, and confine him a prisoner for life, seemed to be the most prevalent opinion among the prince's advisers; but William thought otherwise, and considered that the most safe and prudent course he could pursue would be to force James to leave the kingdom; but in such a manner as to induce the belief that he did so freely and of his own accord. Accordingly, to excite the king's alarms, a body of Dutch guards, by order of the prince, marched into Westminster, and, after taking possession of the palace of St James's, marched with their matches lighted to Whitehall, of which they also demanded possession. As resistance, owing to the great disparity of numbers, was considered by the king to be unavailing, he, contrary to the opinion of Lord Craven, the commander of his guards, who, though eighty years of age, offered to oppose the invaders, ordered the guards to resign their posts, of which the Dutch took possession. This event took place late in the evening of the sixteenth of December.*

The king, who was now in effect a prisoner within his own palace, overpowered with anxiety, retired to his pillow for repose, and soon fell asleep; but he had not slept long when he was awakened by the earl of Middleton, who lay in the adjoining antechamber, and who had been roused from his slumbers by a loud knocking at the outer door, by some persons who demanded instant admission. These were the Lords Shrewsbury, Delamere, and Halifax, who had been sent by the prince from Sion-house with a message to the king. James received these commissioners in bed. Halifax produced the instructions he and his colleagues were intrusted with, which were to this effect, that the king should quit Whitehall by ten o'clock next morning, as the prince meant to enter London about noon, and that he should retire to Ham, a house in Surrey belonging to the dowager duchess of Lauderdale, which had been provided for his reception. The king objected to Ham as a residence being uncomfortable, but stated his willingness to return to Rochester. Permission being granted by the prince, James left Whitehall about twelve o'clock noon, after taking an affectionate adieu of his friends, many of whom burst into tears. He embarked on board the royal barge, attended by Viscount Dundee and other noblemen, and descended the river, surrounded by several boats filled with Dutch

* Buckingham, vol. ii. p. 23. James, vol. ii. p. 264. Barillon.

guards, in presence of an immense concourse of spectators, many of whom witnessed with sorrow the humiliating spectacle.*

The king arrived at Rochester the following day from Gravesend, where he had passed the previous night. He remained four days at Rochester, where he received accounts from his adherents, many of whom openly and freely visited him, of the prince's proceedings in the metropolis, all of which evidently showed the prince's intentions to assume the crown. For some time James, in consequence of the conflicting opinions of his trusty friends, was irresolute whether to remain in England or to depart for France; but a proposal which he made to the bench of bishops, similar to that he had offered to the city of London, having been slighted, he no longer hesitated as to the course he should pursue. Having resolved to withdraw immediately from the kingdom, he drew up, the evening before his intended departure, a declaration of the motives which actuated him to leave the kingdom. He stated that he had adopted this resolution from a feeling of self-preservation, as he did not consider that his life would be safe in the hands of a man who had, without provocation, invaded his dominions, treated him as a prisoner, ordered him to quit his palace and his capital, and endeavoured to blacken his character by propagating the falsehood that he meant to palm a suppositious prince upon the nation. He declared, that as he was born free, he wished to remain so; and that as he was not yet too old to hazard, as he had often done before, his life for his country, he was ready to do so again, whenever the people, freed from the delusions under which they laboured, should call on him to come forward. †

Having delivered this declaration to Lord Middleton, with instructions to publish it, and to whom, and other friends, he communicated his intention of departing early next morning, the king retired to rest; but he remained only a short time in bed, and, accompanied by two captains in the navy, his natural son the duke of Berwick, and a domestic, went on board the Eagle fire-ship, being unable to reach, on account of the unfavourable state of the weather, a fishing smack which had been hired for his reception. On the following morning he went on board the smack, and after a boisterous voyage of two days, arrived at Ambleteuse, in France, on the twenty-fifth of December, and joined his wife and child, at the castle of Germain's, on the twenty-eighth. Thus ended the reign of a prince, who, whatever were his defects, was certainly, to use the words of an elegant historian, "more unfortunate than criminal." ‡

Considering the crisis to which matters had arrived, the course which the king pursued of withdrawing from the kingdom was evidently the most prudent which could be adopted. All his trusty adherents in

* James, vol. ii., p. 265—267.
† James (Memoirs), vol. ii. p. 273. Echard, p. 1134. ‡ Hume.

England were without power or influence, and in Scotland the duke of Gordon was the only nobleman who openly stood out for the interests of his sovereign. He had been created a duke by Charles II. James had appointed him governor of the castle of Edinburgh, and he had been thereafter made a privy-counsellor and one of the lords of the treasury. Though a firm and conscientious catholic, he was always opposed to the violent measures of the court, as he was afraid that however well meant, they would turn out ruinous to the king; not indeed that he did not wish to see the professors of the same faith with himself enjoy the same civil privileges as were enjoyed by his protestant countrymen, but because he was opposed to the exercise of the dispensing power at a time when the least favour shown to the professors of the proscribed faith was denounced as an attempt to introduce popery. The king, influenced by some of his flatterers, received the duke coldly on his appearance at court in March, sixteen hundred and eighty-eight, and curtailed some of his rights and privileges over the lands of some of his vassals in Badenoch. Even his fidelity appeared to be questioned, by various acts of interference with the affairs of the castle, of which he disapproved. He resented these indignities by tendering his resignation of the various appointments he held from the crown, and demanded permission from the king to retire beyond seas for a time; but James put a negative upon both proposals, and the duke returned to his post at Edinburgh. *

Notwithstanding the bad treatment he had received, the duke, true to his trust, determined to preserve the castle of Edinburgh for the king, although the prince of Orange should obtain possession of every other fortress in the kingdom. He requested the privy council to lay in a quantity of provisions and ammunition, but this demand was but partially attended to, for though the garrison consisted only of a hundred and twenty men, there was not a sufficiency of materials for a three months' siege. After the tumult which took place in the city, the duke shut himself up in the castle, and invited the earl of Perth, the chancellor, to join him; but the earl declined the offer, and, in attempting to make his escape to the continent, was seized near the Bass, in the Frith of Forth, by some seamen from Kirkaldy, under a warrant from the magistrates of that burgh, and committed to Stirling castle, where he remained a close prisoner for nearly four years. † A few days after the duke had retired to the castle, an attempt was made by some of the prince's adherents to corrupt the fidelity of the garrison, by circulating a false report that the duke meant to make the whole garrison, who were chiefly protestants, swear to maintain the catholic religion. A mutiny was on the eve of breaking out, but it was detected by the vigilance of some officers. The duke, thereupon, drew out the garrison, assured them that the report in question was wholly unfounded, and informed

* Gordon's Hist. of the Family of Gordon vol. ii. p. 585–6.
† Balcarras, p. 29.

them that all he required of them was to take the oath of allegiance to the king, which being immediately tendered, was taken by the greater part of the garrison. Those who refused were at once dismissed. To supply the deficiency thus made, the duke sent notice to Francis Garden of Midstrath to bring up from the north forty-five of the best and most resolute men he could find on his lands; but, on their arrival at Leith, a hue and cry was raised that the duke was bringing down papists and Highlanders to overawe the protestants. To calm the minds of the people, the duke ordered these men to return home. *

As soon as the news of the arrival of the prince of Orange in London, and the departure of the king, was received in Edinburgh, an immense concourse of persons, "of all sorts, degrees, and persuasions," who "could (says Balcarras) scrape so much together" to defray their expenses, went up to London, influenced by motives of interest or patriotism. The prince of Orange, who had fallen upon the wise expedient of obtaining all the legal sanction which, before the assembling of a parliament, could be given to his assumption of the administration of public affairs in England, by the concurrence of a considerable body of the spiritual and temporal peers, and of a meeting composed of some members who had sat in the house of commons during the reign of Charles II., and of the lord-mayor of London, and fifty of the common council; he adopted the same expedient as to Scotland, and taking advantage of the great influx into the capital of noblemen and gentlemen from that country, he convened them together. A meeting was accordingly held at Whitehall, at which thirty noblemen and eighty gentlemen attended. The duke of Hamilton, whose loyalty was regulated by the standard of interest, and who aimed at the chief direction of affairs in Scotland, was chosen president. At this meeting a motion was made by the duke that a convention of the estates should be called as early as possible, and that an address should be presented to the prince to take upon him the direction of affairs in Scotland in the meantime; but this motion was unexpectedly opposed by the earl of Arran, the duke's eldest son, who proposed that the king should be invited back on condition that he should call a free parliament for securing the civil and religious liberties of Scotland. This proposition threw the assembly into confusion, and a short adjournment took place, but on resuming their seats, the earl's motion was warmly opposed by Sir Patrick Hume, and as none of the members offered to second it, the motion was consequently lost, and the duke's being put to the vote, was carried. For a justification of the conduct of the king's friends, in withholding their support from Arran's motion, reference may be had to the memoirs of Balcarras. †

A convention of the estates, called by circular letters from the prince, was accordingly appointed to be held at Edinburgh, on the fourteenth of of March, sixteen hundred and eighty-nine, and the supporters of the

* Gordon's Hist. of the Family of Gordon, vol. ii. p. 587—8. † Balcarras, p. 55.

prince, as well as the adherents of the king, prepared to depart home to attend the ensuing election. But they were artfully detained by the prince till he should be declared king, that as many as might feel inclined might seal their new-born loyalty by kissing his hand; but the prince had to experience the mortification of a refusal even from some of those whom he had ranked amongst his warmest friends. The earl of Balcarras and Viscount Dundee, the former of whom had, as before mentioned, been invested by the king with the civil, the latter with the military administration of affairs in Scotland, were the first of either party who arrived in Scotland, but not until the end of February, when the elections were about to commence. On their arrival at Edinburgh they found the duke of Gordon, who had hitherto refused to deliver up the castle, though tempted by the most alluring offers from the prince, about to capitulate, but they dissuaded him from this step, on the ground that the king's cause was not hopeless, and that the retention of such an important fortress was of the utmost importance.

The elections commenced. The inhabitants of the southern and western counties (for every protestant, without distinction, was allowed to vote), alarmed for the extinction of their religious liberties, and excited by the recollection of the wrongs they and their forefathers had suffered, gave their suffrages to the popular candidate, and the adherents of the king soon perceived that the chances were against him. Yet, when the convention met, a respectable minority seemed, notwithstanding, to be in favour of the king, but who had neither the courage nor address to oppose the popular current. To overawe, as is supposed, the adherents of the king, or to prevent the convention from being overawed by the troops in the castle, the duke of Hamilton and his friends, a few days before the meeting of the convention, introduced a considerable number of armed men into Edinburgh, some of whom were concealed in cellars and houses, ready to act as occasion might require. The first trial of strength between the two parties took place on the election of a president. To the duke of Hamilton the adherents of the king opposed the marquis of Athole, who, in consequence of being slighted by the prince, had promised his support to the royal party; but the duke was elected by a considerable majority. This vote sealed the fate of the Tory party, and many who had hitherto wavered in their allegiance now openly abandoned the cause of their sovereign. A committee was appointed to report upon disputed elections, but being composed of the Whig party, many of the Tory returns, contrary to every principle of law, were declared null. The consequence was, that within a few days, the number of the adherents of the king was greatly reduced.

The first act of the convention was to send the earls of Tweeddale and Leven, with an order to the duke of Gordon to deliver up the castle within twenty-four hours. The duke, overcome by the smooth and insinuating behaviour of Tweeddale, reluctantly yielded, and promised

to surrender the castle next morning at ten o'clock. When this answer was brought to the convention, Balcarras and Dundee were alarmed, and immediately despatched a confidential servant to the duke reminding him of his promise to hold out, and imploring him not to give way. The duke wavered, but on obtaining a writing which he required under the hands of these noblemen that the retention of the castle was absolutely necessary for the success of the king's affairs, and being visited by Lord Dundee the following morning, who impressed on him the importance of holding out, he resolved to break with the convention; and to prepare matters in the north he despatched thither the earl of Dunfermline, his brother-in-law, to whom he granted a written commission, authorising him to raise his friends and vassals in support of the king.*

In consequence of the refusal of the duke to deliver up the castle, he was, by order of the convention, summoned by the heralds at the gate of the castle to surrender, and a proclamation was read at the same time prohibiting all persons from having any communication with him, and promising a reward of six months' pay to the protestants in the garrison who should seize him and deliver him and the castle up to the convention. The duke addressed the heralds from within the gate, and told them, that he kept the castle by commission from their common master, and would defend it to the last extremity; and after handing them some guineas, which he requested they would spend in drinking the king's health, and the healths of all his loyal subjects, he facetiously advised them not to proclaim men traitors with the king's coats on their backs till they had turned them. Upon the departure of the heralds, the duke drew out the garrison and gave them their option, either to remain in the castle and share with him the dangers that awaited them, or to depart. Upwards of a third of the garrison took advantage of the permission to depart, and left the castle on that and the following day.†

Whilst matters were in this state, a messenger arrived with a letter from William to the convention, and almost at the same time one Crane, an Englishman, also arrived, who was the bearer of a letter to the same body from the exiled monarch. A warm debate took place on the letters being produced as to the order in which they should be read, but on a vote being taken, it was decided that the prince's communication, which contained a proposal for the union of England and Scotland, should be first read. Before reading or even opening James's letter, however, the convention passed the following resolution:—"Forasmuch as there is a letter from King James the Seventh presented to the meeting of the estates; that they, before opening thereof, declare and enact,

* Balcarras, p. 41—2. Gordon's Hist. of the Family of Gordon, p. 592.

† Ibid. p. 593-4.

that, notwithstanding any thing that may be contained in that letter for dissolving them, or impeding their procedure, yet that they are a free and lawful meeting of the estates, and will continue undissolved until they settle and secure the protestant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdoms." In this letter, James implored the convention, as faithful subjects, to support his interests, and he informed them, that should any attempt be made by foreigners to interfere with them, he would afford them assistance. To all who should return to their duty before the last day of the month, he offered pardon; but he declared his resolution to punish those who should resist his authority. No answer was returned to this letter, and the bearer of it was doomed to suffer a short imprisonment.

As the king's friends saw that any efforts they could make in the convention after the reception his letter had met with, would be quite unavailing, they agreed at a private meeting which they held on the seventeenth of March, to repair to Stirling and there hold a convention by themselves. This resolution was adopted agreeably to the wish of the king himself, who, in anticipation of what would happen in the convention called by the prince, had sent a written authority, dated from Ireland, empowering the archbishop of St Andrews, the earl of Balcarras, and Viscount Dundee, to call a meeting of the estates at Stirling. Balcarras and Dundee received an assurance from the marquis of Athole, who, ever since the cold reception he had met with from William, had been wonderfully loyal, that he would accompany them, and a similar promise was obtained from the earl of Mar, governor of Stirling castle. Athole, however, began to waver, a circumstance which deferred the departure of the king's friends.

Here it may not be improper to notice a circumstance which probably had its weight in the deliberations preceding the departure of Dundee. On the morning of sixteenth March, just as Lord Dundee was on the point of going to the convention, he was waited upon by James Binnie, a dyer, who informed him that he had overheard a conversation the day before among some persons of their intention of murdering him and Sir George Mackenzie, and Binnie offered, if a warrant were granted him, to apprehend them. Dundee immediately went to the convention and applied for protection, but they refused to act in the matter, and passed to the order of the day. Whether this affair was the device of the Whig party, as has been supposed, to get quit of two individuals particularly obnoxious to them, there are no means of ascertaining; but when the circumstances of the times, and the opinions then held by many of the people are considered, the design of assassinating them is far from improbable.*

But be this as it may, Dundee resolved to remain as short as possible

* Balcarras, p. 24.—Minutes of Convention, 16th March.

in a place where he might be every moment exposed to the dagger of the assassin; and, accordingly, he and his friends fixed on Monday the eighteenth of March for their departure for Stirling. With the exception of Dundee, they all assembled at the appointed place of rendezvous in the city at the hour which had been fixed; but as the marquis of Athole, who had promised to accompany them and to protect them on their arrival at Stirling with a body of his vassals, wished them to postpone their departure till the following day; they consented to remain, and were in the act of dispersing and proceeding to the convention when Dundee made his appearance. Such an unexpected resolution greatly surprised him, but he told Balcarras, that whatever were the views of his friends, he would not remain another day in Edinburgh. Balcarras remonstrated with him, and represented, that his departure would give the alarm to their enemies, who would not fail to take advantage of the discovery; but he replied, that as he had a select body of between forty and fifty troopers ready mounted and prepared to start, he would not remain any longer within the city, but would clear the walls with his party and wait without for such friends as might choose to join him. Dundee accordingly left the city at the head of his troopers to go, as he is said to have emphatically replied to a friend who put the interrogatory to him, wherever the spirit of Montrose should direct. After passing the Nether-bow port, he turned to the left down Leith Wynd, and after clearing the suburbs of the Calton, he faced to the west, and proceeded along the line of road known at the time by the name of the Lang-gate, and which now forms the splendid terrace of Princes' street. On arriving opposite the castle, Dundee ordered his men to halt, and alighting from his horse, he clambered up the steep precipice on the west side of that fortress, and from the bottom of the wall held a conference with the duke of Gordon, who stood in an adjoining postern gate immediately above. No account has been preserved of the nature of the conversation which passed between these two devoted adherents of the king, but it is understood that the viscount entreated the duke to hold out the castle as long as he could, and that he would endeavour to raise the siege as soon as he had collected sufficient forces.

The unexpected appearance of Dundee riding down the High Street of Edinburgh in open day at the head of his troopers, had attracted a considerable number of spectators, and before he reached the Lang-gate, the whole population was in motion, many of whom left the city and witnessed at some distance the interview between the two noblemen. Intelligence of Dundee's departure, and his conference with the duke, was immediately brought to the convention, which was sitting at the time, and created a great sensation. Reports the most unfavourable were raised, and brought by messengers to the convention, that crowds were flocking to Dundee's standard, that their design was to attack the convention, and that the duke of Gordon meant to fire upon the city.

In the midst of the confusion and alarm occasioned by these rumours, the duke of Hamilton addressed the convention in a very angry tone, and told them, that the time was now come when the members should look to their own safety, and as he had no doubt there were enemies among them who were privy to Dundee's designs, he proposed, in order to prevent their escape, that the doors of the convention should be bolted and the keys laid upon the table. This motion being agreed to, the earl of Leven was directed to assemble some forces, which had been brought into the city by the Tory lords, for their protection; but their fears were soon dispelled by the departure of Dundee for the west, and by the return, to the city, of the inhabitants who had gone out to witness the exhibition; and whose appearance near Dundee's troopers, had given rise to the report that they had joined him. The convention despatched a Major Bunting with a party of horse in pursuit, but although he overtook Dundee, he had not the courage to attack him, alarmed by a threat with which, it is said, Dundee menaced him, that he would send him (Bunting) back to the convention, in a pair of blankets, did he dare to molest him.* Dundee crossed Stirling bridge the second day of his departure, and proceeded to his residence of Didhope, near Dundee, to ruminate over the events which had just passed, and to concoct his plans, under the new and extraordinary circumstances in which he was placed, for the restoration of James.†

* Life of Dundee.

† Before giving the details of Dundee's insurrection, the following short sketch will not be out of place. John Graham, Viscount Dundee, descended from the royal line of the Stuarts by the marriage of William, Lord Graham of Kincardine, his ancestor, with the Princess Mary, second daughter of King Robert III., was the eldest son of Sir William Graham of Claverhouse in Angus or Forfarshire. Besides a royal descent, Viscount Dundee also claimed to be descended, through the family of Morphy in Mearns, from the illustrious house of Montrose, and was also allied to the noble family of Northesk by his mother, Lady Jean Carnegy, who was third daughter of the first earl. Young Graham entered the university of St Andrew's in the year sixteen hundred and sixty, where he acquired considerable distinction as a scholar. Mathematics were his favourite study, in the knowledge of which he particularly excelled; and, perhaps, this predilection may have determined him to embrace a military life. He left the university in sixteen hundred and seventy and went to France, into the service of which he entered as a volunteer. He afterwards transferred his services to Holland, and received the commission of a cornet in one of the Prince of Orange's troops of guards. He distinguished himself at the battle of Seneffe, in sixteen hundred and seventy-four, by saving the life of the prince, who had been dismounted, and carrying him off upon his own horse. Having been refused the command of one of the Scottish regiments in the employment of the States, he left the Dutch service and returned to Scotland in the year sixteen hundred and seventy-seven, and was appointed by Charles II., captain of one of the regiments then raising in Scotland for the suppression of the Whigs, in which service he acquired from the unfortunate covenanters, on account of his alleged severities, the unenviable appellation of "the bloody Clavers." The confidence which Charles had bestowed on Captain Graham was continued by his successor James, who, after promoting him successively to the ranks of brigadier and major-general, raised him to the peerage under the title of Viscount Dundee, on the twelfth of November, seven days after the invasion of the prince of Orange.

CHAPTER VI.

Dubious conduct of the king's adherents—Proceedings of the convention—Arrival of Major-general Mackay—Plan for settling the government proposed and carried—Crown of Scotland offered to, and accepted of, by William and Mary—Attempt to apprehend Dundee, who escapes to the north—Retires to Inverness where he is joined by Macdonald of Keppoch—Mackay marches to the north and advances upon Inverness—Dundee retires through Badenoch into Athole—Surprises Perth and appears before the town of Dundee—Retires into Lochaber—Colonel Ramsay arrives at Perth, marches through Athole—Retreats to Perth—Advance of Mackay from Inverness—Dundee marches into Badenoch—Mackay retreats through Strathspey and encamps at Colmnakill—Disaffection among Mackay's troops—Ruthven Castle surrenders to Dundee—Mackay retreats farther down Strathspey—Followed by Dundee—Retreat of Dundee—Skirmish between Mackay's dragoons and the Macleans—Dundee retires into Lochaber—Disbands his forces—Return of Mackay to Edinburgh.

The idea of setting up a counter convention at Stirling, was immediately abandoned on the departure of Dundee from the capital. The marquis of Athole, whom the adherents of the king had chosen for their leader, showed no disposition to follow Dundee, and the earl of Mar, who, to save his loyalty made a feint to escape by the only guarded way, was apprehended, not unwillingly, as is supposed, by the sentinels, and brought back, but was released on giving his parole that he would not leave the city without the permission of the convention. The ambiguous conduct of these two noblemen, tended to cool the ardour of the few remaining adherents of the king, some of whom resolved to support the new order of things, whilst others, less pliant, absented themselves wholly from the convention. That assembly, after passing an act approving of the conduct of the English convention, in requesting the prince of Orange (now declared king of England) to take upon him the administration of the affairs of that kingdom, acknowledged their obligations to him as the assertor of their liberties, and also entreated him to assume the management of the affairs of Scotland. The convention, thereupon, despatched Lord Ross with a letter to William, embodying these sentiments in answer to the communication he had sent them, in which, moreover, they thanked him for having called them together, and declared that they would take effectual measures for the security of religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom.

Popular as the steps were which the convention were about to take, for settling the government of the nation, with the great body of the people, they were not insensible to the probability of a formidable op-

position being raised to their plans, by a bold and determined band of royalists in the north, who, headed by such a warlike and experienced commander as Dundee, might involve the whole kingdom in a civil war. To prepare therefore against such an emergency, the convention, before proceeding to the important business for which it had assembled, issued a proclamation requiring all persons from sixteen to sixty, and capable of bearing arms, to put themselves in readiness to take the field when called upon: they deprived all militia officers, suspected of attachment to the king, of their commissions, and filled up the vacancies thus occasioned, by others on whom they could rely. Sir Patrick Hume, who lay under an attainder for the part he took in Argyle's rebellion, was appointed to the command of the horse militia, and the earl of Leven was nominated to the command of a body of eight hundred men, raised for a guard to the city of Edinburgh.

Backed by these, and by about eleven hundred men of the Scotch brigade from Holland, which arrived at Leith from England, on the twenty fifth of March, under general Mackay, as major-general of all the forces in Scotland, * and by a force of two hundred dragoons which were also sent from England; the leaders of the convention proposed that a committee of eight lords, eight knights, and eight burgesses, should be appointed to prepare and report upon a plan of settling the government. The archbishop of Glasgow and a few other adherents of the king, who still remained in the convention, made a bold stand

* General Hugh Mackay was son of Colonel Hugh Mackay of Scowry. He first entered the Venetian service, in which he distinguished himself. Leaving the service of that republic, he went to France, where he obtained a captaincy in Douglas's regiment. After serving under Marshall Turenne, in the campaign in the Netherlands, in sixteen hundred and seventy-two, captain Mackay offered his services to the prince of Orange, who gave him the commission of Major in one of the Scotch regiments, then serving in Holland. After reaching the rank of Colonel in the Dutch service, Mackay was invited to England by James II., from whom, on the fourth of June, sixteen hundred and eighty-five, he received the appointment of major-general, or commander in chief, of the forces in Scotland; and he was admitted a member of the Scottish privy council, by virtue of a warrant from the king, dated the eighteenth of the same month. But disliking the arbitrary proceedings of James, or preferring the service of his son-in-law, Mackay resigned his commission and returned to Holland. The prince raised him to the rank of major-general, and gave him the command of the British regiments, with which he invaded England. By a warrant signed by William and Mary, dated from Kensington, fourth January, sixteen hundred and eighty-nine, Mackay was appointed "major-general of all forces whatever, *within our ancient kingdom of Scotland.*" This assumption of the sovereign authority without waiting for the determination of the convention, was guarded against by the following entry in their records: "Edinburgh, 28th March, 1689. The estates of this kingdom considering that the king of England, in pursuance, of his acceptation of the administration of the public affairs of this kingdom, till the meeting of the estates had sent down Major-general Mackay, with some Scots regiments under his command, for the security of the estates, and general peace of the kingdom; they do acknowledge the great kindness and care of the king of England; and do hereby warrant and authorise the said Major-general Mackay, to command any forces, either standing or to be raised, with the militia, within this kingdom, &c." Mackay was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general in 1690, and was killed at the battle of Steinkirk, 3d August, 1692.

against such an appointment, but they were outvoted. The committee, after considerable discussion, agreed to the following resolution on the motion of Sir John Dalrymple, who, in a speech of powerful reasoning, exposed the unmeaning application of the term *abdicate*, which had been used by the English convention, in answer to some members, who proposed that the committee should adopt the same form of proceeding. "The estates of the kingdom of Scotland, find and declare, that King James the Seventh being a profest papist, did assume the royal power, and act as a king without ever taking the oath as required by law; and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy, to an arbitrary despotic power, and had governed the same to the subversion of the protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government, whereby he had forfaulted the right of the crown, and the throne was become vacant." Upon the bringing up of the report, this vote was warmly opposed by Ross, bishop of Edinburgh, who proposed that the king should be invited to return to his Scottish dominions; but the bishop had few supporters, and the report was approved of by a very great majority.

The throne being then declared vacant, the convention, on the motion of the duke of Hamilton, appointed the committee to draw up an act for settling the crown of Scotland upon William and Mary, and they were also instructed to prepare an instrument or declaration for preventing a recurrence of the grievances, of which the nation complained. On the eleventh of April, the committee made their report, which was immediately passed into a law without opposition, and solemnly proclaimed same day at the market cross of Edinburgh, in presence of the lord provost and magistrates of the city, and a large concourse of the nobility and gentry. A proclamation was published at the same time, prohibiting all persons from acknowledging, corresponding with, or assisting the late king, and forbidding them in any way from disputing or disowning the new sovereigns, or from misconstruing the proceedings of the estates, under severe penalties. The earl of Argyle on the part of the lords, Sir James Montgomery for the knights, and Sir John Dalrymple for the burghs, were thereupon despatched to London to offer the crown to William and Mary, on the conditions stipulated by the convention. The commissioners were introduced to their majesties at Whitehall, on the eleventh of May, and were of course well received, but on the coronation oath being presented to them by the earl of Argyle, William, who was rather disposed to support episcopacy in Scotland, demurred to take it, as it appeared by a clause which it contained, importing that their majesties should root out heresy, and all enemies to the true worhip of God, to lay him under an obligation to become a persecutor. This difficulty, which it is evident was well founded, was

however got over by the commissioners declaring that such was not the meaning or import of the oath.

The convention having thus completed the object for which it was assembled, adjourned to the twenty-first day of May, not however till it had passed an act at utter variance with those principles of constitutional liberty, which it professed to establish. By this act the duke of Hamilton was vested with full power and authority to imprison any person he might suspect of disaffection to the new government, a violent and arbitrary measure certainly, which nothing but the extraordinary circumstances of the times could justify. The earl of Balcarras and viscount Dundee, were marked out as the first victims of this unconstitutional law. The latter had been already proclaimed an outlay and a rebel by the convention, for absenting himself from its meetings, but he had hitherto made no movement, in consequence of instructions from the king, desiring him not to take the field till a force of five thousand foot, and three hundred horse, which he promised to send him from Ireland, should land in Scotland. These instructions, which had been privately sent to him by a messenger named Hay, were again renewed by one Brady, whom the king sent from Ireland, but who having incautiously made one Thomson, who accompanied him to Scotland, privy to them, he was apprehended, and being brought before the duke he confessed the whole affair, and delivered up the letters, of which he was the bearer.

This discovery hastened the determination of the duke to arrest Balcarras and Dundee, who accordingly despatched the earl of Leven with a party of two hundred men to apprehend them. Balcarras was seized at his country seat, carried to Edinburgh, and imprisoned in the common jail, from which he was afterwards transferred to the castle after its surrender; but Dundee, who had received notice of the approach of the party, retired from his house at Dudhope to another country seat, named Glengilby, or Glenoglevy, which he also abandoned for the mountains, on the appearance of Sir Thomas Livingston at the head of a body of dragoons.

The favourable reception which James had met with in Ireland, and the discovery which the adherents of William in Scotland had made of his intention to land an army in Scotland, joined to the fact that the great body of the Highlanders, and almost the whole of the episcopal party in the north were hostile to the recent change in the government, could not fail to excite alarm in the minds of the partizans of the new dynasty. The brilliant achievements of Montrose had shown how inadequate the peaceful inhabitants of the south, though impelled by the spirit of religious fanaticism, were to contend with the brave and hardy mountaineers of the north, and as Dundee, as they were aware, was desirous of emulating his great predecessor, and was engaged in an active correspondence with the Highland chiefs, they must necessarily

have looked forward to a long and bloody, and perhaps a doubtful contest.

As Dundee possessed the confidence of the Highland clans, and as he looked chiefly to them for support in his attempt to restore the exiled monarch, Viscount Tarbat, one of the ablest politicians of the period, proposed a plan for detaching the chiefs from the cause of James, some of whom he averred were not so inimical to William nor so attached to James, as was supposed, but who, jealous of the power of Argyle, were justly apprehensive that if, as appearances indicated, that nobleman acquired an ascendancy in the national councils, he would make use of his power to oppress them, and would obtain a revocation of the grants of certain lands which belonged to his family and which had been forfeited in the reign of Charles II. Besides these reasons, there was another which was supposed to influence others in their determination to restore the fallen dynasty, and thereby crush the rising power of Argyle, viz. that they were greatly in arrears to him as his superior. Tarbat, therefore, suggested to General Mackay, that an attempt should be made, in the first place to obtain the submission of these last by making them an offer to discharge Argyle's claims against their lands, which he computed would amount to £5000 sterling, and that a separate offer should be made to the chief of the Macleans to make good a transaction which had been in part entered upon between him and the late earl for adjusting their differences. This plan was approved of by the English government, but the affair is said to have been marred by the appointment of Campbell of Cawdor as negotiator, who was personally obnoxious to the chiefs. Mackay attempted to open a correspondence with Cameron of Lochiel on the subject, but could obtain no answer, and Macdonell of Glengary, to whom he also made a communication, heartily despising the bribe, advised the general, in return, to imitate the conduct of General Monk, by restoring James.*

On leaving his residence at Glenoglevy, Dundee crossed the Dee, and entered the duke of Gordon's country, the inhabitants of which were friendly to the cause of James and where he was joined by about fifty horse under the earl of Dunfermline, who, as has been stated, was sent north by the duke of Gordon to raise his vassals in support of his royal master. Whilst Dundee was occupied in raising forces in this district, Mackay was despatched from Edinburgh with a considerable body of troops in pursuit. Mackay appointed the town of Dundee as the rendezvous for his troops, being the best station he could select for keeping the adjoining country, which was disaffected to the new government, in awe, and whence he could send parties to the north to watch the motions of Dundee. On arriving at Dundee, Mackay, leaving a part of his troops there under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston, proceeded north with a body of about five hundred men, consisting of nearly an equal

* Mackay's Memoirs.

number of horse and foot, in quest of the viscount. At Brechin he received intelligence that Dundee, ignorant of course of Mackay's movements, was on his return to his seat of Glenoglevy in the braes of Angus, that he had already passed the Cairn-a-mount, and that he was expected to pass the night at Fettercairn, only a few miles north from Brechin. To prevent all knowledge of his approach, Mackay posted a party of fifty dragoons and a similar number of foot under his nephew Major Æneas Mackay, at the north-water or Gannachy bridge, for the purpose of preventing any communication during the night with Fettercairn, and with the intention of entering the village by break of day and surprising Dundee; but the viscount, who had been apprized of Mackay's movements, avoided the snare and recrossed the Dee.

As soon as Mackay was informed of this retrograde movement, he resolved to pursue Dundee, and, if possible, to overtake him before he should have time to collect any considerable body of forces. With a small but select body of horse and foot, therefore, he crossed the Dee at Kincardine, in the expectation of being joined in the course of his march by some country gentlemen who had given him assurances of support before leaving Edinburgh. In this expectation however he was sadly disappointed, for, with the exception of the master of Forbes, who met him after he had crossed the Dee, with a party of forty gentlemen of his name on horseback and a body of between five and six hundred men on foot, not one of them showed any inclination to join him. The fact was, that, with few exceptions, the people residing to the north of the Tay, were either indifferent to the course of events, or were opposed upon principle to any change in the hereditary succession to the crown, which many of them considered an infraction of the divine law, and which they believed no misconduct on the part of the king could justify. No man knew these things better than Dundee, who calculated that by means of this feeling he would soon be able to arouse the warlike north against the more peaceful south. But valuable as such a body of auxiliaries as that brought by the master of Forbes may be supposed to have been under these circumstances, Mackay, who had been accustomed to the finest troops in Europe, considered that they would be of no service to him, as, according to his own account, they were "ill armed," and appeared "little like the work" for which they were intended. He therefore declined the services of the Forbeses in the meantime, and after thanking the master for having brought them together, he ordered him to dismiss them to their homes, with instructions that they should re-assemble whenever a necessity occurred for defending their own country against the inroads of Dundee.

Having received intelligence of Dundee's route through Strathdon towards Strathbogie, Mackay continued his march in that direction through Aberdeenshire and Moray. On arriving at Strathbogie, he was informed that Dundee had crossed the Spey with about one hundred and fifty horse without opposition, although Mackay had given particular instruction to

the laird of Grant, while in Edinburgh, to occupy all the fords of that river. Mackay also learned, on the following day, by a letter sent to him by the magistrates of Elgin, which had been addressed to them by Dundee, that the viscount was at Inverness, that he had been there joined by Macdonald of Keppoch at the head of a thousand Highlanders, and that he intended to make Elgin his head quarters preparatory to an attack upon Mackay. The accession of the Macdonalds was of immense importance to Dundee, and was as seasonable as unexpected. The cause of their assembling was this. A deadly feud had for some time existed between Macdonald and Mackintosh, arising out of certain claims by the former upon the lands of the latter; and to such a pitch of armed violence did Keppoch carry his pretensions, that James II. felt himself called upon to interfere, by issuing a commission of fire and sword against him as a rebel. Keppoch, taking advantage of the unsettled state of the government, renewed his claims against Mackintosh; and having defeated the Mackintoshes in battle, he had advanced to Inverness, the inhabitants of which had supported the Mackintoshes against him, and was threatening to wreak his vengeance upon them if they did not purchase forbearance by paying him a large pecuniary fine. It was at this critical moment that Dundee arrived, who, anxious at once to secure the aid of Keppoch and the friendship of the citizens of Inverness, who had only a few days before proclaimed the prince of Orange, interposed between them and their exasperated foe, by granting the haughty chief his own bond in behalf of the town, by which he obliged himself to see Keppoch paid the sum of two thousand dollars as a compensation for the losses and injuries he alleged he had sustained at the hands of the Mackintoshes. To reconcile the two chieftains, with the view of obtaining the co-operation of both, was the next object of Dundee, but Mackintosh refused to attend a friendly interview solicited by Dundee; and to punish him for his obstinacy, Keppoch, at the desire of the viscount, drove away his cattle, part of which was kept for the use of the army, and the rest was appropriated by Keppoch's tenants.*

The news of the junction of the Keppoch Highlanders with Dundee, and of their intention to march to the south, was exceedingly disconcerting to Mackay, who had advanced into a hostile country with a handful of troops quite incapable of resisting the powerful force now opposed to them. The obvious and apparently most prudential course which presented itself, was, on the approach of the enemy, to make a sure and as slow a retreat as possible, and to bring up the forces which he had left behind him; but Mackay, rightly judging that a retreat, besides giving Dundee the command of a large tract of country favourable to his views, might create an impression that his adversary was much stronger than he really was, resolved not only to stand firm, but even to cross the Spey, and take possession of Elgin before Dundee should arrive there. Accordingly, after despatching a courier to bring up his re-

* Memoirs of Dundee.

serves from Brechin without delay, he crossed the Spey and advanced upon Elgin, with his dragoons at a hard trot, followed by two hundred veteran foot, who were so desirous of coming to action that they kept up with the horse the whole way from the river to the town. From Elgin, Mackay despatched messengers to some of the principal Whig proprietors in Moray, Ross, and Sutherland, desiring them to prepare themselves for joining him as soon as they should receive his orders.

Mackay lay a few days at Elgin in expectation of Dundee's advance; but as he did not appear, Mackay, who had just received a reinforcement of horse from Brechin, left Elgin and took the road to Inverness. When he reached Forres, he ascertained that Dundee had left Inverness, and had crossed the heights of Badenoch on his way to Athole. It is said that Dundee intended to have advanced upon Elgin, and to have engaged Mackay, but he was counteracted in his design by the refusal of a party of Camerons, who were under Keppoch, to march without the consent of their chief. The real cause appears to be, that having taken a considerable quantity of booty, they were desirous of securing it before meeting the enemy. Mackay continued his march to Inverness, where he was joined by five hundred of the Mackays, Grants, and Rosses. From Inverness, he despatched couriers to the adherents of the new government in the north to join him; and at the same time sent an express to Colonel Balfour at Edinburgh, to despatch Colonel Ramsay north with a select body of six hundred men to be drawn from the Dutch regiments. To effect as speedy a junction with him as possible, Mackay directed that Ramsay should march through Athole and Badenoch.

Dundee, on the other hand, was no less busy in his preparations for the ensuing campaign. He never ceased to carry on an active correspondence with many of the Highland chieftains whose confidence he possessed; and on his march through Badenoch he received the most gratifying assurances of support from the gentlemen of that country, with the exception of Mackintosh, who, as has been stated, had his cattle carried off by Dundee's orders. Having fixed upon Lochaber as the most central and convenient district for mustering his forces, Dundee appointed the friends of King James to assemble there on the eighteenth of May, and in the meantime he descended into Athole, with a body of one hundred and fifty horse, where he met with a cordial reception from Stewart of Ballechan, factor or steward to the marquis of Athole, and from the other vassals of the marquis. Whether Stewart and the other gentlemen of the district, in taking this decided part, acted from a private understanding with their chief, who still remained at Edinburgh, where he had given in an equivocal adherence to the government, or whether they were yet ignorant of the course he meant to follow, are questions which, for want of information, do not admit of solution, but the omission on the part of the marquis to send instructions to Stewart to raise a body of four hundred Athole Highlanders, to oppose the passage of

Dundee through his bounds to the south, should he attempt it, to which effect he had pledged himself to Mackay, before the latter left Edinburgh for the north, raises a suspicion that the gentlemen of Athole acted agreeably to the understood wishes of their chief.

Being informed that the lairds of Blair and Pollock were lying in Perth with a troop of horse, which they had raised for the service of the government, Dundee determined to surprise them, and accordingly he left Athole, and proceeded with celerity during the night towards Perth, which he entered unawares early next morning, and seized both these gentlemen and two other officers in their beds and carried them off prisoners. He also took away thirty horses and a sum of nine thousand merks of the public revenue which he found in the office of the collector; but in accordance with the principle which he says he had laid down for the rule of his conduct, to do nothing but "for conscience and loyalty's sake," he prohibited every interference with private property; and though he found a sum of about five hundred pounds in the same room where the cess and excise duties, which he carried off, lay, he left it untouched when he understood that it was private property. Leaving Perth, Dundee ranged through Angus, augmenting his horse, and after an ineffectual attempt to surprise Lord Rollo, who was raising a troop of horse, he appeared before the town of Dundee, then guarded by two troops of Livingston's dragoons. Their commander, unwilling to encounter Dundee, shut himself up in the town, and the viscount, after spending two nights at Dudhope, his country seat, returned to the Highlands, to meet his friends at the appointed place of rendezvous.

During all this time, Mackay remained at Inverness, waiting for the arrival of Ramsay's detachment from the south, which he had long and anxiously looked for, but which was detained from a cause of which he was ignorant. The cause was this. In conformity with Mackay's orders, Colonel Balfour immediately put the troops under Colonel Ramsay in readiness to march, but just as they were about to pass across the Frith of Forth, from Leith to Burntisland, an alarm was created by the appearance of a large number of vessels at the mouth of the Frith, which were at once supposed to be a French fleet with troops on board for the purpose of making a descent upon the coast in support of Dundee. As the seizure of the capital, it was naturally supposed, would be the first object of the invaders, the embarkation of Ramsay's detachment, which in such an event would be necessary for its defence, was countermanded; but in two or three days the fears of the government were dispelled, by having ascertained that the fleet in question consisted of a number of Dutch herring busses which were proceeding on their annual voyage to their fishing stations on the northern coast. This delay occasioned great embarrassment to the operations of Mackay, and almost proved fatal to him, as Dundee was thereby enabled to throw himself with a large force between Mackay and Ramsay's corps, and to threaten both with annihilation.

In terms of his instructions, Ramsay, after reaching Perth, proceeded through Athole, on his way to Inverness. Though the Athole-men, many of whom he found armed, offered no opposition to his march, yet as every thing around him assumed a warlike appearance, and as reports were continually brought to him, that Dundee had placed himself between him and Mackay, with a very large force, he grew alarmed, and so strong had his fears become when within a dozen of miles of Ruthven in Badenoch, that he resolved to return to Perth. He had previously despatched a letter to Mackay, informing him of his advance, and appointing him to meet him at Ruthven on a given day, but he neglected to send another express acquainting Mackay of his design to return to Perth. The retreat of Ramsay was disorderly, and some of his men deserted. The Athole men, who kept hovering about him, were desirous of attacking him, but they were prevented, though with difficulty, by the gentlemen of the district. It was on a Saturday night that Mackay received Ramsay's despatch, and so anxious was the general to form a speedy junction with Ramsay's detachment, that he left Inverness the following morning, taking with him only two days' provisions. When about half way between Inverness and Ruthven, he received an express from the governor of the castle, informing him of Ramsay's retreat, and that Dundee had entered Badenoch on Sunday morning, (the morning of Mackay's march from Inverness) with an immense force, and was within a few miles of the castle.

To understand the cause of this speedy movement on the part of Dundee, it is necessary to state, that two or three days before Ramsay's arrival in Athole, Stewart of Ballechan had intercepted a despatch from Mackay, which he forwarded to Dundee, and who, in consequence, became acquainted with their plan of uniting their forces. To counteract which, and that he might have an opportunity of successively attacking, and probably destroying both divisions, he had hastened from the place of rendezvous in Lochaber into Badenoch, with a force of two thousand men, which was shortly increased to three thousand. Yet, notwithstanding the discovery thus made by Dundee of Mackay's intentions, the information would not have availed him, had Ramsay, instead of being intimidated by the false intelligence he received, continued his march; for, according to Mackay's own calculations, he might have reached Ruthven on Saturday night, before Dundee entered Badenoch, and, even if Dundee had followed him, he could have made a safe retreat into the laird of Grant's territory, where he would have been supported by a body of seven or eight hundred men.*

The first person who had met Dundee in Lochaber on the appointed day was Glengary, who had with him a body of between two and three hundred men. He was followed by Macdonald of Morer, at the head of nearly two hundred of Clan Ranald's men, and by Appin and Glen-

* Memoirs.

co, with about the same number of men. Dundee had been subsequently joined by Lochiel, who had six hundred men under him, and by Keppoch, at the head of two hundred; but Sir Alexander Maclean, who had promised also to attend, failed to appear.

The intelligence communicated by the commander of Ruthven castle was exceedingly perplexing to Mackay, who must have felt keenly the disappointment of Ramsay's flight. He saw himself with a handful of men surrounded by a warlike and hostile population, and within a short march of a powerful force, which he could not singly resist—with few friends on whom he could place much reliance, and who, either lukewarm in the cause for which he had taken the field, or indifferent to the result of the ensuing contest, were ready to desert him when fortune should appear to declare against him. He had, in the unfortunate situation in which he was placed, only a choice of evils before him. To have proceeded on his march with the view of cutting his way through the enemy, would have been, even if practicable, an imprudent and very dangerous step, and to have taken up a position in a district where he would have been exposed to be surrounded and cut off from his resources, would have been equally rash. He had, therefore, no alternative which he could prudently adopt, but either to fall back upon Inverness, or retire down the vale of the Spey. He preferred the latter course for these reasons, that although such a movement would leave Inverness quite exposed to Dundee's army, that disadvantage would be more than counterbalanced by the protection which would be thereby afforded to the laird of Grant's lands, near the borders of which Dundee was now hovering, and by the obstruction which the interposition of Mackay's troops would present to any attempt on the part of Dundee to recruit his army in the duke of Gordon's country. Besides, by making Strathspey the scene of his operations, Mackay expected to be able to keep up a communication with the south through Angus and Aberdeenshire, and the adjoining parts of Moray, which he could not maintain if he returned to Inverness.

Accordingly, after despatching an express to Inverness, apprizing the garrison of his intentions, and promising assistance, should Dundee venture to attack the town, Mackay began a rapid march towards Strathspey, which he continued during the night, and did not halt till he had descended a considerable way down that vale. Dundee, who had closely pursued him, afraid of exposing his men to the attacks of Mackay's cavalry, did not follow him after he had gained the flatter part of the Strath, but kept aloof at the distance of some miles in a more elevated position where he encamped. Notwithstanding his inferiority in point of numbers, the revolutionary general determined to endeavour to allure Dundee from his stronghold by offering him battle, and having refreshed his men, wearied by a long march of twenty-four hours, he advanced next morning to within a mile of Dundee's camp, and, after reconnoitering the position of the enemy, made preparations

for receiving them; but Dundee, secure from danger, by the nature of the ground he occupied, showed no disposition to engage. It is probable that, in acting thus passively, he was influenced by the conduct of the highlanders, who were averse to engage with cavalry, and some of whom (the Camerons, according to Mackay,) fled to the neighbouring hills on Mackay's approach. Seeing no hope of drawing the viscount out of his trenches, Mackay returned in the evening to his camp, which he removed the following day to Colmnakill, about six miles lower down the Spey, where he considered himself more secure from any sudden surprise or attack, and where he was speedily joined by two troops of Livingston's dragoons from Dundee. The ground occupied by Mackay was a spacious plain, bounded on the south by the Spey, which effectually protected his rear, whilst his front was covered by a wood and some marshes which skirted the plain on the north. The right of Mackay's position was protected by a small river with a rough and stony bottom. The general himself took up his quarters at Belcastle, a summer-house in the neighbourhood belonging to the laird of Grant, whence he despatched ten or twelve of Grant's tenants, selected by Grant himself as the most intelligent and trustworthy, to watch and bring him notice of Dundee's motions. These scouts kept up a constant communication with Mackay, who received a personal report from one or other of them almost every alternate hour. In the meantime, he kept his whole army under arms, and to prevent surprise, small parties of horse and dragoons patrolled the neighbouring woods, and some foot were stationed along the banks of the little river on the right. But these precautions would probably have been unavailing, if the government general had not timeously been made acquainted with the fact, that there were enemies in his camp who were watching an opportunity to betray him.

For some time, a report had been current that Livingston's regiment of dragoons were disaffected to the government; but as Mackay could not trace the rumour to any authentic source, he disbelieved it, and to mark his confidence in their fidelity, he had ordered the two troops which were stationed at Dundee to join him in the north. But two days after their arrival at Colmnakill, an occurrence took place which confirmed the report, and excited the most alarming apprehensions in the mind of the general. Two deserters having arrived from Dundee's camp, were brought before Mackay for examination. As one of them was recognised as having been a sergeant in Wauchope's regiment in England, from which he had deserted, the general suspected him to be a spy, and threatened to punish him as such if he did not give a satisfactory account of himself. This man thereupon requested a private interview with Mackay; and all the officers, with the exception of Sir Thomas Livingston, having withdrawn, he informed the general, that with few exceptions, all the dragoon officers had entered into a conspiracy to betray him; and he named Lieutenant Colonel Livingston, and Captains Mur-

ray, Livingston, and Crichton, and Lieutenant Murray, as the ring-leaders. In answer to a demand made by Mackay for proofs of this assertion, the deserters informed him, that they had heard Dundee frequently assure the chiefs of the clans that he could depend upon the dragoons, in proof of which they had seen him read letters from his lady to that effect, and heard him inform the chiefs, that till he saw a favourable opportunity for requiring the services of the dragoons, he would allow them to remain in the enemy's camp, where they might be useful to him. The deserters concluded by informing Mackay that they had not left Dundee's camp altogether of their own accord, but partly at the instigation of the lairds of Blair and Pollock, who had been carried about by Dundee as prisoners ever since their capture at Perth, and who were anxious to prevent Mackay from engaging, under these circumstances, with such a small party of troops as he then had.

This information, though calculated to shake the general's confidence in the fidelity of these dragoons, was too vague and unsatisfactory to be relied upon. Mackay appears at first to have had some doubts of the truth of the statement; but his unwillingness to believe the accusation gave place to an opposite impression when, after ordering the deserters to be confined in Belcastle, and threatening them with exemplary punishment should it turn out that they were spies sent by Dundee, they expressed themselves quite satisfied to abide the result of any investigation he might institute.

On the removal of the deserters, Mackay requested Sir Thomas Livingston's opinion as to the correctness of the information which had been communicated by them respecting the officers of his regiment. The colonel, who, according to Crichton, was secretly a partizan of the exiled sovereign, told Mackay, that he did not believe that the private men were, perhaps, with a very few exceptions, aware of any plot; but he stated, that he himself had of late begun to suspect the fidelity of the officers named, especially since the recent junction of the two troops, as he had often seen them in serious conversation together, which they immediately dropt on his approach. Mackay, though now satisfied that there were traitors in his camp, took no steps to secure them, but continued to remain in his position waiting for the arrival of Barclay's dragoons and Leslie's foot from Forfar and Cupar Angus, whither he had despatched a trusty Highlander, who had been accustomed to trade in Strathdee and Braemar, and who, consequently, would not be suspected as the bearer of despatches, with an express to hasten their march. Mackay might have retreated down the river, but he was advised to remain at Colmnakill by Sir Thomas Livingston and the laird of Grant, for these reasons, that by retaining his ground, his expected succours would be every day drawing nearer to him, and that every day thus spent would be lost to Dundee, who was prevented, by his presence, from communicating with those places in the low country where he expected reinforcements, particularly in horse, of which

he stood in most need. Besides, by retiring, Mackay considered that he might probably be forced to recross the Grampians before the two regiments could join him, in which case, he would leave the whole of the north exposed to Dundee, who would probably avail himself of the opportunity to raise a force too formidable to be encountered.

In the meantime, Dundee sent a detachment of his army to lay siege to the old castle of Ruthven, in which Mackay, on his arrival at Inverness, had placed a garrison of about sixty of Grant's Highlanders, under the command of John Forbes, brother to Culloden. The garrison being in want of provisions, capitulated on the condition that their lives should be spared, and that they should be allowed to return to their homes on their parole. While conducted through Dundee's camp, Forbes observed all the horses saddled, and his army preparing as if for an immediate march. In proceeding towards Colmnakill, he met, at the distance of about a mile from Dundee's lines, two men on horseback, one in a red, the other in a blue uniform. The latter immediately challenged him with the usual parole, "Qui vive?" on which Forbes returning the "Vive le Roi Guilleaume," as indicative of his loyalty to the existing government, the man in red informed him, that they had been despatched from Mackay's camp to obtain intelligence of the enemy. Captain Forbes then cautioned the men of the risk they would run if they proceeded farther, but regardless of his advice, they rode forward in the direction of Dundee's camp. Forbes having mentioned this occurrence to Mackay while at dinner the same day, the latter immediately suspected that the officers of dragoons were in communication with Dundee, as he had given no such order as the man clothed in red had pretended. He, thereupon, desired inquiry to be made if any dragoons had been sent out, and by whom; and as blue was the uniform of Livingston's men, he desired them to be instantly mustered to ascertain if any were absent; but the general had scarcely issued these instructions when some of his scouts brought him intelligence that Dundee's army was moving down the Strath towards Colmnakill. This movement, combined with the information which had been communicated to him by Forbes, left no doubt of the treachery of the dragoons.

Under these circumstances, Mackay had no alternative but an immediate retreat. Calling, therefore, his commanding officers together, he ordered them to put their men under arms and to form them upon the plain in marching order. He next addressed himself to the laird of Grant, and after expressing his regret at the step he was about to take, by which Grant's lands would be left for a short time exposed to the ravages of Dundee's army, he requested him to order his tenants to drive their cattle down the country out of the reach of the enemy, who would probably overlook them in their anxiety to follow him in his retreat. Grant listened to this advice with becoming attention, but to show how little he regarded his own personal interest, as opposed to what he con-

ceived his duty to his country, he observed, that though he might lose every thing by Dundee's invasion of his country, he would not take one step prejudicial to the government.

In fixing the order of his retreat, Mackay adopted the plan he had been accustomed to follow, that he might not excite the jealousy of the dragoons, or make them suspect that he was distrustful of them.* Accordingly, as was his usual practice, he divided the dragoons into two bodies, one of which consisting of Major and Captain Balfour's companies, he placed in the rear, and the other four companies commanded by the disaffected officers he placed in the front, that he might overawe them by his own presence. Immediately before the two troops of dragoons which formed the rear-guard, Mackay placed two hundred foot, chiefly grenadiers of the three Scoto-Dutch regiments, and next to them the English horse, then scarcely seventy men strong, and between those horse and the four companies of dragoons which were led by Sir Thomas Livingston, he posted two hundred of Lord Reay's and Balnagown's Highlanders, having previously dismissed Grant's men, whom he had informed their chief he would leave behind to protect their own country from Dundee's stragglers.

There were three ways by which Mackay could retreat,—either towards Inverness, or through Strathdown and Glenlivet, a movement which would bring him near his expected reinforcements, or down Strathspey. Of these routes Mackay would have preferred the southern; but as the population of Strathdown and Glenlivet was catholic, and of course hostile to him; and as the ground in those districts was unfavourable to the operations of cavalry in case of attack, he resolved to march down Strathspey. But as he was desirous to conceal his route from Dundee, he did not begin his march till nightfall, at which time Dundee was within three miles of his camp. In his course down Speyside he passed by the house of Grant of Ballindalloch, who was serving under Dundee, and arrived early the following morning at Balveny, where he halted to refresh his men and procure a supply of provisions. There he met Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie, from whom he obtained some men to act as intelligencers. Some of these he despatched back in the direction he had come, to ascertain if Dundee still remained in the Strath; but apprehensive that Dundee would take a southerly course, by crossing the Strath, with the view of throwing himself between Mackay and his reinforcements, he sent off others in that direction. These scouts soon returned with intelligence that Dundee was still in Strathspey. This information was satisfactory to Mackay, and relieved him from a state of the most painful anxiety he had been in on his march; but he was still greatly perplexed by the want of provisions, which, though hourly expected, had not yet arrived.

Desirous, however, to wait for supplies as long as consistent with safety, he again despatched some of Gordon's men in the direction he supposed Dundee would take, and at sametime sent out a sergeant with a party of

twelve dragoons back by the course he had marched to bring him notice of Dundee's motions. Mackay waited with the greatest impatience till about five o'clock in the evening for the return of the dragoons, without any signs of their appearance, a circumstance which alarmed him so much, that although a quantity of provisions and oats had just reached his camp, he would not allow time for baking bread or feeding the horses, but gave orders for an immediate march. Accordingly, the whole party moved off in the same order as before, and passed a small river about a mile above the place where they had been encamped; but they had scarcely advanced half a mile when Sir Thomas Livingston, who happened to be a little behind, observed the enemy on the other side of the river they had just passed, marching towards the ford by which Mackay's men had crossed. On being informed of this, Mackay, after ordering Lieutenant-colonel Livingston, who was at the head of the vanguard, to continue at a pretty quick pace; galloped to the rear, and having despatched Sir Thomas Livingston to the front to lead the party, with instructions to keep up a constant pace, but without wearying the troops, he posted himself upon a rising ground with about fifty or sixty horse and dragoons in view of Dundee's army, where he was joined by the master of Forbes with about fifty horse.

When Dundee observed the party of dragoons drawn up on the hillock he immediately halted, drew in his stragglers, and marshalled his men into battalions, keeping up the usual distinction of the clans. In the meantime Mackay sent off his nephew, Major Mackay, to a hill which lay about a quarter of a mile to his left, from which he could obtain a nearer and more correct view of Dundee's force and his motions. The Viscount's horse immediately passed the river, and drew up along the bank to protect the passage of the foot, who in their turn also formed till the baggage was brought over. It was now after sunset, but the Viscount continued to advance. Mackay, who was nearly two miles behind his rear, thereupon began to ride off with his party, but he had not proceeded far when a cry of "halt!" met his ears. On turning round he observed Major Mackay galloping after him, who, having observed a party of horse which he supposed to belong to Dundee, moving along the face of a hill to the General's left, and which from the twilight appeared more numerous than it really was, had hastened to acquaint the General of the circumstance. Mackay, thereupon, sent an order to Colchester's detachment to halt on the first level spot of ground they should come to. It turned out, however, that this party which had occasioned such alarm was no other than the sergeant with the twelve dragoons of Livingston's regiment which had been sent out by Mackay in the morning to reconnoitre. It was afterwards ascertained that this sergeant was concerned in the plot, and that he was the same individual in blue, whom Captain Forbes had met with within a mile of Dundee's camp. This man pretended, however, that he had run great danger of capture; and that he had taken such a round-about way merely to avoid the enemy, though

he and his party had been with Dundee the whole day, and had conducted him over the ground which Mackay had passed on the preceding day. With the exception of a short halt ordered by Sir Thomas Livingston, on a false alarm being spread that Mackay was engaged, the government forces continued their march all night till they crossed the river of Bogie, where, from pure exhaustion, they halted at four o'clock in the morning. The General then ordered the provisions which had reached the camp previous to his retreat, to be distributed among his troops, and desired the horsemen to lead their horses into an adjoining corn-field and feed them. When the men were refreshing themselves Mackay received the agreeable intelligence that Barclay and Lesley's regiments would join him that day, but "to play sure game," as he himself says, after allowing his men two hours' rest, he marched three miles further down towards his succours, and took up a position at the foot of Suy-hill upon the common road from the south to the north, by which he expected the two regiments would march. But this precaution was unnecessary, as Dundee had halted within three miles of Strathbogie during the night, and spent the following day in laying waste the lands of Edinglassie, and pillaging and destroying the house of Sir George Gordon the proprietor.

Having sent a pressing order to Barclay and Lesley to hasten their march, Mackay had the satisfaction of being joined by the former at twelve o'clock noon, and by the latter at six o'clock in the evening, after a long and fatiguing march. Resolved that no time should be lost in turning the chase upon Dundee before he should be aware of these reinforcements, Mackay put his army in marching order, and advanced towards him after ten o'clock at night. But his designs were made known to Dundee by two dragoons who had been despatched by their officers. These men, on the departure of Dundee, were discovered in a wood by Sir George Gordon, the master of Forbes, Major Mackay, and others, who, along with some Highlanders, a servant, and a boy belonging to one Captain Bruce, formerly an officer in Livingston's dragoons in the reign of King James, had there concealed themselves. The general being satisfied, on examining of the servant and boy, that the sergeant before mentioned had been in Dundee's camp, and that he had had a conference with Dundee, and the two dragoons having confessed nearly as much themselves, he immediately put Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston and the other suspected officers under arrest. He thereupon continued his march, and arrived at Balveny that night, and on the following day reached Colmnakill, which he had left only five days before. Here having received notice that a party of Dundee's men was on the other side of the adjoining river, he sent orders to Sir Thomas Livingston to cross with two hundred dragoons and drive them away; but Sir Thomas having been previously informed that the laird of Grant was sorely pressed by the retiring forces of Dundee, had anticipated the general's orders, and had advanced two miles beyond the river with a greater

force, in pursuit of a body of highlanders. These were, according to Balcarras, Sir John Maclean's men, who were on their way to join Dundee, and who, alarmed at the appearance of such a large number of dragoons, threw away their plaids and betook themselves to an adjoining hill, where they formed. They are stated by the last-mentioned author to have amounted only to two hundred men, but Mackay, in his memoirs,* states the number at five hundred. Mackay observes, that but for the indiscretion of Livingston's adjutant, who by riding a quarter of a mile in advance, gave the Highlanders timeous notice of the approach of the dragoons, not one of them would have escaped, but being thereby enabled to gain the top of the hill before the dragoons came up with them, they sustained a loss of only eighty or a hundred men. In this skirmish, a captain of Barclay's regiment and six dragoons were killed, and some wounded.

Having been joined by Ramsay's detachment, which during the occupancy of Strathspey by the hostile armies, had, unknown to Mackay, penetrated through Athole and Badenoch and reached Inverness, Mackay continued to pursue Dundee into Badenoch, but as the latter retired into Lochaber, Mackay gave over the pursuit on learning that Dundee had dismissed the greater part of his forces. Mackay, thereupon, marched to Inverness with Livingston's dragoons, Leslie's foot, and a party of Leven's and Hastings' regiments, and two hundred Highlanders, and he sent Berkeley's regiment to Strathbogie, where there was abundance of grass, and the three Dutch regiments to Elgin. From Inverness, Mackay despatched an express to the duke of Hamilton, urging upon him the necessity of placing "a formidable garrison" at Inverlochy, and small ones in other places in the north, without which he considered that it would be utterly impossible to subdue the Highlanders, who, on the approach of an army, for which a fortnight's subsistence could not be found in their mountainous regions, could easily retire to difficult passes and other places inaccessible to regular troops. He, therefore, requested that his grace and the parliament would consider the matter before the season was farther spent, and provide the necessary means for carrying such a design into effect against his arrival in the south, whither he intended to proceed in a few days.

On his way to the south, Mackay despatched fifty horse, as many of Berkeley's dragoons, and sixty foot, to take possession of the house of Braemar, into which he intended to place a garrison to keep the Braemar men in check, and to cover the county of Aberdeen; and he ordered the captain of dragoons, after putting twenty of his men into the house, to march forward, without halting, before break of day, to the house of Inverey, about three miles farther off, for the purpose of seizing Inverey and some other gentlemen who had lately been with Dundee. But, fortunately for Inverey and his guests, the officer trifled off his

* P. 38, of the copy printed for the Bannatyne club.

time in Braemar house, refreshing his horses, till the dawn of the morning, and the approach of him and his party being perceived, Inverey and his friends escaped in their shirts to a neighbouring wood. Disappointed of their prey, the party retired to the house of Braemar, where, after setting their horses loose to graze, they laid themselves down to repose; but they were soon wakened from their slumbers by some firing from a party on a rock above, which had so alarmed the horses that they were found galloping to and fro in the adjoining fields. As soon as the dragoons had caught their horses, which they had some difficulty in doing, they galloped down the country. The party on the rock was headed by Inverey, who had collected a number of his tenantry for the purpose of expelling the dragoons from his bounds, and who, on their retreat, set fire to Braemar house, which was consumed.

The party of foot, which, having charge of a convoy of provisions and ammunition for the intended garrison, had not yet arrived, on hearing of the retreat of the dragoons, shut themselves up in a gentleman's house, to secure themselves from attack, and the commanding officer sent an express after Mackay, who was then on his way to the south, acquainting him of the failure of the enterprise. On receiving this intelligence, Mackay, although he had not a day's bread on hand, and was in great haste to reach Edinburgh, "to put life in the design of Inverlochy," turned off his course and crossed the hills towards Braemar, with his foot, after giving directions to Berkeley's dragoons to march up Deeside. Finding Braemar house destroyed, and the vaults of it incapable of holding a garrison, Mackay, after burning Inverey's house and laying waste all his lands, descended the river to Abergeldie, where he left a detachment of seventy-two men as a check upon the Farquharsons. And having placed the other troops which he had brought from the north in quarters farther down the Dee, he posted off to Edinburgh, where he arrived in the beginning of July, about a fortnight before the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh, which capitulated on the fourteenth of June, after a siege of three months.

On his arrival at Edinburgh, Mackay was exceedingly mortified to find that no steps whatever had been taken by the government for putting his design into execution, of erecting a fort at Inverlochy. As the season was now too far advanced to collect materials for such an erection, he proposed in council, that a body of fifteen hundred pioneers should be levied in the northern counties, each of whom should be obliged to carry a spade, shovel, or pickaxe, along with him, and that a month's provision of meal, with horses to carry it, should be furnished, along with a force of four hundred men. But this plan the general himself confesses, "considering the inability, ignorance, and little forwardness of the government to furnish the necessary ingredients for the advance of their service, was built upon a sandy foundation, and much like the building of castles in the air."* As an instance of the slowness and irresolution

* Memoirs, p. 46.

of government, Mackay mentions, that after his return from the north, they took three weeks to deliberate upon the mode of conveying a fortnight's provisions for four hundred men; by which delay he says he lost the opportunity of preventing Dundee from occupying Athole, Badenoch, and other parts of the southern highlands.

CHAPTER VII.

Probabilities of success—Dundee solicits aid from Ireland—Plan of campaign—Preparations of Mackay—Conference between him and Lord Murray who proceeds to Athole—Conduct of the Athole-men—Arrival of an Irish Reinforcement which joins Dundee—Departure of Mackay to Perth—March of Dundee into Athole—The Battle of Killiecrankie—Death and character of Dundee.

The return of Mackay to the capital, after a fruitless and exceedingly harassing series of marches and countermarches, seems to have abated the ardour of some of the supporters of the government, who, disappointed in their expectations, and displeased at the preference shown by the court to others they considered less deserving than themselves, had become either indifferent about the result of the struggle, or secretly wished for a restoration. That such an event might occur was indeed far from improbable. James was already in possession, with the exception of two cities, of all Ireland, and William was by no means popular in England. To give, therefore, a decided and favourable turn to James's affairs in Scotland nothing was wanting but to aid Dundee immediately with a few thousand men from Ireland; but although the necessity of such a step was urged by Dundee in his communications with the exiled monarch, the latter did not, unfortunately for himself, consider the matter in the same light. The expectation of such a reinforcement, which they confidently looked for, had, however, its due effect upon the minds of the highlanders, who gladly endured during the recent campaign all those painful privations which necessarily attend an army scantily provided with the means of subsistence. No man was better fitted by nature than Dundee for command under such difficulties, and at the head of such troops. Whilst by his openness, frankness, and disinterestedness he acquired an ascendancy over the minds of the chiefs, he was equally successful by attending personally to their wants, by mixing frequently among them, and by sharing their privations and fatigues, in securing the obedience of the clans. But valuable and important as the services were of such a bold and devoted

band, it was evident that without a sudden and powerful diversion from Ireland, or a considerable rising in the lowlands, it was impossible for Dundee, from the paucity of his forces, and the want of cavalry, to carry the war into the south with any possible chance of success.

As the Irish reinforcements were daily expected, Dundee enjoined the chiefs of the clans, who, with their men, had taken a temporary leave of absence on the departure of Mackay, to rejoin him as soon as possible, and from his head quarters at Moy, in Lochaber, he sent expresses to the other chiefs who had not yet joined him to hasten to the approaching muster.*

* The following letter to Macleod of Macleod will give some idea of Dundee's prospects at this time:—

"*For the* LAIRD *of* MACLEOD.*

"MOY, Jun 23, 1689.

"SIR,—Glengaire gave me ane account of the substance of a letter he receaved from yow: I shall only tell yow, that if you heasten not to land your men, I am of opinion yow will have litle occasion to do the king great service; for if he land in the west of Scotland, yow will come too late, as I believe yow will thinck yourself by the news I have to tell yow. The prince of Orange hath wreaten to the Scots councell not to fatig his troops any more by following us in the hills, but to draw them together in a body to the west; and, accordingly, severall of the forces that were in Pearthshire and Angus, are drawn to Edinr., and some of M'Kay's regments are marcht that way from him: he further informs that, besids the fifty-two sail alraidy in Irland of French men-of-warr, there are eighty more from Brest, who have fiveen thousand land souldiers aboord, and that he knows not whither they design for England or Irland. He orders the whole kingdome to be put in ane posture of defence, so that all persons must draw to armes, and take pairty one way or other. There came an express, some weeks ago, from Londondairy to Duke Hamiltone, telling, if they got not immediat relief, they could hold out no longer. We hear also from Edinr. that they offered to render, if the king would give any capitulation, which the king refuses, being advised that its necessar to make exemple of them for the terrour of others. Mr Hay, who came hither yesterday from Irland, gives account that, above three weeks ago, he was at the siege, and then hors flesh was sold for sixpence a pound, and for cannon bullets they were shooting lumps of brick wrapped in peuter plates. It is now certainly rendert. Mr Hay saw relief offer to land, but was beat back with great loss. Some of the French fleet hath been seen amongst the islands, and hath taken the two Glasgow frigats. The king, being thus master by sea and land, hath nothing to do but bring over his army, which many people fancy is landed alraidy in the west. He will have litle to oppose him there, and will probably march towards England; so that we who are in the graitest readiness will have ado to join him. I have receaved by Mr Hay a commission of lieutenant-general, which miscairied by Breidy. I have also receaved a double of a letter miscairied by Breidy to me, and a new letter, dated the 18th of May; both which are so kind, that I am asham'd to tell. He counts for great services, which I am conscious to myself that I have hardly done my deutie. He promises not only to me, but to all that will join, such marks of favor, as after ages shall see what honour and advantage there is, in being loyall. He sayes, in express terms, that his favours shall vy with our loyalty. He hath, by the same letters, given full power of councell to such councellers here, as shall be joined in the king's service, and given us power, with the rest of his freends, to meet in a convention, by his authority, to counteract the mock convention at Edinr., whom he hath declaired traitours, and comanded all his loyall subjects to make warr against them; in obedience to which, I

* The original of this letter, which is addressed to John Macleod of Macleod, is in possession of the present Laird of Macleod, his descendant.

About the same time he despatched a letter to the earl of Melfort, in which, after adverting to various circumstances, he advises him to send over from Ireland a body of five or six thousand men to Inverlochy, which he considered the safest landing place that could be selected as being "far from the enemy," and whence an easy entrance could be obtained for an army into Moray, Angus, or Perthshire. On the return of the transports from Inverlochy, Dundee advised Melfort to send over as many foot as he conveniently could to the point of Cantyre, on hearing of whose landing he would advance as far as the neck of Tarbert to meet them, and that on the junction taking place, Dundee would march "to raise the country," and afterwards proceed to the passes of the Forth to meet the king, who, it was supposed, would follow the expedition. To deceive Mackay and the Scottish council, and to induce them to withdraw their forces from the north, and thus leave him at greater liberty to organize it, Dundee industriously circulated a report that the forces from Ireland would land altogether in some quarter south of the Clyde. To give an appearance of certainty to the rumour, he wrote a letter to Lady Errol, a warm supporter of James's interest, acquainting her of the expected landing in the west, and to prevent suspicion of any *ruse* being intended, he inclosed some proclamations, which, it is presumed, he intended to issue when the Irish arrived. As

have called all the clannes. Captain of Glenrannald* is near us these severall dayes; the laird of Baro† is there with his men. I am persuaded Sir Donald‡ is there by this. M'Clean§ lands in Morven to-morrow certainly. Apen,‖ Glenco,** Lochell,†† Glengaire,‡‡ Keppock,§§ are all raidy. Sir Alexander‖‖ and Largo*** have been here with there men all this while with me, so that I hope we will go out of Lochaber about thre thousand. Yow may judge what we will gett in Strathharig, Badenock, Athol, Marr, and the duke of Gordon's lands, besides the loyall shires of Bamf, Aberdeen, Merns, Angus, Pearth, and Stirling. I hope we will be masters of the north, as the king's army will be of the south. I had almost forgot to tell you of my Lord Broadalban,††† who I suppose will now come to the feelds. Dumbeth, with two hundred hors and eight hundred foot, are said to be endeavouring to join us. My L. Seaforth‡‡‡ will be in a few dayes from Irland to rais his men for the king's service. Now, I have layd the whole business before yow, yow will easily know what is fitt for yow to do. All I shall say further is, to repeat and renew the desyre of my former letter, and assure yow that I am,

"Sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"DUNDEE.

"You will receave the king's letter to yow."

* Allan Macdonald, captain of Clanranald, then under age. Ronald Macdonald of Benbecula, his tutor, attended him.

† R. Macneil of Barra.

‡ Sir Donald Macdonald of Slate.

§ Sir John Maclean of Dowart and Morven.

‖ Stewart of Appin.

** Alexander Macdonald, or Macean of Glenco.

†† Sir Ewan Cameron of Locheil.

‡‡ Alexander Macdonell, younger of Glengary.

§§ Dundee "used to call him Coll of the Cowes, because he found them out when they were driven to the hills out of the way."—*Deposition of Lieutenant Colt* in appendix to acts of parliament, 1690.

‖‖ Sir Alexander Maclean of Otter.

*** Alexander Macdonald of Largo.

††† John, first earl of Breadalbane.

‡‡‡ Kenneth, fourth earl of Seaforth.

wished and anticipated, this despatch was intercepted and sent to Edinburgh. The device appears to have in part succeeded, as Dundee informs Melfort, that the government forces were afterwards withdrawn from Cantyre.*

* "*For the* EARL *of* MELFORT.*

"MOY IN LOCHABER, June 27, 1689.

After exculpating himself from a charge made against him by the Earl, of his name having been 'made use of for carrying on designs against the Earl,' Dundee thus proceeds:—

"When we first came out I had but fifty pounds of powder; more I could not get, all the great towns and seaports were in rebellion, and had seized the powder, and would sell none. But I had one advantage, the Highlanders will not fire above once, and then take to the broad-sword . . . The advocate † is gone to England, a very honest man, firm beyond belief; and Athol is gone too, who did not know what to do. Earl Hume, who is very frank, is taken prisoner to Edinburgh, but he will be let out on security. Earl Breadalbin keeps close in a strong house; he has and pretends the gout. Earl Errol stays at home; so does Aberdeen. Earl Marshall is at Edinburgh, but does not meddle. Earl Lauderdale is right, and at home. The Bishops, I know not where they are. They are now the kirk invisible. I will be forced to open the letter, and send copies attested to them, and keep the original, till I can find out our primate. The poor ministers are sorely oppressed over all. They generally stand right. Duke Queensberry was present at the cross, when their new mock King was proclaimed, and I hear, voted for him, though not for the throne vacant. His brother the Lieutenant General, some say is made an Earl. He has come down to Edinburgh, and is gone up again. He is the old man, and has abused me strangely, for he swore to me to make amends. Tarbat is a great villain. Besides what he has done at Edinburgh, he has endeavoured to seduce Lochiel, by offers of money, which is under his hand. He is now gone up to secure his faction, which is melting, the two Dalrymples and others against Skelmarly,‡ Polwart, Cardross, Ross, and others now joined with that worthy prince, Duke Hamilton. M. Douglas is now a great knave, as well as beast; as is Glencairne, Morton, and Eglinton, and even Cassillis is gone astray, misled by Gibby.§ Panmure keeps right, and at home, so does Strathmore, Southesk, and Kinnaird. Old Airly is at Edinburgh under caution, so is Balcarras and Dunmore. Stormont is declared fugitive for not appearing. All these will break out, and many more, when the King lands, or any from him. Most of the gentry on this side the Forth, and many on the other, will do so too. But they suffer mightily in the mean time; and will be forced to submit, if there be not relief sent very soon. The Duke of Gordon, they say, wanted nothing for holding out but hopes of relief. Earl of Dunfermling stays constantly with me, and so does Lord Dunkell, Pitcur, and many other gentlemen, who really deserve well, for they suffer great hardships. When the troops land there must be blank commissions sent for horse and foot, for them and others that will join.

"My lord, I have given my opinion to the king concerning the landing. I would first have a good party sent over to Inverlochy, about 5000 or 6000, as you have conveniency of boats; of which as many horse as conveniently can. About 600 or 800 would do well, but rather more; for had I had horse for all that yet appeared, I would not have feared them. Inverlochy is safe landing, far from the enemy, and one may chuse from thence, to go to Murray by Inverness, or to Angus by Athol, or to Perth by Glencoe, and all tolerable ways. The only ill is, the passage is long by sea and inconvenient, because of the island; but in this season that is not to be feared. So soon as the boats return, let them ferry over as many more foot as they think fit, to the Point of Kintyre, which will soon be done; and then the king has all the boats for his own landing. I should march towards Kintyre, and meet at the neck of Tarbitt the foot, and so march to raise the country, and then towards the Passes of Forth, to meet the king, when I doubt not we would be numerous. I have done all I can, to make them believe the king will land

* This letter was printed by Macpherson from the Nairne papers.
† Sir George Mackenzie. ‡ Sir James Montgomery. § Dr Gilbert Burnet, the historian.

Whilst Dundee was thus maturing his plans, preparatory to another campaign, Mackay was urging the privy council to supply him with a sufficient force, for carrying into effect his favourite plan of erecting a strong fortification at Inverlochy, a circumstance which leads to the supposition, that "the General," a term by which Mackay distinguishes himself in his memoirs, had not taken the bait which had been prepared for him by his artful rival, for it is improbable, had Mackay believed the story invented by Dundee, that he would have insisted on carrying such a large force as four thousand men, the number he required, into Lochaber, so very remote from the scene of the threatened invasion.

Having collected his forces, Mackay made the necessary preparations for his departure, but he was detained nearly a fortnight in Edinburgh, beyond the time he had fixed for his march, by the delays of the government, in furnishing meal for his troops, and horses for transporting it. In the meantime he was informed by Lord Murray, eldest son of the Marquis of Athole, that Stewart of Ballechen, his father's chamberlain, and other gentlemen of the county of Angus, had taken possession of the castle of Blair Athole, belonging to the Marquis, and were fortifying it for behoof of king James. On receiving this intelligence, Mackay requested an interview with Lord Murray, in presence of the Duke of Hamilton, his father-in-law, at which the young nobleman declared that from what he knew of the feelings of the men of Athole, he had no hopes of inducing them to join the government forces against Dundee, but he offered to go immediately to Athole, and do every thing in his power to obtain possession of the castle of Blair, before Dundee should arrive, as he did not believe that Ballechan and his father's tenants would refuse him admission to his father's house, and he also engaged to collect all his father's vassals together, so as to prevent them from joining Dundee. As Lord Murray's wife was known to be very zealous for the presbyterian interest, and as his lordship and the

altogether in the west, on purpose to draw their troops from the north, that we may the easier raise the country, if the landing be here. I have said so, and written it to everybody; and particularly I sent some proclamations to my Lady Errol, and wrote her to that purpose, which was intercepted and carried to Edinburgh, and my lady taken prisoner. I believe it has taken the effect designed; for the forces are marched out of Kintyre, and I am just now informed, M. G. M'Kay is gone from Inverness, by Murray, towards Edinburgh. I know not what troops he has taken with him as yet; but it is thought he will take the horse and dragoons except a few, and most of the standing forces, when, if he do, it will be a rare occasion for landing here, and for raising the country. Then, when they hear of that, they will draw this way, which will again favour the king's landing. . . . . The landing of troops will confound them terribly. I had almost forgot to tell you, that P—— O——, as they say, has written to his Scotch Council, telling them he will not have his troops any more harassed following me through the hills; but orders them to draw to the west, where he says a great army is to land; and, at the same time, gives them accounts, that eight sail of men-of-war is coming from Brest, with 15,000 men on board. . . . . If there come any party this way, I beg you send us ammunition, and three or four thousand arms of different sorts, some horse, some foot. I have just now received a confirmation of Mackay's going south; and that he takes with him all the horse and dragoons, and all the standing foot; by which I conclude, certainly they are preparing against the landing in the west."

Marquis his father, who was secretly hostile to the government, were at variance, Mackay gave a ready assent to the proposal, and pressed his Lordship eagerly to depart for Athole without loss of time, informing him that all he required from him, was to prevent the Athole-men from joining Dundee.*

Lord Murray accordingly proceeded to Athole, where he arrived about the beginning of July, and lost no time in summoning his father's vassals to meet him. About twelve hundred of them assembled, but no entreaties could induce them to declare in favour of the government, nor could a distinct pledge be obtained from them to observe a neutrality during the impending contest. His lordship was equally unsuccessful in an application which he made to Stewart of Ballechen, for delivery of Blair castle, who told him in answer that he held the castle for behoof of King James, by order of his lieutenant-general. The failure of Lord Murray's mission could certainly occasion no disappointment, as it was not to be imagined that a body of men who had all along been distinguished for their attachment to the exiled family, were, contrary to the understood wish of their chief, and contrary to the example set them by his steward, at the call of a young man, who by marriage, and the disagreement with his father, may be supposed to have made himself obnoxious to the men of Athole, all at once to abandon long cherished ideas and to arm in support of a cause in which they felt no interest.

About the period of Lord Murray's arrival in Athole, intelligence was brought to Dundee that a body of five hundred Irish troops, under an officer of the name of Canman, had reached Mull. The viscount immediately proceeded to Inverlochy to give orders respecting their landing, but, although they all reached the mainland in perfect safety, the ships which carried their provisions being unnecessarily detained at Mull, were all captured by some English frigates which were cruizing amongst the western islands. The loss of their stores was a serious evil, and embittered the disappointment felt by Dundee and the chiefs, to find that instead of an efficient force of five or six thousand men, as they had been led to expect, not more than a tenth part had been sent, and even this paltry force was neither properly disciplined, nor sufficiently armed; so that, according to Balcarras, their arrival did "more harm than good." Such also was the opinion of Mackay at the time, as expressed in a letter to Lord Melville.†

Having given the necessary orders for bringing up the Irish troops, Dundee returned to Strowan, where he had fixed his head quarters. Here he received a letter which had arrived during his absence at Inverlochy, from Lord Strathnaver, eldest son of the earl of Sutherland, couched in very friendly terms, and advising him to follow the example of the duke of Gordon, as the course he was following, if persisted in, would lead inevitably to his ruin. But Dundee was not the man who would allow

* Mackay's Memoirs.

† No. 14. of Appendix to Mackay's Memoirs, p. 215 of the printed copy.

his personal interest to interfere with the allegiance, which he considered he owed to his exiled sovereign, and while in his answer he expressed a deep sense of the obligation he lay under to his lordship for his advice and offers of service, which he imputed to his lordship's "sincere goodness and concern" for him and his family, he assured him that he (Dundee) had no less concern for him, and that he had been even thinking of making a similar proposal to him, but delayed doing so till his lordship should see things in a clearer point of view. *

* "*For the* VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE.

"My Lord,—The concern that many equally interested in us both,* has for your lordship, abstracting from that respect which your own merit made me have, cannot but occasion regrate in me, to see that the courses you take tend inevitably to the ruin of you and yours, if persisted in. I cannot, therefore, but wish, that you would follow the duke of Gordon's example, and I am persuaded it will be found the best course; neither shall your friends, who at this time dare not well meddle, be wanting to show their affection to you, and interest in the standing of your family; and I hope you will do me the justice to believe that none wishes it better, or will more effectually lay himself out in it, than

My Lord, &c.

Inverness, 3d. July, 1689. STRATHNAVER."

DUNDEE'S ANSWER.

"*For* LORD STRATHNAVER.

Stroan, 15th July, 1689.

"My Lord,

Your lordship's, dated the 3d. I received the 13th, and would have returned an answer before now, had I not been called suddenly to Enverlochie, to give orders anent the forces, arms and ammunition sent from Irland. My lord, I am extremely sensible of the obligation I have to you, for offering your endeavours for me, and giving me advice in the desperate estate you thought our affairs were in. I am persuaded it flows from your sincere goodness and concern for me and mine, and in return, I assure your lordship I have no less concern for you, and was thinking of making the like address to you; but delayed it till things should appear more clear to you. I am sorry your lordship should be so far abused as to think that there is any shadow of appearance of stability in this new structure of government, these men have framed to themselves. They made you, I doubt not, believe that Darie (Londonderry) was relieved three weeks ago. By printed accounts, and I can assure you it never was relieved, and now is taken. They told you the English fleet and Dutch were masters of the sea. I know for certain the French is, and in the Channel; in testimony whereof they have defeated our Scots fleet. For as they came alongst, they fell on the two frigates, killed the captains, and seized the ships, and brought the men prisoners to Mull. They tell you Shomberg is going to Irland to carry the war thither. I assure you the king has landed a considerable body of forces there, and will land himself amongst our friends in the west, whom I am sorry for, very soon. So, my lord, having given you a clear and true prospect of affairs, which I am afraid among your folks you are not used with, I leave you to judge, if I, you, or your family, or myn, be most in danger. However, I acknowledge francly, I am no less obliged to your lordship, seeing you made me an offer of your assistance in a time when you thought I needed it. Wherein I can serve your lordship or family in any time you think convenient, you may freely employ me, for, as far as my duty will allow me in the circumstances we stand, I will study your weyl, as becomes,

My Lord,

Your most humble servant,

DUNDIE."

* Lord Strathnaver was married to Helen, second daughter of William Lord Cochrane, and sister to Lady Dundee.

At Strowan, Dundee was made acquainted by Stewart of Ballechen, with Lord Murray's proceedings, and with a demand made by his lordship for possession of Blair castle, a demand to which Ballechen had given the most decided refusal. The possession of this place was of vast importance to Dundee, as it commanded the entrance into the southern highlands, and lay in the line of Mackay's intended route to Inverlochy. To reward his fidelity, and to counteract Lord Murray's influence in Athole, Dundee sent a commission to Ballechen, appointing him colonel of the Athole-men. The appointment, however, would probably have been conferred on Lord Murray, to whom Dundee had, on the nineteenth of July, two days before the date of Ballechan's commission, despatched a letter, stating the happiness which he felt on hearing that his lordship had appointed a rendezvous of the Athole-men at Blair, and expressing a hope that he would join the viscount with his men; but, instead of answering this letter, his lordship sent it to Lord Melville, the secretary of state for Scotland. Such also was the fate of other letters, which Dundee sent to Lord Murray. Along with the last, which was written on the twenty-fifth of July, Dundee despatched Major Graham and Captain Ramsay for the purpose of obtaining a personal interview with Lord Murray; but he declined to see them, or to give any answer to Dundee's communication. It appears that up to this time the Athole-men, who had, at the call of the son of their chief, assembled to the number of about twelve hundred, were ignorant of Lord Murray's intentions; but when he refused to receive Dundee's officers, they at once began to suspect his designs, and demanded with one voice an immediate explanation, intimating at same time, that if he would join Dundee they would follow him to a man; but if on the contrary he refused, they would all leave him. His lordship remonstrated with them, and even threatened them with his vengeance if they abandoned him; but regardless of his threats, they left him to join Dundee, having previously filled their bonnets with water from the rivulet of Banovy, in the neighbourhood of Blair castle, and pledged themselves to King James by drinking his health. *

In the mean time the government general was busily engaged at Edinburgh, making the necessary preparations for his march. He appointed his troops to rendezvous at Perth, and after completing his arrangements at Edinburgh, he went to Stirling to inspect the castle, so as to make himself acquainted with its means of defence. In a letter † dated twenty-fourth July, written to Lord Melville on his arrival at Stirling, Mackay alludes to the distracted state of the government in Scotland, and the difficulty he would experience in executing the commission which the king had given him, to keep the kingdom peaceable, in consequence of the divisions which existed even between the adherents of the government. The removal from office of Stair the president of the court of

* Balcarras, p. 68. Stewart's Sketches, vol. i. p. 62.
† No. 15. of Appendix to Mackay's Memoirs, p. 246.

session, and his son, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the ultra whig party, by their attempts to stretch the royal prerogative too far, appears to have been considered by that party of more importance than keeping Dundee in check, and so high did the spirit of party run, that the earl of Annandale and Lord Ross who had just been appointed colonels of two newly raised regiments of horse, refused to accompany their regiments, and offered to resign their commissions rather than quit the parliament. This state of matters was highly favourable to James's interests in Scotland, and if Melfort had followed Dundee's advice, by sending over a large force from Ireland, the cause of his royal master might have triumphed, but with that fatality which attended that unfortunate monarch in all his undertakings, he allowed the golden opportunity which was here offered him, of recovering his crown, to slip away.

From Stirling Mackay proceeded to Perth, after ordering the troops of horse and dragoons of the expedition to follow him. On arriving at Perth, a letter was shown him from Lord Murray, from which he learned, that Dundee, who had been solicited by Stewart of Ballechen to hasten into Athole, was already marching through Badenoch, and so anxious was he to anticipate Mackay's arrival in Athole, that he had left behind him several chiefs and their men, whose junction he daily expected. Lord Murray added, that if Mackay did not hasten his march so as to reach Athole before Dundee, that he would not undertake to prevent his men from joining the viscount. As Mackay informs us, that before leaving Edinburgh he had begun "already to have very ill thoughts of the expedition in gross," and as on reaching Stirling, the idea that he would be straitened for provisions haunted his mind; this information was assuredly by no means calculated to relieve these fearful apprehensions; but he had gone too far to retrace his steps with honour, and he therefore resolved to proceed immediately on his march into Athole, for the following reasons as stated by himself, although four troops of dragoons and two of horse had not yet joined him.

In the first place, by stopping at Perth, Mackay considered, from the information sent by Lord Murray, that the Athole-men, "making 1500, as reputed men for arms as any of the kingdom," would certainly join Dundee. 2dly. He considered that by remaining at Perth, he would be allowing time to Dundee to get up his expected reinforcements, from the isles and other distant places, and to collect forces in Badenoch, Monteith and Mar. 3dly. By permitting Dundee to establish himself in Athole, he would have an opportunity of raising some horse, in which he was very deficient, in the adjoining lowlands, particularly in Angus, where there were many gentlemen friendly disposed to him. But 4thly, and apart from these considerations, Mackay was afraid that as his forces were more numerous than those of Dundee, "the ill-affected of the nation" would, in the event of any apparent backwardness on the part of the government forces to meet Dundee's troops, take advantage of

the circumstance, by representing matters in a light unfavourable to the military courage of Mackay's army, and thus add to the boldness of the disaffected. And lastly, As the possession, by Mackay, of the castle of Blair, was in his opinion the only means of keeping the Athole-men, who, (from their numbers and strict attachment to the house of Stewart, were more to be dreaded than any other body of highlanders;) in awe, and preventing them from joining Dundee, he had no alternative but to allow Dundee to roam uncontrolled through the disaffected district of Athole, gathering strength at every step, or to attempt to gain the important fortress of Blair.

Such were the grounds, as stated by Mackay in his own exculpation, which made him resolve upon marching into Athole, and which, he observes, "more capable commanders might readily be deceived in." Those who make the unfortunate result of this movement the rule of their judgment, will be apt to condemn Mackay's conduct on this occasion as rash and injudicious, but when his own reasons are duly weighed, censure should be spared, or if used at all, should be but sparingly employed. There can be no doubt, that had he been as successful at Killiecrankie as he was unfortunate, he would have been applauded for the exercise of a sound discretion, and regarded as a tactician of the highest order.

It was on the twenty-sixth of July sixteen hundred and eighty nine, that Mackay began his fatal march from Perth at the head of an army of four thousand five hundred men. Of this force, notwithstanding that the four troops of dragoons and two of horse already alluded to, had not yet arrived, a fair proportion consisted of cavalry. At night Mackay encamped opposite to Dunkeld, so celebrated for the romantic grandeur of its scenery. Here, at midnight, he received an express from Lord Murray announcing the alarming intelligence, that Dundee had entered Athole, in consequence of which event he informed him that he had retreated from before the castle of Blair, which he had for some time partially blockaded; and that although he had left the strait and difficult pass of Killiecrankie between him and Dundee, he had posted a guard at the further extremity to secure a free passage to Mackay's troops through the pass which he supposed Dundee had already reached. Mackay seems to have doubted the latter part of this statement, and his suspicions were in some degree confirmed by the fact, that Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder, whom he despatched with a party immediately on receipt of Murray's letter, to secure the entrance into the pass from the vale of Blair, did not see a single man on his arrival there.

Discouraging as this intelligence was, Mackay still determined to persevere in his march, and having despatched orders to Perth to hasten the arrival of the six troops of cavalry he had left behind, he put his army in motion next morning at day-break, and proceeded in the direction of the pass, the mouth of which he reached at ten o'clock in the

morning. Here he halted, and allowed his men two hours to rest and refresh themselves before they entered upon the bold and hazardous enterprise of plunging themselves into a frightful chasm, out of which they might probably never return. To support Lauder in case of attack, the general, on halting, despatched through the pass a body of two hundred men under the command of the lieutenant-colonel of the earl of Leven's regiment, whom he instructed to send him any intelligence he could obtain of Dundee's motions. A short way below the pass Mackay fell in with Lord Murray, who informed him, in answer to an interrogatory put by the general, that with the exception of two or three hundred men, who still remained with him, the whole had gone to the hills to secure their cattle, an answer which Mackay, with the open and unsuspecting generosity of a soldier, considered satisfactory, and made him, as he observes, "not so apt to judge so ill of Murray as others did."

Having received a notice from Lauder that the pass was clear, and that there was no appearance of Dundee, Mackay put his army again in motion, and entered the pass in the following marching order: The battalions of Balfour, Ramsay, and Kenmure, entered the pass first, each in succession, followed by Belhaven's troop of horse. These were again successively followed by Leven's regiment, (now the twenty-fifth,) and a battalion under the command of the general. The baggage horses, amounting to upwards of twelve hundred, came next, followed by the earl of Annandale's troop of horse, and Hastings's regiment, (now the thirteenth,) which formed the rear-guard. These last were placed behind to protect the baggage, from an apprehension that Dundee's Highlanders might make a detour round the hill to attack it, or that the country people might attempt to plunder it if not so guarded. The idea that no opposition would be offered to their passage through this terrific defile, which seemed to forbid approach, and to warn the unhappy soldier of the dangers which awaited him should he precipitate himself into its recesses, may have afforded some consolation to the feelings of Mackay's troops as they entered this den of desolation, but when they found themselves fairly within its gorge, their imaginations must have been appalled as they gazed, at every successive step, on the wild and terrific objects which encompassed them on every side. But unlike the Hessians who, in seventeen hundred and forty-five, refused even to enter the pass, from an apprehension that it was the utmost verge of the globe, they proceeded, at the command of their general, on their devious course, and finally cleared it, with the loss of a single horseman only, who, according to an Athole tradition, was shot by an intrepid adventurer, named Ian Ban Beg MacRan, who had posted himself on a hill, whence with murderous aim he fired across the rivulet of the Garry and brought down his victim. A well, called in Gælic, "Fuaran u trupar," *Anglicé*, the Horseman's well, is shown as the place where the horseman fell.

As soon as the five battalions and the troop of horse which preceded the baggage had debouched from the further extremity of the pass, they halted, by command of the general, upon a corn field, along the side of the river to await the arrival of the baggage, and of Hastings's regiment and the other troop of horse. Mackay then ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder to advance with his two hundred fusileers and a troop of horse in the direction he supposed Dundee might be expected to appear. This conjecture was too well founded, for Lauder had not advanced far when he discovered some parties of Dundee's forces between him and Blair. Being immediately apprised of this by Lauder, Mackay, after giving orders to Colonel Balfour to supply the troops with ammunition, and to put them under arms without delay, galloped off to the ground, from which Lauder had espied the enemy, to observe their motions before making choice of the field of battle. On arriving at the advanced post, Mackay observed several small parties of troops, scarcely a mile distant, marching slowly along the foot of a hill in the direction of Blair, and advancing towards him. Mackay, thereupon, sent orders to Balfour to advance immediately up to him with the foot. But these orders were no sooner despatched than he observed some bodies of Dundee's forces marching down a high hill within a quarter of a mile from the place where he stood, in consequence of which movement, he immediately galloped back to his men to countermand the order he had just issued, and to put his army in order of battle.*

Dundee, who had been duly advertised of Mackay's motions, had descended from the higher district of Badenoch into Athole on the previous day, with a force of about two thousand five hundred men, of whom about one-fifth part consisted of the Irish, which had lately landed at Inverlochy under Brigadier Cannan. Some of the clans which were expected had not yet joined, as the day appointed for the general rendezvous had not then arrived; but as Dundee considered it of paramount importance to prevent Mackay from establishing himself in Athole, he did not hesitate to meet him with such an inferior force, amounting to little more than the half of that under Mackay.

On his arrival at the castle of Blair, intelligence was brought Dundee that Mackay had reached the pass of Killiecrankie, which he was preparing to enter. At a council of war, which was held in the castle, Dundee was strongly advised by the most of his officers to dispute the passage of the Pass, as they did not consider it safe, from the great numerical disparity of the two armies, to allow Mackay to enter the Blair till the arrival of the reinforcements, which might be expected to join in two or three days. Dundee, however, was of quite a different opinion, and after appealing to the feelings of the Highlanders, whose ancestors, he said, acting upon their national maxim never to attack a

* Mackay's Memoirs, p. 51.

foe who could not defend himself on equal terms, would have disdained to adopt the course proposed, (and in saying so he did not, he observed, mean to insinuate that the persons he addressed had degenerated from the honour and courage of their ancestors,) he proceeded to give his reasons for rejecting the advice offered him, and which at once convinced them that he was right. One principal reason stated by Dundee for allowing Mackay to advance through the Pass unmolested, was the great advantage they would gain by engaging him on open ground before he should be joined by his English dragoons, who, from their being so formidable to the Highlanders, would, if allowed by him to come up, more than compensate any accession of force which Dundee might receive.* Another reason not less important was, that in the event of Mackay sustaining a defeat, his army would probably be ruined, as he could not retreat back through the Pass without the risk of evident destruction, whereas should the Highlanders suffer a defeat, they could easily retreat to the mountains. He added, that in anticipation of Mackay's defeat, he had already given orders to his friends in the neighbourhood, to cut off the few remaining stragglers that might attempt to escape.†

The forces which had been descried by Lauder, appear to have been a body of four hundred men under the command of Sir John Maclean, whom Dundee, on learning that the advanced guard of Mackay's army, after traversing the pass, had taken up a position near its northern extremity, had despatched from Blair castle to keep them in check. But his scouts having shortly thereafter brought him notice that the whole of Mackay's army was preparing to enter the pass, he resolved to make a detour with the main body of his army round the hill on which the castle of Lude stands, in the vicinity of the pass, and fall upon Mackay as soon as he should clear that defile. Having made himself acquainted, by inquiries among the most intelligent of the country people, with the localities in the immediate neighbourhood of the pass, and of the suitableness of the ground for the operations of such a force as his, he advanced at double-quick time from Blair along the present line of road, and on arriving at the river Tilt, turned off to the left round the back of the hill, and crossed that river near its confluence with the rivulet of Ald-Chluan. This movement will account for the sudden and unexpected appearance of Dundee on the face of the high hill on Mackay's right.

Immediately above the ground on which Mackay had halted his troops is an eminence, the access to which is steep and difficult, and covered with trees and shrubs. Alarmed lest Dundee should obtain possession of this eminence, which being within a carabine shot from the place on which Mackay stood, would give him such a command of the ground as would enable him, by means of his fire, to force Mackay

* Balcarras, p. 69.
† Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. i. part ii. p. 56.

to cross the river in confusion; he, immediately on his return from the position occupied by his advanced guard, "made every battalion form by a Quart de Conversion to the right upon the ground where they stood,"* and then made them march each in succession before him up the hill till they reached the eminence, of which they took possession. Within a musket shot of this ground is another eminence immediately above the house of Urrard, which Dundee had reached before Mackay had completed his ascent, and on which he halted.

At this conjuncture, neither Hastings's regiment nor Annandale's troop of horse had yet come out of the pass, but Mackay, nevertheless, at once proceeded to arrange his men in fighting order on a plain between the edge of the eminence and the foot or commencement of the ascent to Dundee's position, which, from its extent, enabled him to form his men in one line along the eminence. In making his dispositions, Mackay divided every battalion into two parts, and as he meant to fight three deep, he left a small distance between each of these sub-battalions. In the centre of his line, however, he left a greater interval of space behind which he placed the two troops of horse, with the design, when the Highlanders, after the fire of the line had been spent, should approach, to draw them off by this larger interval, and flank the Highlanders on either side, as occasion should offer. Mackay assigns as his reason for placing his cavalry in his rear till the fire should be exhausted on both sides, a dread he entertained of exposing them to Dundee's horse, which consisted altogether of gentlemen, reformed officers, or such as had deserted, from Dundee's regiment when in England, and with whom it could not be supposed that these newly raised levies could cope. Hastings's regiment, which arrived after Mackay had taken up his ground, was placed on the right, and to which, for greater security, was added a detachment of firelocks from each battalion, and on the extreme left on a hillock covered with trees, Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder was posted, with his party of two hundred men, composed of the *elite* of the army. Mackay having been recognised by Dundee's men busily employed riding along his line, from battalion to battalion, giving orders, was selected by some of them for a little ball practice; but although "their popping shot," which wounded some of his men, fell around him wherever he moved, he escaped unhurt.

After his line had been fully formed, Mackay rode along the front, from the left wing, which he committed to the charge of Brigadier Balfour, to the right, and having ascertained that every thing was in readiness to receive the enemy, he addressed the battalions nearest him in a short speech. He began by showing them the unquestionable justice of the cause in which they were engaged, and in the success of which the protestant interest, not only in Britain, but throughout the world, was involved. He represented to them that the defence of that interest, as

* Memoirs, p. 51.

well as the temporal happiness of their country, which it was the object of its laws to maintain and confirm, mainly depended on the success of their enterprize, and he desired them to remember that they were bound by honour and conscience, not to betray, by a criminal faint-heartedness, the service of the master by whom they were supported. He requested them to reflect that their own personal safety was involved in the issue of that day's contest; and assured them that if they maintained their ground, and kept firmly and closely united together, their assailants would quickly flee before them for refuge to the hills—that the reason for which the Highlanders stript themselves almost naked before battle was rather to enable them to escape, than from any hopes they entertained of pursuing their foes. Should, however, his men unfortunately give way before the rabble of Highlanders whom they saw marshalled on the adjoining heights—an event which he by no means expected—there was an absolute certainty, as these naked mountaineers were more nimble-footed than they were, and as all the Athole-men were in arms, ready to take advantage of their defeat, that few or none of them would escape with their lives. In conclusion, he warned them that the only way to avoid ruin was to stand firm to their posts, and, like brave men, to fight to the last in defence of their religion and liberties, against the invaders of both, to secure which, and not the desire of a crown, was the sole reason which had induced his majesty to send them on the present service.

Whilst Mackay was thus occupied on the lower platform, his gallant rival was equally busy flying about on the eminence above, ranging his men in battle array. He was particularly distinguished amongst his officers by a favourite dun-coloured horse which he rode, and by his plated armour, which glittered in the sun-beams. Dundee, who had arrived upon the higher platform about the same time that Mackay had gained the ground he now occupied, ranged his men in one line in the following order:—On the right, he placed Sir John Maclean, with his regiment divided into two battalions. On the left, he posted the regiment of Sir Donald Macdonald, commanded by the young chief and Sir George Berkeley, and a battalion under Sir Alexander Maclean. In the centre were placed four battalions, consisting of the Camerons, the Macdonells of Glengary and Clanranald, and the Irish regiment, with a troop of horse under the command of Sir William Wallace, who had early that morning produced a commission, to the great displeasure of the earl of Dunfermline and other officers, appointing him colonel of a horse regiment.* It may be observed, that neither Mackay nor Dundee placed any body of reserve behind their lines.

The great extent of Mackay's line, which reached considerably beyond Dundee's wings, compelled the latter, to prevent the danger of being outflanked, to enlarge the intervals between his battalions. A gene-

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. I. p. 369.

ral movement from right to left accordingly took place along Dundee's line. Before Dundee's left halted, Mackay, imagining that the object of the movement in that quarter was to get between him and the pass, for the purpose of cutting off all communication between him and Perth, made his line make a corresponding movement to his right, but on observing that Dundee's left wing halted, Mackay brought his line to a stand. These different movements necessarily occupied a considerable time, and both armies being now finally arranged, they gazed upon each other with great composure for the space of two complete hours.

During this interval of care and anxious suspense, the feelings of both parties—their hopes or their fears would probably be tinctured by a deeper hue of confidence or despondency as they reflected on the events of former days. Though more than forty years had elapsed since the brilliant achievements of Montrose, the Highlanders, naturally brave, had lost none of their military ardour, and the descendants of the heroes of Tippermuir, Aldearn and Kilsyth, who now stood embattled on the upper plain, whence, with a scowl of scorn and defiance, they looked down upon the *Sassenachs* below, calling to mind the recital of the heroic deeds of their fathers, to which they had listened with wonder and enthusiasm in their childhood, would burn for the moment when, at the command of their chiefs, they should measure their broad swords with the bayonets of their Lowland foes. On the other hand, Mackay's men had no such recollections to inspire confidence or to cheer them in their perilous enterprise, and when they beheld the Highland host ready at a moment's notice to burst like a mountain torrent upon their devoted heads, and called to mind the tales they had heard of the warlike prowess of the Highlanders, they could not but recoil at the idea of encountering, in mortal and deadly strife, such determined antagonists. There were, it is true, many men in Mackay's army to whom the dangers of the battle field were familiar, and in whose minds such reflections would doubtless find no place, but the great majority of his troops consisted of newly raised levies, who had never before seen the face of an enemy.

Mackay himself, though an old and experienced officer, and a brave man, was not without his misgivings; and as the evening advanced without any appearance on the part of Dundee to commence the action, his uneasiness increased. Nor were his apprehensions likely to be allayed by the reply made by the second son of Lochiel, who held a commission in his own regiment of Scots fusileers, in answer to a question put to him by Mackay. "Here is your father with his wild savages," said Mackay to the young man, on seeing the standard of the Camerons, putting on at the same moment an air of confidence, "how would you like to be with him?" "It signifies little," answered the son of the chief, "what I would like, but I recommend to you to be prepared; or perhaps my father and his wild savages may be nearer to you before night than you

would like."* The apparent irresolution of the Highlanders to begin the battle was considered by Mackay as intentional, and he supposed that their design was to wait till nightfall, when, by descending suddenly from their position, and setting up a loud shout, according to their usual custom, they expected to frighten his men, unaccustomed to an enemy, and put them in disorder. As Mackay could not, without the utmost danger, advance up the hill and commence the action, and as the risk was equally great should he attempt to retreat down the hill and cross the river, he resolved, at all hazards, to remain in his position, "though with impatience," as he observes, till Dundee should either attack him or retire, which he had better opportunities of doing than Mackay had. To provoke the Highlanders, and to induce them to engage, he ordered three small leather field pieces to be discharged, but they proved of little use, and the carriages being much too high, for the greater convenience of carriage, broke after the third firing.

Towards the close of the evening, some of Dundee's sharpshooters, who had kept up, during the day, an occasional fire in the direction in which they observed Mackay to move, by which they had wounded some of his men, as already stated, took possession of some houses upon the ascent which lay between the two armies, for the purpose of directing their aim with surer effect. But they were immediately dislodged by a party of musketeers despatched by Mackay's brother, who commanded the general's regiment, and chased back to their main body with some loss. This skirmish Mackay supposed would soon draw on a general engagement, and his expectations were accordingly speedily realized.

It was within half an hour of sunset, and the moment was at hand, when, at the word of command, the Highlanders and their allies were to march down the hill, and, with sword in hand, fall upon the trembling and devoted host below, whom, like the eagle viewing his destined prey from his lofty eyry, they had so long surveyed. Having determined, as much to please his men as to gratify his own inclination, to lead the charge in person, at the head of the horse, Dundee exchanged his red coat, which he had worn during the day, and by which he had been recognised by Mackay's troops, for another of a darker colour, to conceal his rank, and thereby avoid the risk of being singled out by the enemy—a precaution justifiable by the rules of sound prudence, and quite consistent with the highest moral courage. That nothing might be wanting on his part to work up the feelings of his men to the highest pitch of heroism, he harangued them in the following enthusiastic strain:—

"You are come hither to fight, and that in the best of causes; for it is the battle of your king, your religion, and your country, against the foulest usurpation and rebellion. And having therefore so good a cause in your hands, I doubt not but it will inspire you with an equal courage

* Stewart's Sketches, vol. I. p. 63.

to maintain it; for there is no proportion betwixt loyalty and treason, nor should there be any betwixt the valour of good subjects and traitors. Remember that to-day begins the fate of your king, your religion, and your country. Behave yourselves, therefore, like true Scotsmen, and let us by this action redeem the credit of this nation, that is laid low by the treacheries and cowardice of some of our countrymen, in making which request, I ask nothing of you that I am not now ready to do myself. And if any of us shall fall upon this occasion, we shall have the honour of dying on our duty, and as becomes true men of valour and conscience; and such of us as shall live and win the battle, shall have the reward of a gracious king and the praise of all good men. In God's name, then, let us go on, and let this be your word—King James and the church of Scotland, which God long preserve!" *

A pause now ensued, and a death-like silence prevailed along the line, when, on a sudden, it appeared in motion, marching slowly down the hill. The Highlanders, who stript themselves to their shirts and doublets, and whose appearance resembled more a body of wild savages than a race of men, who, although they could not boast of the civilization of the inhabitants of the south, were nevertheless superior to them in many of the virtues which adorn humanity; advanced, according to their usual practice, with their bodies bent forward, so as to present as small a surface as possible to the fire of the enemy, the upper part of their bodies being covered by their targets.

To discourage the Highlanders in their advance by keeping up a continual fire, Mackay had given instructions to his officers commanding battalions, to commence firing by platoons, at the distance of a hundred paces. This order was not attended to, as Balfour's regiment, and the half of Ramsay's, did not fire a single shot, and the other half fired very little. The Highlanders, however, met with a very brisk fire from Mackay's right, and particularly from his own battalion, in which no less than sixteen gentlemen of the Macdonells of Glengarry fell; but, undismayed by danger, they kept steadily advancing in the face of the enemy's fire, of which they received three rounds. Having now come close up to the enemy, they halted for a moment, and having levelled and discharged their pistols, which did little execution, they set up a loud shout and rushed in upon the enemy sword in hand, before they had time to screw on their bayonets to the end of their muskets.† The shock was too impetuous to be long resisted by men who, according to their own general, "behaved, with the exception of Hastings's and Leven's regiments, like the vilest cowards in nature." But even had these men been brave, as they were pusillanimous, their courage would not have availed them, as their arms were insufficient to parry off the tremendous strokes of the

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. p. 71.

† From this circumstance Mackay invented the present plan of fixing the bayonet.

axes, and the broad and double-edged swords of the Highlanders, who with a single blow, either felled their opponents to the earth or struck off a member from their bodies, and at once disabled them. While the work of death was thus going on towards the right, Dundee, at the head of the horse, made a furious charge on Mackay's own battalion, and broke through it, on which the English horse which were stationed behind, fled without firing a single shot. Dundee, thereupon, rode off to attack the enemy's cannon, but the officer who had that morning produced his commission as colonel of the horse, did not keep pace with Dundee, who, on arriving near the enemy's cannon, found himself alone. He, therefore, gave the horse a signal to advance quickly, on which the earl of Dunfermline, who then served only as a volunteer, overlooking the affront which had been put upon him, rode out of the ranks, followed by sixteen gentlemen, attacked the party who guarded the cannon and captured them.

As soon as Mackay perceived that Dundee's grand point of attack was near the centre of his line, he immediately resolved to attack the Highlanders in flank with the two troops of horse which he had placed in the rear of his line, for which purpose he ordered Lord Belhaven to proceed round the left wing with his own troop, and attack them on their right flank, and he ordered at the same time the other troop to proceed in the contrary direction, and assail them on their left. Mackay himself led round Belhaven's troop, but it had scarcely got in front of the line when it got into disorder, and instead of obeying the orders to wheel for the flank of the enemy, after some confused firing it turned upon the right wing of Lord Kenmure's battalion, which it threw into disorder, and which thereupon began to give way.

At this critical moment Mackay, who was instantly surrounded by a crowd of Highlanders, anxious to disentangle his cavalry, so as to enable him to get them formed, called aloud to them to follow him, and putting spurs to his horse galloped through the enemy, but with the exception of one servant whose horse was shot under him, not a single horseman attempted to follow their general. When he had gone sufficiently far to be out of the reach of immediate danger, he turned round to observe the state of matters, and to his infinite surprise he found that both armies had disappeared. To use his own expression, "in the twinkling of an eye in a manner," his own men as well as the enemy were out of sight, having gone down pell-mell to the river where his baggage stood. The flight of his men must have been rapid indeed, for although the left wing, which had never been attacked, had begun to flee before he rode off, the right wing and centre still kept their ground.

Mackay now stood in one of the most extraordinary predicaments in which the commander of an army was ever placed. His whole men had, as if by some supernatural cause, disappeared almost in an instant of time, and he found himself standing a solitary being on the mountain side, not knowing what to do, or whither to direct his course. Whether,

had they had the courage to follow him, the timid troop would have turned the tide of victory in his favour, may indeed be well doubted; but it is obvious that he adopted the only alternative which could render success probable. Judging from the ease with which he galloped through the Highlanders, who made way for him, he thinks that if he had had but fifty resolute horse such as Colchester's, he "had certainly," as he says, "by all human appearance recovered all," for although his whole line had begun to give way when he ordered the horse to follow him, the right of the enemy had not then moved from their ground.* While ruminating upon the "sad spectacle" which he now beheld, his mind preyed upon by the most gloomy reflections, he fortunately espied to the right, "a small heap of red coats," which he immediately galloped for, and found it to consist of a part of the earl of Leven's regiment mixed with a few stragglers from other regiments who had escaped from the swords of the Highlanders. The Earl himself, his Lieutenant-Colonel, the Major, and most of the other officers of the regiment, were with this body, and were thanked by Mackay for their steadfastness, and as some confusion had taken place in their ranks, owing to the mixture of the stragglers with Leven's men, he directed the Earl and his officers to put them in order to receive the enemy in case of attack. After issuing this order, Mackay perceived a part of Hastings's regiment marching up to the ground it had occupied at the commencement of the action. Having rode up to this party, he was informed by the Colonel that he had left his ground in pursuit of the enemy, a detachment of which had attempted to outflank him, but having wheeled to the right upon them with his pikes, they abandoned the idea of attacking him, and repaired to their main body, which they observed among the baggage at the river-side.

The plunder which the baggage offered was too tempting a lure for the Highlanders, whose destructive progress it at once arrested. It was in fact solely to this thirst for spoil that Mackay and the few of his men who escaped owed their safety, for had the Highlanders continued the pursuit, it is very probable that not a single individual of Mackay's army would have been left alive to relate their sad disaster.†

As soon as Mackay had got up Hastings's battalion and joined it to that of Leven's, he despatched his nephew, Captain Mackay,—who, though he had received eight broad sword wounds on his body, was still able to ride his horse,—in quest of such of his officers as might be within his reach, about the bottom of the hill, with orders to collect as many of

* Memoirs, p. 57.

† In a conversation respecting the battle between General Wade and an old Highlander, who had fought at Killiecrankie, the latter is reported to have spoken lightly of Mackay as a commander, calling him a great fool, because he did not put his baggage in front of his army at Killiecrankie. Wade dissented, of course, but the old man insisted that the baggage should have been placed before the line, in which case Mackay, he observed, would have gained the battle, as the Highlanders would have first attacked the baggage, and would have thus fallen an easy prey to Mackay's army.

their men as they could and join the general; and to induce them to exert themselves in rallying their men, Captain Mackay was directed to assure them of his uncle's favour. Whether from the trepidation of the officers, or the alarm of the men, the united troops of Hastings's and Leven's regiments could not be brought into order, a circumstance which induced Mackay, during the absence of his nephew, to visit a garden behind his position, with the intention of entrenching them within its walls, and there wait for the junction of such of his stragglers as might find their way thither from the vale below; but as he could not depend upon such succours, and as, in case of attack, he saw no hope of effecting an escape if he shut himself up within the enclosure, he resolved to remain in his position till the arrival of his nephew.

At length, after nearly an hour's absence, Captain Mackay made his appearance, and reported that he had fallen in with several officers; that some of them whom he had addressed took no notice of him; and that all who had survived the battle were now scattered far beyond his reach. While receiving this afflicting intelligence Mackay descried in the twilight, a large body of men, who appeared to form themselves along the edge of a wood on Balfour's left, where Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder had been posted with two hundred men. As he was not yet aware of the fate of Lauder's corps, which was among the first that fled, he supposed that the body he had observed might either be that party or another body of his men who had retired to the wood on the descent of the Highlanders, and he therefore rode off to reconnoitre them, after directing his officers to endeavour to put their men in a condition to fire one discharge, at least, if attacked. Mackay approached the party sufficiently near to discover that they were Dundee's men, and having turned his horse's head he walked slowly back, that he might not excite the apprehensions of the Highlanders. The situation of Mackay was extremely embarrassing, but he conducted himself throughout with a presence of mind which few men would have displayed under such circumstances. The ground on which Mackay stood with the wreck of his army, amounting to scarcely four hundred men, was the farthest removed of any other part of the position he had selected in the morning, from the point to which he was necessarily obliged to direct his retreat, and over the intervening space he could not but expect to fall in with parties of the Highlanders, who would fall upon him, and kill or disperse his tired followers. But he extricated himself from the difficulties which beset him, with considerable adroitness. He told his men that the only way to make the enemy respect them, and thus secure a quiet retreat, was to show no symptoms of fear, and he, therefore, earnestly admonished them to march slowly and keep firmly together, as if determined to maintain themselves against any attack. He advised them on no account to show any inclination to run, as it could not add to their personal safety, but, on the contrary, might endanger it the more, as the Highlanders, observing their terror, would certainly break in

among them, and pursue them with the greater avidity. He enforced this advice by remarking that the fewness of their numbers would be concealed from the enemy by the darkness of the night, and that their confidence might lead to a belief that they were more numerous than they were. When about to retire down the hill the party were joined by Lord Belhaven, a Lieutenant and Cornet of Annandale's troop, and four or five horsemen, who proved very serviceable as scouts during the retreat. Mackay then led his men slowly down the hill and evaded the enemy so completely that he did not meet with the least interruption in his march. He retired across the Garry without molestation, and made a short halt to ascertain whether he was pursued. Seeing no disposition on the part of the Highlanders to follow him, he began to think of the best way of retiring out of Athole. All his officers advised him to return to Perth through the pass of Killiecrankie, but he saw proper to reject this advice, and resolved to march several miles up Athole and cross over the hills to Stirling. It was represented to him, that if pursued by the Highlanders, his men could make no effectual resistance, and he himself admitted that the objection was well founded; but he still adhered to his resolution, because, as he apprehended more danger from Dundee's horse than from the Highlanders, who would be too busy securing their plunder to think of pursuing him, his risk would be less by keeping upon ground inaccessible to the operations of cavalry, than by exposing himself in the open country beyond the pass. Besides, he had no certainty that the pass was not already secured, for the purpose of cutting off his retreat, and to have entered it, if seized upon, would have been throwing himself into the jaws of instant destruction.

Giving orders, therefore, to his men to march, he proceeded to the west along the bank of the river, and had the satisfaction, when about two miles from the field of battle, to come up with a party of about one hundred and fifty fugitives almost without arms, under the command of Colonel Ramsay, who was quite at a loss what direction to take. Mackay then continued his march along the edge of a rivulet which falls into the Garry, till he came to some little houses. Here he obtained from one of the inhabitants, information as to the route he meant to follow, and having made himself acquainted, as far as he could, by an examination of his map, with the situation of the country through which he had to pass, he crossed the stream and proceeded across the hills towards Weem castle, the seat of the chief of the clan Menzies, whose son had been in the action with a company of a hundred Highlanders he had raised for the service of the government. He reached the castle before morning after a most fatiguing journey, where he obtained some sleep and refreshment, of which he stood greatly in need, having since his departure before Dunkeld, on the morning preceding, marched about forty miles through a track of country, the greater part of which was beset with quagmires and precipices.

The news of Mackay's defeat had preceded his retreat; and on his march during the following day, he found the country through which he passed in an uproar, and every person arming in favour of King James. The people of Strathtay alarmed at the approach of Mackay's men, whom they took to be Highlanders, and considering their houses and cattle in danger, set up a dreadful shout, which so frightened Mackay's men that they began to flee back to the hills under an apprehension that the Highlanders were at hand. Mackay and some of his officers on horseback, by presenting their pistols and threatening the fugitives, succeeded in rallying them, but owing to the thickness of the morning more than a hundred escaped, all of whom were killed, stripped, or taken prisoners by the country people.* Mackay continued his march with very little halting all that day, being Sunday the twenty-eighth of July, and arrived late at night at Drummond castle in which he had a garrison. Next day he reached Stirling with about four hundred men.

On the morning after the battle—for night had thrown its sable curtain over the horrors of the scene, before the extent of the carnage could be ascertained—the field of battle and the ground between it and the river, extending as far as the pass, presented an appalling spectacle in the vast numbers of the dead which strewed the field, and whose mutilated bodies attested the savage and unrelenting ferocity with which Mackay's men had been hewn down by the Highlanders. Here might be seen a skull which had been struck off above the ears by a stroke from a broad-sword—there a head lying near the trunk from which it had been severed—here an arm or a limb—there a corpse laid open from the head to the brisket; while interspersed among these lifeless trunks, *dejectaque membra*, were to be seen broken pikes, small-swords and muskets, which had been snapt asunder by the athletic blows of the Lochaber axe and broad-sword.†

If the importance of a victory is to be reckoned by the comparative numbers of the slain, and the brilliant achievements of the victors, the battle of Killiecrankie may well stand high in the list of military exploits. Considering the shortness of the combat, the loss on the part of Mackay was prodigious. No less than two thousand of his men fell under the swords and axes of Dundee's Highlanders, and about five hun-

* Mackay's Memoirs, p. 61.

† In allusion to this battle, the author of the memoirs of Viscount Dundee, says, "Then the Highlanders fired, threw down their fusils, rushed in upon the enemy with sword, target, and pistol, who did not maintain their ground two minutes after the Highlanders were amongst them; and I dare be bold to say, that were scarce ever such strokes given in Europe as were given that day by the Highlanders. Many of General Mackay's officers and soldiers were cut down through the skull and neck to the very breast; others had skulls cut off above their ears like night-caps; some soldiers had both their bodies and cross-belts cut through at one blow; pikes and small swords were cut like willows; and whoever doubts of this, may consult the witnesses of the tragedy."

dred were made prisoners. Among the slain were Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay, brother of the General, Brigadier Balfour, and several other officers. Highland tradition reports that Balfour was cut down by the Reverend Robert Stewart, a catholic clergyman, nephew to Stewart of Ballechen, for having contemptuously refused to receive quarter when offered him by the priest. The same tradition relates that Stewart, who was a powerful muscular man, followed the enemy in their flight down to the river, and towards the pass, wielding a tremendous broad sword, with which he cut down numbers of the fugitives, and so much did he exert himself in the use of his fatal weapon, that, at the conclusion of the carnage, his hand had swollen to such an extent, that it could only be extricated from the basket-hilt of his sword, by cutting away the network.

But as the importance of a victory, however splendid in itself, or distinguished by acts of individual prowess, can only be appreciated by its results, the battle of Killiecrankie, instead of being advantageous to the cause of King James, was, by the death of the brave Dundee, the precursor of its ruin. After he had charged at the head of his horse, and driven the enemy from their cannon, he was about to proceed up the hill to bring down Sir Donald Macdonald's regiment, which appeared rather tardy in its motions, when he received a musket shot in his right side, immediately below his armour. He attempted to ride a little, but was unable, and fell from his horse mortally wounded, and almost immediately expired.* The loss on the side of Dundee was never pro-

* The letter, of which a copy is subjoined, and alleged to have been written by Dundee to King James, after he received his wound, is said to have been discovered among the Nairn papers, and is printed by Macpherson among his original papers, vol. i., p. 372. But the authenticity of this letter may well be doubted.

1st. No contemporary writer mentions its existence, not even the king himself, who, in a letter to Stewart of Ballechen, dated 30th Nov., 1689, (Stewart's sketches, vol. i., p. 64,) alludes to Dundee as having fallen at the "*entrance into action.*"

2d. It is proved that Dundee died upon the field of battle immediately after receiving his wound. King James says, that "when crossing over the plaine to give some orders on the left where the enemy made the most opposition, he was most unfortunately *killed* by a random shot." Clarke's James II, vol. ii., p. 352. See also Father Hay's Collections, vol. ii., p. 55, MS., Advocates' Library. Crawfurd's Peerage, published in 1716, and Balcarras's Memoirs. Depositions of the witnesses who were examined before the Parliament in the process of treason, appendix, pp. 56, 57, 59, to acts of Parliament, 1690.

These authorities, which are referred to by George Smythe of Methven, Esquire, in a note on the supposititious letter of Dundee, in a collection of Dundee's letters, printed by him as his contribution to the Bannatyne club, are supported by the following MS. note, communicated to that gentleman by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharp, Esquire, written on a copy of Balcarras's memoirs, in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, upon the passage of Balcarras relative to a bundle of papers which was found lying near Dundee on the field, which, Balcarras says, those who stripped him thought of so little concern, that they left them behind.

"N.B.—I spoke with some that were at that fight, and saw the Viscount of Dundee's corps naked upon the ground, and was of the number that wrapt it in a pladd, and brought it off the field to the Blair of Athole; they said they saw no papers, nor was there any such rumour among them; so that I suspect that this passage was not in Balcarras's ori-

perly ascertained, nor can any estimate be formed of it. According to Mackay, the Highlanders lost six times the number of men that fell on his side in the fire from his line; but, as he says, that the fire of the Highlanders did "little or no execution," the loss on the part of the latter could not consequently be very great. The brunt of Mackay's fire fell upon the Macdonells of Glengarry, with whom the action commenced, and who, of course, were the principal sufferers; but it seems probable, that in the melée which followed, and in the chace to the river, the loss of the Highlanders from the irresistible impetuosity of their attack, and the feebleness of their opponents, would be trifling.

Among the slain, Alister Dhu (black Alexander) the chief of Glengarry, who, at the head of his battalion, mowed down two men at every stroke, with his ponderous two-handed sword, had to lament the loss of a brother, several other relatives, and still nearer and dearer to him, of his son, Donald, surnamed Gorm, from the blueness of his eyes. This youth, who had exhibited early proofs of bravery worthy of his name, and the race whence he sprung, killed, it is said, eighteen of the enemy with his own hand. No less than five cousins of Sir Donald Macdonald of the isles fell together, with the tutor of Macdonald of Largo, and his sons. Colonel Gilbert Ramsay, and the brave laird of Pitcur, "who, like a moving castle in the shape of men, threw fire and sword on all sides,"* were also numbered with the dead on this eventful day.†

ginall narrative, but interpolated by the first gentleman that brought it from France, who, they said, was Cockburn of Ormiston, Justice-Clerk at the time."

The alleged letter from DUNDEE *to the* KING *is as follows:—*

"Sir,

"It hath pleased God to give your forces a great victory over the rebels, in which three-fourths of them are fallen under the weight of our swords. I might say much of the action, if I had not the honour to command it; but of 5,000 men, which was the best computation I could make of the rebels, it is certain there have not escaped 1,200. We have not lost full out 900. This absolute victory made us masters of the field and enemy's baggage, which I gave to the soldiers; who, to do them all right, both officers and common men, Highlands, Lowlands, and Irish, behaved themselves with equal gallantry to what I ever saw in the hottest battles fought abroad by disciplined armies; and this M'Kay's old soldiers felt on this occasion. I cannot now, Sir, be more particular; but take leave to assure your Majesty the kingdom is generally disposed to your service, and impatiently wait for your coming; and this success will bring in the rest of the nobility and gentry, having had all their assurance for it, except the notorious rebels. Therefore, Sir, for God's sake, assist us, though it be with such another detachment as you sent us before, especially of horse and dragoons; and you will crown our beginning with a complete success, and yourself with an entire possession of your ancient hereditary kingdom of Scotland. My wounds forbid me to enlarge to your Majesty at this time, though they tell me they are not mortal. However, I beseech your Majesty to believe, whether I live or die,

"I am entirely yours,

"DUNDEE.

* Memoirs of Dundee.

† "In this battle Lochiel was attended by the son of his foster-brother. This faithful

In the Viscount Dundee, king James lost the only man in Scotland possessed of all the qualifications necessary for conducting to a successful issue the great and important charge which had been committed to him by his sovereign. Educated in the strictest principles of toryism, he could never divest his mind of the abstract ideas of passive obedience and hereditary right, and to him, therefore, any attempt to resist the authority of the sovereign, no matter how far abused, appeared highly treasonable. Hence the unrelenting perseverance with which he hunted down the field conventicles, which made him the terror of the unfortunate Whigs, and earned for him the unfortunate designation of the "Bloody Clavers." Though a thorough-paced, and, in some degree, a bigotted Protestant Episcopalian, the heresy of the successor of Charles II. as the religion of James must have appeared to him, in no respect altered his ideas of implicit fidelity to the sovereign, nor did his views undergo any change when the arbitrary and unconstitutional proceedings of James seemed to the leading men of the nation to have solved the great political problem, when resistance should commence and obedience end. In his eyes, therefore, the revolution which drove the unfortunate James from his throne, was a great national sin, which could only be atoned for by restoring to him his crown, an object, in the accomplishment of which, he conceived all good men were bound to lend a helping hand. These ideas ingrafted upon a temperament peculiarly sanguine, made him an enthusiast in favour of hereditary right, and his appointment by the fallen monarch as the chosen one by whose instrumentality his restoration was to be effected, imparted a charm to his enthusiasm which dispelled every difficulty which appeared to obstruct the grand object of his ambition and his hopes. With an inflexibility of purpose, which no temptation could overcome, he steadily pursued the course which the duty he conceived he owed to his sovereign and the natural inclination of his own mind directed him to follow. But Dundee had not merely the will, but what was of no less importance, the ability, had he lived, to have executed the commission entrusted to him. While as a military commander he had few equals, he stood unrivalled among his cotemporaries in the art of gaining the affections of his troops, and communicating to them a full measure of the spirit which animated himself. His death, therefore, was a fatal blow to James's prospects, and with him the cause of the

adherent followed him like his shadow, ready to assist him with his sword, or cover him from the shot of the enemy. Soon after the battle began, the chief missed his friend from his side, and turning round to look what had become of him, saw him lying on his back, with his breast pierced by an arrow. He had hardly breath before he expired to tell Lochiel, that, seeing an enemy, a Highlander in General Mackay's army, aiming at him with a bow and arrow from the rear, he sprung behind him, and thus sheltered him from instant death. This is a species of duty not often practised, perhaps, by an aid-de-camp of the present day."—*Stewart's Sketches.*

Stuarts may be said to have perished. Dundee and his friend Pitcur were interred in the church of Blair of Athole.*

* Dr Pitcairn's classical and elegant tribute to the memory of Dundee is well worthy of insertion.

Ultime Scotorum, potuit, quo sospite solo,
Libertas patriæ salva fuisse tuæ:
Te moriente, novos accepit Scotia cives
Accepitque novos, te moriente, Deos.
Illa nequit superesse tibi, tu non potes illi,
Ergo Caledoniæ nomen inane, vale:
Tuque vale, gentis priscæ, fortissime ductor,
Ultime Scotorum, ac ultime Grame, vale.

Thus translated by Dryden,

Oh, last and best of Scots! who didst maintain
Thy country's freedom from a foreign reign;
New people fill the land, now thou art gone,
New gods the temples, and new kings the throne.
Scotland and thou did each in other live;
Nor would'st thou her, nor could she thee survive.
Farewell, who dying didst support the state,
And couldst not fall but with thy country's fate!

CHAPTER VIII.

Ferment in Edinburgh—Forces ordered to the west—Concentration of troops at Stirling—Advance of Mackay to Perth, who cuts off a party of Athole-men—March of Cannan to the north, followed by Mackay, who enters Aberdeen—Marches to Strathbogie—Cannan holds a council of war—Return of Cannan to the south—Skirmish at Brechin—Defeat of the Highlanders at Dunkeld by the Cameronians—Capture of the Castles of Blair and Finlarig by Mackay's forces—Plot to restore King James discovered—Arrival of Major-General Buchan from Ireland, who holds a council of war—Marches to the north—Skirmish at Cromdale—March of Mackay to Inverlochy—Erection of Fort-William—Movements of Buchan and Cannan in the Lowlands—A part of the Farquharsons cut off by Colonel Cunningham—Return of Mackay to the north—Arrives at Inverness—Retreat of Buchan—The earl of Seaforth imprisoned—Cessation of hostilities—Departure of Dundee's officers for France.

The news of Mackay's defeat reached Edinburgh on Sunday the twenty-eighth of July, the day after the battle, and threw the partizans of the government, who were there assembled, into the greatest consternation. In the absence of official details, the most gloomy accounts were given by a few terrified stragglers who arrived in the capital, and who believed that, with the exception of themselves, the whole of Mackay's army had been destroyed. In the state of disorder and confusion which prevailed, the duke of Hamilton, the Commissioner to the revolution parliament, summoned a meeting of the privy council in the evening, at which orders were issued to raise all the fencible men in the west, and to concentrate all the forces in the south at Stirling, to which point it was supposed Dundee (of whose death they were not aware) would be rapidly hastening; and on the supposition that Mackay was either killed or made prisoner, Sir John Lanier was ordered west to take the command.

But these precautionary measures did not quiet the alarms of the members of the parliament, some of whom were for retiring immediately into England, and others into the western shires of Scotland. At their entreaty, the duke of Hamilton agreed to adjourn the parliament, on the next or following day, till October; but as such a step might tend to discourage the friends of the government, the parliament, on meeting, adjourned its sittings for two days only. A proposal was made to set at liberty all the state prisoners; but it was negatived after some discussion, and a resolution adopted to confine them still closer than they had yet been, and to prevent all communication between them and their friends. But although they were cut off from the society of their

friends, they, as Lord Balcarras, himself a prisoner, observes, had never before so many visits from their enemies, who, anticipating another order of things, made many excuses for their past conduct, protested that they had always wished well to the prisoners, and when an opportunity should occur, would give proofs of such disposition.

During two entire days the ferment continued in the capital, and every hour added to the fears of those who had most to dread from a counter-revolution. At length, when the minds of men were wrought up to the highest pitch of terror and dismay, intelligence was received of the death of Dundee, and shortly thereafter a despatch from General Mackay to the duke of Hamilton arrived, giving an account of the battle, and of his safe retreat to Stirling. An event so unlooked for and so important as the death of the only man in whom the hopes of King James rested, and from the decision of whose character the supporters of the revolution settlement anticipated the most fearful consequences, was hailed by the duke of Hamilton and his friends with transports of joy. They had indeed good reason to rejoice, for although the battle had been disastrous to their forces, the loss which King James had sustained in the person of Dundee was irreparable.

On arriving at Stirling Mackay met Sir John Lanier, who communicated to him the orders that had been issued by the government on receiving the news of his defeat. So decisive had the battle of Killiecrankie appeared to them that they had given up all idea of maintaining a position on the north of the Forth, all the country beyond which they meant to abandon to the victorious arms of Dundee, and to confine their operations to a defence of the fords of the Forth, and the pass and bridge of Stirling. In pursuance of this design orders had been sent to Berkeley's regiment, which was quartered in the county of Aberdeen, to retire upon Dundee, and Lanier had despatched an express to his own regiment, which lay partly at Alnwick and partly at Morpeth, to hasten down to Scotland. This plan, however, was disapproved of by Mackay, and, he therefore, as he says, "resolved to alter these measures, (knowing how hard a pull we would have,) of the Scots war, if he left the north, which are absolutely the best men of that kingdom for the war, to the discretion of the enemy, where he would not only get great numbers to join him, but also take possession of towns and seize upon the public revenues, whereby they could form a fashion of government, and so have more plausible ways, not only to maintain but also to engross their party, than ever they have had."*

For these reasons Mackay determined to take the field again without delay, and to give, as he observes, "some eclat to the service, and hinder the disaffected of the shires of Perth and Angus to rise in arms against the government," he resolved to march direct to Perth with the forces which were at hand, and place a garrison there. Fortunately

* Memoirs, p. 62.

some of the troops which the privy council had ordered to rendezvous at Stirling were already there, and others were at hand. Preparatory to his march he sent Sir John Lanier to Edinburgh to hasten the advance of his own regiment, consisting of nine troops of horse, and also of Hayford's dragoons, consisting of eight troops, and ordered eight troops of horse, and four of dragoons, both of which had been newly levied, and Lord Colchester's regiment of horse, not above five hundred men in all, to join him at Stirling on the morning of Wednesday, the thirty-first of July. Many thousands of men in the western shires were now assembling of their own accord in consequence of Mackay's defeat; but disliking such auxiliaries, "whose pretensions (he says) appeared already exorbitant enough," and who, if employed, might think that the government could not be maintained without their assistance, he intimated that he would not require their services, and ordered them to return to their homes.

The horse and dragoons having come to Stirling as directed, were reviewed in the park in the morning by Mackay. With these he departed for Perth at two o'clock in the afternoon, giving orders to a newly raised battalion of foot, consisting of Mar and Bargeny's regiments, to follow him. He halted at a village halfway between Stirling and Perth part of the night to avoid the risk of an ambuscade, and at break of day pursued his march towards Perth. On his way he could obtain no intelligence respecting the motions of the enemy, as he found the houses mostly deserted by their inhabitants, who had taken up arms and had gone to join the standard of King James. On approaching the river Earn, however, Mackay's scouts, who, to prevent too timeous notice of his approach, kept only a musket-shot in advance, were saluted with a loud "qui vive" by two horsemen. The scouts, four in number, answered this challenge by a discharge from their carabines, which brought down the two horsemen, one of whom was shot dead. The other was mortally wounded, and though he spoke a few words, was not able to answer some questions put to him for eliciting information. As Mackay conjectured from this occurrence, that the main body of the enemy was not far off, he altered his line of march, and crossing a pretty steep hill to the north, reached the field of Tippermoor, a few miles west from Perth.

Having been informed at Tippermoor, that the enemy lay encamped at Dunkeld, and that a party of their horse and foot was in Perth for the purpose of carrying off some meal which had been sent thither by the council for the use of Mackay's army, the general drew off his men to the left to throw himself between Dunkeld and Perth, and thereby cut off the party. When he had thus interposed himself he marched down upon Perth, but on coming within sight of the town he was disappointed to observe that about thirty of the enemy's horse had already crossed the Tay, and were beyond his reach. He proceeded on his march, and when within half a mile of the town he observed the foot

party, which consisted of about three hundred Athole-men, approaching. The Highlanders, who had not the most distant idea that there was a single enemy nearer than Stirling, were almost petrified with horror when they beheld such a large body of cavalry ready to pounce upon them, and for a time they stood quite motionless, not knowing what to do. Apprehensive that they might attempt to escape by a ford near the place where they stood, Mackay despatched four troops of dragoons at full gallop to prevent their passage. The whole party on the approach of the dragoons immediately fled back in the direction of the town. As Mackay had no foot to follow them into the town, he sent three troops of Colchester's horse to cut off their retreat, whilst he himself followed close with the remainder of his horse in good order; and as he had no certain information as to the strength of the enemy in the neighbourhood, he left small detachments upon the heights near the town to watch lest any considerable force of the enemy might appear. The Athole-men seeing that their retreat would be cut off, threw themselves into the Tay, whither they were followed by the horse and dragoons who cut them down in the water without mercy. Either from stupidity or obstinacy they did not call for quarter. About one hundred and twenty of the Athole-men were killed and thirty made prisoners. In this affair Mackay lost one man only, who had imprudently pursued to a distance a small party of the Highlanders.*

This unfortunate rencounter, whilst it raised the expectations of the revolutionists, threw a damp over King James's supporters, and augured ill for the success of Colonel Cannan, who had assumed the command of James's army on the death of Dundee. This officer, though a faithful adherent of his royal master, was altogether unfit for the command of such an army. He had little military experience, and was totally unacquainted with the habits, the feelings, and dispositions of the Highlanders. Had Dundee lived he would probably have carried his victorious army across the Forth, seized upon the capital and dispersed the government; but his successor did not know how to take advantage of the victory which had been obtained, and instead of marching instantly south, he merely advanced to Dunkeld, about sixteen miles from the field of the recent battle, where he remained encamped for several days, when the party he had sent to Perth was attacked and almost destroyed by the indefatigable Mackay.

At Dunkeld, Cannan was joined by the Stewarts of Appin, the Macgregors and the Athole-men under Lord James Murray, of which circumstance Mackay was informed soon after his arrival at Perth. In the meantime he took care to secure the town against attack by erecting pallisades, and sent out patroles during the night to bring notice of the enemy should they approach the town. Cannan, however, made no

* Mackay, p. 63—4.

attempt to disturb Mackay, and after passing several days at Dunkeld in inactivity, he raised his camp and proceeded northwards along the skirts of the Grampians with a force of about three thousand men. It was the intention of Mackay to have returned to Edinburgh to consult with the privy council as to the best means of speedily settling the peace of the kingdom, and to leave Mar and Bargeny's regiments and six troops of cavalry in garrison at Perth; but on hearing of Cannan's movement to the north he abandoned his intention, and after despatching orders to Sir John Lanier to proceed to Perth with all possible haste along with the horse and dragoons which were expected from England, he crossed the Tay with his whole cavalry force, consisting of nearly fifteen hundred men, leaving two battalions of foot behind, and advanced towards Cupar-Angus. At Cupar he received intelligence from some prisoners who had been taken at Killiecrankie, and who had escaped on the march north, that Cannan had marched as far as Glen Isla, about eight miles from Forfar, where he had encamped. Mackay in consequence continued his march to Forfar, where he learned that Cannan had made another movement to Clova. To prevent surprise, and as his force was weak and consisted chiefly of new levies, Mackay placed his men in the fields under arms during the night, and allowed them to repose and refresh themselves during the day, taking care however to send out some scouts in the morning and to place some sentinels upon the neighbouring heights to watch the motions of the enemy.

After passing two nights at Forfar in this manner, he received notice that Cannan had crossed the mountains and had entered Braemar. As Mackay considered that these movements of Cannan were intended by him as a *ruse* to draw him north, and that when Cannan had accomplished his object he meant immediately to recross the mountains and enter Angus, where he expected some reinforcements to join him, Mackay sent orders to Lanier to advance to Forfar, to serve as a check upon Cannan should he again enter Angus, and proceeded himself to Aberdeen, which he reached the second day, to the great joy, he says, of most of the inhabitants who were in dread of a visit from the Highlanders that very night.*

On arriving at the Braes of Mar, Cannan was joined by the Farquharsons, the Frasers, the Gordons of Strathdown and Glenlivet, and by two hundred of the Macphersons. Keppoch and young Lochiel also met him.† At Aberdeen, Mackay received an express from the master of Forbes, informing him that Cannan had taken up a very strong position upon his father's lands, having the Highlands at his back and a wood to cover him in front, and so well chosen that he could keep up a free communication with his friends in the lower parts of the shires of Aberdeen and Banff. Judging that Cannan's object in

* Memoirs, p. 66. † Memoirs of Dundee.

selecting such a position was to strengthen himself in horse from the adjoining low country, of which species of force he stood in most need, Mackay, with the view of obstructing his levies, ordered Sir Thomas Livingston to leave the command of the forces at Inverness with Sir James Leslie, and to repair immediately to Strathbogie with his regiment of dragoons, with instructions, should the enemy appear in that quarter, to march farther to the left across the low country, and to send him despatches from time to time, announcing the state of matters. At the same time he sent an express to Sir John Lanier, ordering him to send Hayford's regiment of dragoons to Aberdeen to strengthen him.

After remaining a day at Aberdeen, Mackay marched up Dee-side to beat up Cannan's quarters, but learning on his march that the Highlanders had left Lord Forbes's lands and had gone north in the direction of the duke of Gordon's territory, he drew off his men next morning at break of day towards Strathbogie, for the purpose of covering Livingston's march. At Kildrummy, whither Cannan had taken his route, he was joined by three hundred horse,* a seasonable reinforcement, had Mackay ventured upon an engagement, but neither of the commanders was inclined to measure their strength with each other. Mackay having nothing but cavalry, got the start of Cannan, and reached Strathbogie before Cannan arrived at the castle of Auchindoun, where he intended to fix his head quarters. At Auchindoun, Cannan was informed that Mackay was already at the castle of Strathbogie, a distance of about six miles. He, thereupon, called a council of war to discuss the expediency of giving battle to Mackay. A preliminary question was agitated by the Highland chiefs as to the right of the Lowland officers to sit in the council, who contended that as none of these officers had any troops under their immediate command, and were wholly unacquainted with the discipline of the Highlanders and their mode of fighting, they had no right to deliberate on the subject, and were unable to form a correct judgment on the question they were called upon to discuss. The decision of this point lay with Cannan, who by the advice of the earl of Dunfermline, decided the question against the Highlanders. A judgment more unfortunate to the cause of King James could not have been pronounced, as it gave rise to jealousies and strifes among the officers, and when the question whether a battle should be hazarded was put to the vote, the clans who were for fighting Mackay immediately, found themselves in a minority.† This was followed by a resolution to return to Athole, the reason for which will be mentioned anon. As matters stood, the chances of victory on either side may be considered to have been pretty fairly balanced, but subsequent events showed that Cannan in the present instance omitted the best opportunity he was ever destined to have of gaining a victory which might have decided the fate of Scotland.

* Memoirs of Dundee. † Ibid.

In the meantime, Mackay, who had been joined by Livingston's dragoons the evening of the day he arrived at Strathbogie, selected ground suitable for the description of force he had with him. Ever since he left Perth, his men had slept in the open fields without a tent to cover them, and they had been greatly pinched for provisions. So hurriedly had Mackay left Aberdeen, that he did not wait for some bread which had been ordered to be prepared for his men, and so uncertain was he of the route he might take, that he could give no directions for sending it after him. The want of provisions was a serious obstacle, and he found on his arrival at Strathbogie, that without a supply, for which he relied on Aberdeen, he could not proceed farther. Being apprehensive that the duke of Gordon's tenants would acquaint the enemy of the stations of his outposts, who might, should an attack upon him be contemplated during the night, attempt to elude them, he did not place his sentinels till it became dark, and thus prevented the country people from acquiring any knowledge of their positions. As he was desirous to show himself to the enemy as soon as he should be joined by Hayford's dragoons, which he daily looked for, he sent out next morning a party of a hundred horse under Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie, to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and on the following day despatched Sir George at the head of a larger party for the same purpose, but in another direction, as he had been informed that Cannan, in expectation of a second visit, had laid an ambuscade for the party. While waiting for bread for his army from Aberdeen, Mackay received intelligence that Cannan had raised his camp and was in motion towards the Dee. Although his men were almost worn out with extreme fatigue, being kept under arms every night for a considerable time, and only allowed an occasional repose by turns during the day-time, the general resolved to follow Cannan with all possible despatch.

The cause of Cannan's movement was owing to the following circumstances. The privy council wishing to obtain possession of the castles of Blair and Finlarig, had sent a letter to Mackay at Strathbogie with instructions to proceed to these places before the rainy season should set in, for the purpose of reducing and putting garrisons into them. Mackay, in answer, stated his inability to undertake such a service in the face of the formidable force which lay so near him, and that he did not conceive there was any necessity for being in such a hurry, as from the proximity of these castles to the low country, he could make himself master of them at any time if sufficiently strong. But he observed, that if the council was very bent upon the undertaking, they might direct Sir John Lanier to order some foot and Berkeley's regiment to join him from Forfar, and with these and three battalions of the Dutch regiments, which had not been at the battle of Killiecrankie, then at Perth, to execute that piece of service. Upon receiving Mackay's answer, the council ordered the earl of Angus's regiment, known by the name of the Cameronian regiment—a band of religious enthusiasts

from the west—to advance to Dunkeld, with the view, it is supposed, of supporting Lanier. Mackay was quite averse to the employment of these men, and he disapproved of the plan of posting them so near the Highlands, the effect of which, he observed, would be, that they would be instantly attacked, "because the enemy had not such prejudice at any of the forces as at this regiment, whom they called the Cameronian regiment, whose oppression against all such as were not of their own sentiments, made them generally hated and feared in the northern counties."* Accordingly, no sooner had they encamped at Dunkeld than a design was formed by some of King James's friends in Athole to cut them off, and a notice was sent to Cannan to return south with that view, in consequence of which, he raised his camp and proceeded suddenly towards the Dee, as already mentioned.

Mackay followed him in the direction of Cromar, and having ascertained, on arriving at the Dee, that Cannan had crossed the hills and entered the Mearns and Angus, he made a rapid movement down that river towards Aberdeen, as he did not consider it safe to venture his cavalry, which did not exceed twelve hundred men, among the mountains. On arriving at Aberdeen, he sent an express to Sir John Lanier announcing the advance of Cannan, and to prevent the Highlanders from making any inroads, he sent out small parties of his men to scour the neighbouring country. When Lanier was informed of Cannan's approach, he left Forfar, where he was posted with his own and Berkeley's regiment, for Brechin, near which town the enemy had advanced. Some skirmishing took place between the advanced posts, with loss on both sides. The Highlanders, thereupon, retired to the hills, and Lanier, who was ignorant of the object of Cannan's march, returned to Forfar. Here he received orders from the privy council to march to the castles of Blair and Finlarig, in consequence of which he proceeded to Cupar-Angus the following day, where intelligence was brought him from Colonel Ramsay, that the Highlanders were marching upon Dunkeld, and he was informed at the same time that the Cameronian regiment, which was disadvantageously posted, would assuredly be defeated, if not immediately supported. Instead of sending any instructions to Ramsay, who required his advice, Lanier delayed forwarding any answer till he should arrive at Perth the following day, "in which interim (says Mackay), if the providence of God had not blinded Cannan, and disheartened his Highlanders from continuing their attack, the regiment had certainly been lost, for they had two full days' time to carry them, and all their defence was but low gardens, in most places not above four feet high."†

On Sunday morning, the eighteenth of August, the Cameronians, in expectation of an attack, began to entrench themselves within some inclosures about the marquis of Athole's house at Dunkeld. The country people, in parties of ten and twenty, appeared during the morning on

*Memoirs, p. 69. † Ibid.

the neighbouring hills, and about four in the afternoon a body of about three hundred men drew up on a hill to the north of Dunkeld, whence they despatched a messenger, who carried a halbert surmounted by a white cloth as a flag of truce, with a letter without any subscription, addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Cleland, the commanding officer, of the following tenor:—"We the gentlemen assembled being informed that ye intend to burn the town, desire to know whether ye come for peace or war, and do certify you, that if ye burn any one house, we will destroy you." To which communication Lieutenant-Colonel Cleland replied as follows:—"We are faithful subjects to King William and Queen Mary, and enemies to their enemies; and if you, who send these threats, shall make any hostile appearance, we will burn all that belongs to you, and otherwise chastise you as you deserve."

On the first alarm of the Highlanders' approach to Dunkeld, Colonel Ramsay sent up some troops of horse and dragoons under Lord Cardross to assist the Cameronians in case of attack. This party arrived at Dunkeld on Tuesday morning, but the Highlanders not being yet sufficiently numerous, showed no disposition to attack the Cameronians that day. At night, Cleland received intelligence that the fiery cross had been sent round, and that a considerable gathering had taken place, and next morning the Highlanders began to appear in large parties among the hills, between whom and some detached parties of horse and foot which Cleland sent out to scour the country, some brisk skirmishing took place during the day. The Highlanders having retired, Cleland's forces returned to Dunkeld in the evening, where Lord Cardross received an order from Colonel Ramsay to return instantly to Perth, from an absurd apprehension that the cavalry could be of little use in defending the position occupied by the Cameronian regiment. When Cleland, who, according to Mackay, was "a sensible resolute man, though not much of a soldier," was informed of this extraordinary mandate, he remonstrated with Cardross in the strongest manner against complying with it, as the safety of his regiment might be involved in the result; but his lordship pleaded his instructions, which gave him no discretionary power, and he departed for Perth the same evening. Cleland's obvious course was to have followed the cavalry, but though the danger was imminent, he disdained to abandon the post which had been assigned him, and prevailed upon his men to remain and meet the enemy at all hazards.

The parties which had appeared during the day consisted entirely of Athole-men, whose numbers did not probably exceed five or six hundred; but in the evening they were joined by the whole of Cannan's force, amounting to nearly four thousand. To the great surprise and dismay of the Cameronians, this formidable body appeared at six o'clock next morning, being Wednesday the twenty-first of August, on the hills about Dunkeld formed in order of battle. The situation of the Cameronians was now critical in the extreme. They had no alter-

native but to fight or surrender, for retreat was not in their power. A capitulation would have been the obvious course, but the great abhorrence in which the Cameronians were held by the Highlanders, gave faint hopes of obtaining the usual terms of civilized warfare from the inveterate host which hung over them on the surrounding heights. They, therefore, adopted the desperate resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity, and they hoped, that by posting themselves advantageously behind the walls and enclosures adjoining the village and Dunkeld-house, they would be able to keep the Highlanders in check till some relief might arrive.

The Cameronian commander accordingly made the necessary preparations for defence. He first posted parties of his men in the cathedral and steeple, and in Dunkeld-house. The remainder of his men he disposed behind the walls of the adjoining gardens and parks, and along some ditches which he caused to be thrown up to extend his line of defence. All these arrangements were completed before seven o'clock in the morning, about which time the Highlanders appeared moving down the hills towards Dunkeld. Desirous to gain possession of the town, to dislodge the Cameronians, or to draw off their attention from the points where he meant to direct his main attack, Cannan despatched a small train of artillery down a little hill near the town, accompanied by a hundred men clad in armour, who were followed by a party of Highlanders on foot. To prevent the Cameronians from escaping by the ford across the Tay, he sent two troops of horse round the town, who took up a position betwixt the ford and the church, while two other troops were placed at the opposite end of the town. When the party arrived at the bottom of the hill, they were opposed by a small body of men whom Cleland had posted behind a stone wall, but after some smart firing, this body was obliged to give way and to retire to Dunkeld-house. Another party of the Cameronians, which had been posted at the other end of the town, was obliged also to retire. Having forced the outposts, the whole body of the Highlanders rushed furiously into the town, which they entered at four different points at once. The Cameronians, however, firmly maintained their ground within the enclosures, from which they kept up a galling and destructive fire upon the Highlanders, who in vain attempted to dislodge them. Finding their broadswords of little avail against the pikes and halberts of an enemy protected by stone walls, the Highlanders retired to the houses and the heights near the town, from which they kept up a sharp though ineffectual fire upon the Cameronians, who returned it with much better effect. The Cameronians, however, soon sustained a heavy loss in the death of Cleland, their brave commander, who, in the act of exhorting his men to stand firm to their posts, was mortally wounded by two bullets, one of which pierced his liver, and the other entered his head at the same instant of time, within an hour after the engagement commenced. Aware of his fate, he attempted to gain Dunkeld-house, lest his men,

seeing him expire, might become dispirited ; but he was unable to reach the threshold, and expired in their presence.

During three hours an incessant firing was kept up on both sides, which might have continued for several hours longer without producing any definite result, unless, indeed, the ammunition of either party had become exhausted. Probably from the dread of such a contingency, which would have been fatal to the Cameronians, Captain Munro, to whom, on the death of Cleland, the command had fallen, resolved to attempt to dislodge the Highlanders from the houses by setting the town on fire. He accordingly sent into the town several small parties of pikemen with burning faggots upon the points of their pikes to set fire to the houses in which the Highlanders were posted, and who executed their orders with such promptitude, that in a short time the whole town was in a conflagration. The scene which the town now presented, was one of the most heart-rending description. The din of war was indeed no longer heard, but a more terrific sound had succeeded, from the wild shrieks and accents of despair which issued from the dense mass of smoke and flame which enveloped the unfortunate sufferers. To add to the calamity, the pikemen had locked the doors of such of the houses as had keys standing in them, and the unhappy intruders being thus cut off from escape, perished in the flames. No less than sixteen Highlanders were, in consequence burnt to death in one house. With the exception of three houses, possessed by the Cameronians, the whole of the town was consumed.

The Highlanders finding their ammunition all spent,* and seeing that they could no longer maintain themselves among the ruins of the town, began to retire to the hills about eleven o'clock, after having sustained a loss of about three hundred men. The Cameronians, whose loss was trifling, on seeing the Highlanders depart, set up a loud shout, threw up their caps, beat their drums, and waved their colours in token of triumph, demonstrations which must have been exceedingly galling to the feelings of the Highlanders, who only four hours before had assured themselves of an easy conquest. It is stated in the Cameronian account of the battle, that an attempt was made by Cannan to induce the Highlanders to renew the attack, but they declined, for this reason, that although still ready to fight with men, they would not again encounter devils.† To show their gratitude to God for "so miraculous a victory," the Cameronians spent a considerable part of the afternoon in singing psalms of praise and thanksgiving.

The Highlanders were greatly discouraged by the repulse which they sustained at Dunkeld, and they attributed the misfortune to the incapacity of Cannan, in whom they in consequence lost confidence. Perceiving that they could no longer keep the field with any probability of success under such a commander, they retired to Blair, and after entering into a bond of association to support the cause of King James, and for mutual

* Balcarras. † Life and Diary of Colonel Blackader.

protection, they departed for their homes, leaving Cannan and his Irish troops and the few lowland gentlemen to shift for themselves. Cannan went to Mull and resided with the chief of Maclean.*

* "We, Lord James Murray, Patrick Stewart of Ballechan, Sir John M'Lean, Sir Donald M'Donald, Sir Ewen Cameron, Glengarie, Benbecula, Sir Alexander MacLean, Appin, Enveray, Keppoch, Glencoe, Strowan, Calochele, Lieut.-Col. M'Gregor, Bara, Large, M'Naughten, do hereby bind and oblige ourselves, for his Majesty's service and our own safeties, to meet at the day of September next, and bring along with us fencible men. That is to say, Lord James Murray and Ballechan Sir John M'Lean 200, Sir Donald M'Donald 200, Sir Ewen Cameron 200, Glengarie 200, Benbecula 200, Sir Alexander M'Lean 100, Appin 100, Enveray 100, Keppoch 100, Lieut.-Col. M'Gregor 100, Calochele 50, Strowan 60, Bara 50, Glencoe 50, M'Naughten 50, Large 50; but in case any of the rebels shall assault or attack any of the above-named persons betwixt the date hereof and the said day of rendezvous, we do all solemnly promise to assist one another to the utmost of our power, as witness these presents, signed by us at the castle of Blair, the 24th of August, 1689 years.—Al. Robertson, D. M'Neil, Alex. M'Donald, Do. M'Gregor, Alex. M'Donell, D. M'Donald, D. M'D. of Benbecula, Al. M'Donald, Tho. Farqrson, Jo. M'Leane, E. Cameron of Lochiel, Al. Stuart."—*Records of Parliament.*

Seven days before the date of this bond, these associates, and other friends, sent the following characteristic letter to Mackay, in answer to a friendly invitation from him to lay down their arms:—

"Birse, 17th August, 1689.

"Sir,

"We received your letter from Strathbogy, and we saw that you wrote to Brigadier Cannan from St Johnstoun, to which we gave a civil return, for by telling that you support yourselves by fictions and stories (a thing known all the world over), is no railing. The Christian means (as you say in your last) you make use of to advance the good cause by, is evident to all the world, and the argument you use to move us to address your government, is consequential to the whole; for instead of telling us what good Christians, men of honour, good subjects, and good neighbours, ought to do, you tell us in both your letters, that his Majesty has hot wars in Ireland, and cannot in haste come to us, which, though it were as true as we know it is not, is only an argument from safety and interest. And that you may know the sentiments of men of honour, we declare to you and all the world, we scorn your usurper, and the indemnities of his government; and to save you farther trouble by your frequent invitations, we assure you that we are satisfied our king will take his own time and way to manage his dominions and punish his rebels; and although he should send no assistance to us at all, we will die with our swords in our hands before we fail in our loyalty and sworn allegiance to our sovereign. Judge, then, what effect Duke Hamilton's letter has upon us; but you have got an honourable father for this story from Ireland, and although we can better tell you how matters go in Ireland, and that we pity those on whom such stories have influence, yet we have no orders to offer conditions to any rebels; we allow them and his grace to believe on and take your measures by your success, till his Majesty's farther orders. Sir, We thank you for the good meaning of your invitation, (though we are confident you had no hope of success.) And we will shortly endeavour to give you a requital—and those of us who live in islands have already seen and defied the Prince of Orange his frigates. We are, Sir, your affectionate and humble servants. Jo. MacLeane, E. Cameron of Lochiel, C. M'Kenzie, D. Mackdonald, John Grant of Balnadaloch, Pa. Steuart, J. M'Nachtane, Alexr. M'Donald, A. M'Nachtan, Jo. Cameron. Tho. Farqrson, H. M'Lean of Lochbuye, Alexr. M'Donell, D. M'D. of Benbecula, R. MacNeill of Bara, D. M'Neill, Ra. M'Donald, J. M'Donald, Alexr. Maclaine. We have returned your letter from Duke Hamilton, because you have more use for it than we."—*Parliamentary Records.*

In the meantime Mackay left Aberdeen for the purpose of joining Lanier, leaving behind him Sir Thomas Livingston, with his regiment and nine troops of cavalry, to keep the adjoining northern counties in awe. At Brechin he learnt that Lanier had received an order from the privy council to march into Athole, in consequence of which information he sent an express to him to delay his march till he should join him, a junction which he effected at Perth on the twenty-sixth of August. He thereafter left Perth, with the greater part of the forces which he found there assembled, and took the route to Blair. It was clearly the interest of James's party to have burned the castle of Blair, so as to prevent Mackay from placing a garrison in it to overawe the neighbouring country; but if such was the intention of the Highlanders, they were deterred from putting it in execution by a message from Mackay, who threatened, in the event of the castle being burnt, to raze every house in Athole to the ground, and to burn and destroy all the corn in that country. Mackay remained ten days at the castle of Blair, during which time many of the Athole people took advantage of an indemnity which he offered them, and delivered up their arms. Having placed a garrison of five hundred men in the castle, and given orders to raise a pallisade and breast-work round it, he was forced to return to Perth in consequence of continual rains, which made him also forego a resolution he had entertained of marching to the head of Loch Tay, and, placing a garrison in the castle of Finlarig, belonging to the earl of Breadalbane, who, according to him, was "one of the chiefest and cunningest fomenters of the trouble of that kingdom (Scotland), not for love of King James, but to make himself necessary to the government."* The subsequent conduct of this nobleman fully corroborated this opinion. After the rains had subsided, a detachment of two hundred men under Lord Cardross, took possession of Finlarig castle, notwithstanding the proprietor had, shortly before, taken the oaths to the government, and found bail for his allegiance.

While the death of Dundee seemed to give stability to the government in Scotland on the one hand, its safety appeared to be endangered on the other, by the jealousies and dissensions which agitated the parliament. Among the persons who had been instrumental in bringing about the revolution, there were some who, although they pretended a great zeal for religion, were impelled by no other motive than personal interest, and who, seeing that their expectations were not to be realized, and that all the offices of trust were monopolized by a few favourites about court, became factious and impatient, and were ready to seize the first opportunity that offered of overturning the government. Sir James Montgomery was at the head of this disaffected party, which, during the ensuing winter, held several private meetings. The result was, that a most extraordinary and unnatural coalition took place between the Ja-

* Memoirs, p. 72.

cobites and the discontented Presbyterians for the restoration of King James. By uniting their votes in parliament they expected to embarrass the government, and make it odious to the people, and thereby pave the way for the return of the exiled monarch; but their designs were disconcerted by a discovery of the plot.

Mackay had now grown heartily tired of the service, and as his plans for the subjugation of the Highlands had been treated with indifference or neglect by the government, he became desirous to resign his commission, and retire to Holland, his adopted country, there to spend the remainder of his days in peace. There was certainly nothing in the situation of his native country at the period in question to induce him to remain. An unpaid, disorderly, and mutinous army; an oppressed people, a discontented nobility, a divided parliament and council; "church divided into two more irreconcileable factions, though both calling themselves Protestants, than Rome and Geneva," matters deemed of so little importance by the first reformers as scarcely to be mentioned in their writings, preferred by the "religious zealots" of those days to the well-being of the whole Protestant church, the Episcopal ministers who had been ejected preaching "King James more than Christ, as they had been accustomed to take passive obedience more than the gospel for their text:"—these considerations all tended to disgust a man of a moderate and conciliating disposition like Mackay, and made him "look upon Scotsmen of those times in general, as void of zeal for their religion and natural affection, seeing all men hunt after their particular advantages, and none minding sincerely and self-denyedly the common good, which gave him a real distaste of the country and service; resolving from that time forward to disengage himself out of it as soon as possible he could get it done, and that the service could allow of." * Mackay, however, failed in obtaining even a temporary leave of absence during the winter by the intrigues of Lord Melville and Viscount Tarbet, who, as he says, suspecting an interview with William, who was then in Holland, to be the object of his proposed visit thither, were afraid that he would induce William to adopt a system different from that hitherto followed in the management of Scottish affairs.

Mackay finding that he would not succeed in his application for leave of absence, began to apply himself with great perseverance to accomplish his long-desired project of erecting a fort at Inverlochy, capable of containing ten or twelve hundred men, to keep the western Highlanders in check. In a communication which he made to King William on the subject, he requested to be supplied with three frigates of about thirty guns each, ten or twelve ships of burden, and three or four dozen of large boats, three thousand muskets, four hundred *chevaux de frise*, and two thousand spades, shovels, and pickaxes, with money suf-

* Memoirs, p. 77.

ficient to purchase two months' provisions for three or four thousand men. On receiving these supplies, he proposed to march with this force through Argyle about the end of March, as far as Dunstaffnage, where he meant to embark his men in the ships, and thence proceed to Inverlochy, and land them under the protection of the guns of the ships of war. No notice, however, was taken of this proposal either by William or his ministers, notwithstanding its importance was urged in repeated letters from Mackay, who, in consequence, grew quite impatient, and threatened to throw up his commission. At length the privy council having, at his request, written a letter to the king on the subject, he ordered the frigates to be sent down, with some arms and ammunition, and implements for commencing the work; but the required supply of money was not forthcoming, without which the expedition could not be undertaken. Anxious, however, to get the fort erected with as little delay as possible, Mackay offered to the privy council to proceed to Inverlochy with a select detachment of six hundred men, provided they would give him provisions for three months; but although a sum of five or six hundred pounds would have almost sufficed for this purpose, the council pleaded the impossibility of raising the money.* In this emergency he applied to the city of Glasgow, the magistrates of which undertook to hire vessels for transporting the detachment, and to furnish him with the necessary provisions, and such articles as he might require for completing the fort, in addition to those sent down from England.† Major Ferguson, who was appointed to command this expedition, repaired to Glasgow; but he was detained there about five weeks waiting for the provisions. The news, however, of such an armament being in preparation, and a report purposely circulated by Mackay, that it was much larger than it actually was, having reached the Highlands, had the effect of preventing many of the islanders and the inhabitants of the adjoining mainland from joining Major-General Buchan, who took the field in April sixteen hundred and ninety.

Before the arrival of this officer, the Highlanders had resolved to place themselves under the command of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, having in consequence of their defeat at Dunkeld, lost confidence in Canman, as a commander. After that disaster, Lochiel and the other Jacobite chiefs had represented to James the precarious state of his affairs in Scotland, and the necessity there was for sending them aid; but James was too much occupied with preparations for resisting a threatened invasion of Ireland, by his son-in-law, to attend much to his Scottish concerns. He, however, sent over a vessel with some clothes, arms, ammunition, and provisions, and a few Irish officers, among whom was Major-General Buchan, with a commission, as commander-in-chief, of all the Jacobite forces in Scotland.

On Buchan's arrival, a meeting of the chiefs, and principal officers,

* Mackay's Memoirs, p. 85. † Page 86.

was held at Keppoch, to deliberate upon the course they ought to pursue. As no reinforcement had arrived from Ireland, and as the plot between the Jacobites, and the disappointed chiefs of the Presbyterians, which had raised the expectations of King James's partizans, had been discovered, the meeting was divided in opinion, upon the expediency of renewing hostilities. Some, thinking the cause quite desperate, proposed to submit to the government, which they knew was quite disposed to grant them the most favourable terms; but this proposition was warmly resisted by Lochiel, who had great influence with his fellow chiefs. He stated that he had adhered to the cause of Charles II., at a time when it was more desperate than that of his royal brother now was, who was still at the head of an army in Ireland, and who had many friends in Britain, ready to declare themselves, when a fit opportunity offered; that under these circumstances, he considered they would disgrace themselves, if they abandoned the cause they had pledged themselves to defend, and that for his own part he would neither listen to terms from the government, nor lay down his arms, without an express order from King James himself. In consequence of this declaration, the meeting unanimously resolved to continue the war; but as the labours of the spring season were not over, they postponed the muster of the clans, till those should be completed; and in the mean time directed Major General Buchan, to employ the interval in beating up the enemy's quarters, along the borders of the lowlands, for which purpose, a detachment of twelve hundred foot was to be placed at his disposal.*

When Mackay heard that Buchan had taken the field, he sent an express to Sir Thomas Livingston,—whom he had despatched north from Aberdeen to Inverness, with his regiment, in the month of January, to watch the motions of the Highlanders,—to keep a sharp outlook after Buchan, who, it was supposed, would probably make a descent upon the lowlands of Moray or Banff. Sir Thomas had at this time, besides his own regiment of dragoons, three regiments of foot, and some troops of horse, under his command, posted in and about the town of Inverness. Hearing that Buchan was marching through Lochaber and Badenoch, Livingston made two successive marches up the country, in the direction Buchan was said to be advancing, but on both occasions, he was obliged to return to Inverness, from the great difficulty he experienced in obtaining provender for his horses, and provisions for his troops, without seeing Buchan, or hearing any thing concerning him. Having ascertained that the feeling of hostility towards the government, was rapidly extending, and that it had even reached the clans, who had hitherto, in appearance at least, shown themselves favourably inclined to the revolution, Livingston, thereupon, despatched a letter to Mackay, acquainting him of the circumstance, and stating that if Buchan was not speedily opposed, he was afraid that by far the greater part of the

* Balcarras.

northern counties would join him. That he might obtain early intelligence of Buchan's motions, and avoid the difficulties he had experienced in his former marches, for want of provisions, Livingston took up a position eight miles from Inverness, with a select body of twelve hundred men, consisting of his own regiment, which amounted to three hundred men, four hundred of Lesley's regiment, a company of one hundred of Lord Reay's Highlanders, three hundred of Grant's Highlanders, and two troops of horse.*

On receiving Livingston's despatch, Mackay sent orders to the different detachments which lay at Stirling, Glasgow, Dundee, and other places, amounting together to three thousand men, to assemble without delay at Perth, that they might be in readiness, should a general rising in favour of King James take place in the north, to support Livingston and to serve as a check upon the southern Highlands. He, at the same time, directed Lieutenant-Colonel Buchan, brother of King James's general, who commanded the forces in the city and county of Aberdeen, consisting of a battalion of Ramsay's regiment, the Cameronian regiment, and five troops of horse and dragoons, to march upon any point Livingston should direct.†

In the mean time Major-General Buchan was advancing through Badenoch with the design of marching down Speyside into the duke of Gordon's country, where he expected to be joined by some of the vassals of that nobleman. At Culnakill he held a council of war to determine whether to take up a position in that neighbourhood, where they would be secure from the attacks of Livingston's cavalry, or proceed farther down the Spey. As Buchan's force did not exceed eight hundred men, and as they were aware that a large force of horse and foot lay at Inverness, the Highland officers were unanimously of opinion that they should not advance beyond Culnakill, but should march the following day to Glenlochy, and encamp among the adjoining woods. Buchan, however, who appears to have been as incapable of conducting a Highland force, and as ignorant of the mode of warfare pursued by the Highlanders as Cannan, his predecessor, now second in command, rejected this advice, and, on the following day, he marched down the Spey as far as Cromdale, where he encamped on the last day of April.‡

Livingston was, at this time, lying within eight miles of Strathspey, on the grounds of the laird of Grant, where he received notice the same day from a captain in Grant's regiment, who, with a company of men, held possession for the government of Balloch, now Grant castle, in the vicinity of Cromdale, that Buchan was marching down Strathspey. Desirous of attacking him before he should have an opportunity of be-

* Mackay's Memoirs, p. 93. Mackay's account says, "six companies of Grant's regiment, making about 800 men,"—an evident error.

† Mackay's Memoirs, p. 94.

‡ Memoirs of Dundee.

ing joined by the country people, Livingston marched off towards the Spey, in the afternoon, and continued his march till he arrived within two miles of Balloch castle. As it was already dark, and the night far advanced, and as a difficult pass lay between him and the castle, Livingston proposed to encamp during the night; but not finding a convenient place, he, by the persuasion of one of his officers who was acquainted with the pass, and who undertook to conduct him safely through it, renewed his march, and arrived at the Dairirade or top of the hill above the castle at two o'clock in the morning. Buchan's men were then reposing in fancied security near Lethindie, on the adjoining plain of Cromdale, and the fires of their camp, which were pointed out by the captain of the castle to Livingston, showed him that he was much nearer the enemy than he had any idea of. Mackay says, that had Livingston been aware that the Highlanders were encamped so near the pass, that he would not have ventured through it during the night, having little confidence in the country people; nor would the enemy, had they suspected Livingston's march, left their former station and encamped upon an open plain, a considerable distance from any secure position, "just as if they had been led thither by the hand as an ox to the slaughter."*

As several gentlemen of the adjoining country had sought an asylum in the castle on hearing of Buchan's advance, the commander, in order to prevent any knowledge of Livingston's approach being communicated to the Highlanders, had taken the precaution to shut the gates of the castle, and to prohibit all egress; so that the Highlanders were as ignorant of Livingston's arrival as he had previously been of their encampment at Cromdale. Such being the case, the commander of the castle advised him to attack the Highlanders without delay, and he himself offered to conduct the troops into the plain. Livingston's men were greatly fatigued with their march; but, as the opportunity of surprising the enemy should not, he thought, be slighted, he called his officers together, and, after stating his opinion, requested each of them to visit their detachments and propose an attack to them. The proposition having been acceded to, the troops were allowed half an hour to refresh themselves, after which they marched down through the valley of Auchinarrow, to the river. Finding a ford below Dellachaple, which he approached guarded by a hundred Highlanders, Livingston left a detachment of foot and a few dragoons to amuse them, while, with his main body, led by some gentlemen of the name of Grant on horseback, he marched to another ford through a covered way, a mile farther down the river, which he crossed at the head of three troops of dragoons, and a troop of horse, a company of his Highlanders forming the advanced guard. After he reached the opposite bank of the Spey, he perceived the Highlanders, who had received notice of his approach from their advanced guards at the upper ford, in great confusion, and in motion

* Memoirs, p. 95.

towards the hills. He thereupon sent orders to a part of his regiment, and another troop of horse to cross the river and join him; but, without waiting for them, he galloped off at full speed towards the hills, so as to get between the fugitives—the greater part of whom were almost naked—and the hills, and intercept them in their retreat. The cavalry were accompanied by the company of Highlanders which had crossed the river, and who are said to have outrun their mounted companions, a circumstance which induced the flying Highlanders, on arriving at the foot of the hill of Cromdale, to make a stand; but, on the approach of Livingston and the remainder of his dragoons and horse, they again took to their heels. They turned, however, frequently round upon their pursuers, and defended themselves with their swords and targets with great bravery. A thick fog, which, coming down the side of the mountain, enveloped the fugitives, compelled Livingston to discontinue the pursuit, and even to beat a retreat. According to Mackay, the Highlanders had four hundred men killed and taken prisoners, while Livingston did not lose a single man, and only seven or eight horses; but Balcarras states his loss at about one hundred killed, and several prisoners; and the author of the 'Memoirs of Dundee' says, that many of Livingston's dragoons fell.* A party of the Camerons and Macleans, who had in the flight separated from their companions in arms, crossed the Spey the following day; but, being pursued by some of Livingston's men, were overtaken and dispersed on the moor of Granish near Aviemore, where some of them were killed. The rest took shelter in Craigelachie, and, being joined by Keppoch and his Highlanders, made an attempt to seize the castle of Lochinclan in Rothiemurcus, but were repulsed with loss by the proprietor and his tenants.†

The news of the disaster at Cromdale was received with feelings of dismay by the partisans of King James at Edinburgh, who began to regret that they had not embraced an offer which had been made by King William for a cessation of arms. On the other hand, the friends of the government were elated with Livingston's success, and hastened the long delayed expedition to Inverlochy, under Major Ferguson, which accordingly set sail from Greenock on the fifteenth of May. Having obtained the consent of King William to march into Lochaber, Mackay made preparations for the expedition; and, although the earl of Melville, the commissioner to the Scottish parliament, gave him notice of some dangerous plots against the government both in England and Scotland, which might require the presence of a large force in the lowlands to check,

* Shaw (History of Moray) says that above a hundred of Buchan's men were killed, and about sixty made prisoners, who were found in the castle of Lethindie and the mill, and he adds, as a thing deserving of remark, that "Colonel Macdonald of Keppoch, who was ever keen for plunder, had never once fought for his king, would not encamp with the other rebels, but with his men quartered at Garvlin, half-a-mile distant, and thereby escaped without loss."

† Shaw's Moray.

yet, as he considered the subjugation of the Highlands of primary importance, he resolved to proceed on his expedition; and, accordingly, on the eighteenth of June, marched from Perth at the head of about three thousand horse and foot. As his route to Inverlochy would bring him within a short day's march of the enemy, and as he was desirous—agreeably, as he says, to a military maxim, "without necessity, to put nothing to an apparent hazard when the success is of great importance,"—to avoid an engagement in a country full of defiles and difficult passes till he should join the forces in the north under Sir Thomas Livingston, he resolved to march towards Strathspey, and thence through Badenoch into Lochaber. To conceal his design of marching north from the enemy, after entering Athole, he made a movement as if he intended to enter Badenoch by the nearest route, and then turning suddenly to the right, took the road to Strathspey. Having joined Livingston in Strathspey on the twenty-sixth of June, the united forces, after a day's rest, marched towards Badenoch.

The Highlanders who, after their dispersion at Cromdale, had returned to their homes, had re-assembled on hearing of Mackay's approach; but, from the fewness of their numbers, they made no attempt to obstruct his passage through Badenoch. Being informed that they had taken possession of a strait and difficult pass through which they expected him to march, he, on the first of July,—the very day on which the celebrated battle of the Boyne was fought,—made a feint with four troops of horse and dragoons as if he intended to pass that way, for the purpose of deceiving the enemy; after which he suddenly changed his march to the left, having given orders, previously, to the officer commanding the four troops to retire and join his rear guard after he should have halted sufficiently long to give time to the country people in the neighbourhood of the pass to send intelligencers to announce his approach in that direction to the enemy. After traversing mountains and bogs, he entered Lochaber by Glenspean the same night and arrived at Inverlochy on the third of the month.*

The site of the old fort, which had been erected by Oliver Cromwell, did not please Mackay, as it was commanded by a neighbouring hill; but, as a more eligible one could not be found, he commenced the work on the fifth of the month, and, in eleven days the wall was raised to its full intended height of twenty feet from the bottom of the fosse, and pallisaded round with a *chemin couvert* and glacis. Having finished the fort, which was named Fort-William, in honour of the king, he was about proceeding to send a detachment into the isle of Mull to reduce it, but receiving despatches from the privy council announcing the defeat of the English and Dutch fleets, and requiring his return to the South as soon as possible, with as many of his forces as could be spared, in consequence of an expected invasion from France, he

* Memoirs, p. 98.

marched from Inverlochy for the South on the eighteenth, leaving behind him one thousand men in garrison in the new fort. He arrived in Badenoch on the twentieth by easy marches, and leaving his army in camp the whole of the twenty-first to rest themselves, he went with a party of one hundred and fifty horse and dragoons to inspect Ruthven castle which the Jacobite forces had burnt the preceding year. Here he left the company of Lord Reay's Highlanders with instructions to the commander to raise a breastwork round an old square wall, within which the garrison might remain secure against surprise or attack. He then descended into Athole, and arrived at Perth on the twenty-sixth of July, being little more than five weeks since he set out on his long projected expedition.

During his absence Major-General Buchan and Colonel Cannan, each at the head of a select body of cavalier horse, had been scouring the low country. The latter, in particular, with two hundred horse, had attacked Lord Cardross's dragoons who were stationed in Menteith, and had pursued them down as far as the park of Stirling. On his arrival at Perth Mackay was informed of the proceedings of Cannan's party, whence he sent orders to the troops at Stirling to march out in quest of them, while he himself, after receiving a supply of biscuit from Dundee, resolved to march from Perth with a detachment for the purpose of intercepting them; but Cannan had passed through the heights of Athole towards Braemar before the troops at Stirling left that town. Mackay followed after them for two days with a force of a thousand men, but was unable to overtake them. Being unprovided for a longer march, he returned on the third day to Stirling, whence he despatched three troops of Cardross's dragoons, and one of horse, to support the master of Forbes who was guarding Aberdeenshire with four troops of horse and dragoons.

Buchan and Cannan having united their forces, and being joined by Farquharson of Inveray, at the head of five or six hundred of Braemar Highlanders, descended into the adjoining low parts of Aberdeenshire, Mearns, and Banff, to unite themselves to some of the country Jacobite gentlemen, leaving behind them a body of one hundred and sixty men, to block up Abergeldie, in which Mackay still kept a garrison. They were at first opposed on their descent into the low country, by the Master of Forbes, and Colonel Jackson, with eight troops of cavalry, which was fully more than sufficient to have repulsed in a level country, any body the Highlanders could then bring into the field; but Buchan having purposely magnified the appearance of his forces, by ranging his foot over a large extent of ground, and interspersing his baggage and baggage horses among them, inspired the Master of Forbes and Jackson with such dread, that they considered it prudent to retire before a foe apparently so formidable in appearance, and their fears increasing after they had begun their retreat, they set off towards Aberdeen at full gallop, and never looked behind, till they had entered the town, after a race

of upwards of twenty miles.* Buchan, who had no immediate design upon Aberdeen, followed the alarmed cavalry, and such was the effect of the retreat upon some of the neighbouring noblemen and gentlemen, that some of them joined Buchan in the pursuit. The inhabitants were thrown into a state of the greatest alarm at this occurrence, and the necessary means of defence were adopted, but Buchan made no attempt to enter the town.

When Mackay received intelligence of this "disorder," as he terms the flight of Forbes and Jackson, he instantly despatched Colonel Cunningham with his own regiment, six companies of that of Beveridge, and ten companies of Kenmure's, amounting in whole to only three hundred men, and two troops of cavalry, to the north to join Jackson; but Cunningham was unable to effect a junction, as Cannan lay encamped between him and Jackson. As the fears of a French invasion had subsided, Mackay, on hearing of Cunningham's failure, marched north himself with Livingston's dragoons, and fourteen hundred foot, of the three Dutch regiments, and in such haste that he carried neither baggage nor provisions along with him; but on his way north, he learned that Buchan had left the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, and was marching southward. On hearing of Mackay's advance, Buchan drew off his men to the right, and crossed the hills. Mackay was obliged to halt a few days for provisions, and in the mean time ordered Jackson to join him. On arriving at the Dee, he left Cunningham with a detachment at the castle of Aboyne, to cover Jackson's march, and proceeded with his own division to raise the siege of Abergeldie. In the course of this march, a party of sixty dragoons, under Major Mackay, fell in among the hills, with a body of two hundred Highlanders, under Inveray, all of whom were either killed or made prisoners. The chief himself made a very narrow escape, having been trampled under the horses' feet, and left for dead on the field, by the dragoons. Mackay also laid waste the fertile country about Abergeldie, to the extent of twelve miles round, and burnt from twelve to fourteen hundred houses, by way of reprisal, for having blocked up the garrison.†

Having united all his forces in the north, with the exception of those which lay at Inverness, Mackay marched as far north as Strathdon, where he received information, of rather a doubtful character, that the enemy were moving in the direction of the county of Moray, and were threatening Elgin. He obtained, however, other intelligence of a less equivocal description, namely, that the greater part of the north was hostile to the government, and was ready to rise in arms, which information made him at once resolve to proceed north with all possible haste with his cavalry, in order to get Buchan's force dispersed, before any general ris-

* "His mastership (of Forbes) understanding the word of command, *wheel*, better than *advance*, turned the battle into a race, and won; for he was first at Aberdeen, and alarmed the town with a frightful outcry, *The enemy, the enemy's coming*."—*Memoirs of Dundee.*

† Mackay's Memoirs, p. 101. Appendix, No. 72.

ing should take place. Leaving therefore his foot behind, whom he instructed to return to Aberdeen for a supply of provisions, should they receive no orders to the contrary in a day or two at farthest, he proceeded north with his cavalry in great haste, and in the course of his march, was informed to a certainty, that Buchan was not only on his way north, but that he expected to be joined by several thousand Highlanders. He, therefore, continued his march with great celerity, allowing his men no more time than was absolutely necessary for refreshing their horses, and arrived within four hours' march of the enemy, before they received any notice of his approach. Buchan had reached Inverness, and was only waiting for the earl of Seaforth's and other Highlanders, whom he expected to join him to have attacked the town, but on hearing of Mackay's advance, he crossed the river Ness, and retired up along the north side of the Loch.

The earl of Seaforth, afraid of the consequences which might result to him personally, for the part he had acted, sent two gentlemen of his clan to Mackay, who apologized for his conduct, and stated that although in honour he was bound to make appear as if he favoured King James, yet they were authorized to assure Mackay, that he had never entertained any design either to molest the government, or to join Buchan; and they offered, on his part, any security Mackay might require for his peaceable behaviour in time coming. In answer to this communication, Mackay stated that no security short of the surrender of the earl's own person, as a prisoner, would satisfy him, and that if he failed to comply, he might expect to see his country destroyed with fire and sword. Mackay was, thereafter, waited upon by the earl's mother, the Countess Dowager of Seaforth, and Mackenzie of Coul, who brought him a letter from the earl, stating, that he would accede to such conditions as might be agreed upon between them and Mackay. An agreement was accordingly entered into, by which it was stipulated, that the earl should deliver himself into Mackay's hands, to be kept as a prisoner at Inverness, till the privy council should decide as to his future disposal; and to conceal this arrangement from the Jacobite party, it was farther agreed that the earl should allow himself to be seized as if by surprise, by a party of horse under Major Mackay, at one of his seats during the night. The earl, however, disappointed the party sent out to apprehend him, in excuse for which, both he and his mother, in letters to Mackay, pleaded the state of his health, which they alleged would suffer from imprisonment. The earl cannot certainly be blamed for having demurred placing himself at the unconditional disposal of such a body, as the privy council of Scotland, some of whom would not have hesitated to sacrifice him, if by doing so, they could have obtained a share of his estates.

Mackay was so irritated at the deception which had been practised upon him, that he resolved to treat the earl's vassals "with all the rigour of military execution," pursuant to which resolution, he sent

expresses to Sutherland, Strathnaver, and Balnagown, for a body of nine or ten hundred men, to be placed along with two hundred select men of Strathnaver's regiment, under the command of one Major Wishart, who knew the country well. While this force was to enter such parts of the earl's country as were inaccessible to horse, and burn all the houses of his vassals, and despoil them of their goods, Mackay himself intended with his cavalry, and three battalions of foot, which he had ordered from Aberdeen, to lay waste the lower parts of the Earl's territory. Having, however, a warm feeling for the earl's friends, on account of their being "all protestants, and none of the most dangerous enemies," as he says, and being more desirous to obtain possession of the earl's person than to ruin his friends, he caused information of his intentions upon the earl's lands, to be sent to Seaforth's camp, by some of his own party, as if from a feeling of friendship to him. Contrary to Mackay's anticipation, Seaforth surrendered himself, and was committed prisoner to the castle of Inverness.* About this time, the earl of Argyle with a force of nineteen hundred foot, and sixty dragoons, invaded Mull, the inhabitants of which took the oaths of allegiance to the government, and delivered up their arms. He was, however, from the state of the weather, obliged to leave the island, before effecting the reduction of Dowart castle, and left three hundred men behind him to keep it in check. Maclean himself, with a few of his friends, took refuge on Carnburrow, an inaccessible rock near Mull.

King James's affairs had now become utterly desperate in Scotland, and his defeat at the battle of the Boyne, on the first of July, sixteen hundred and ninety, almost annihilated his hopes in Ireland. Unable to collect any considerable body of men together, Buchan, after wandering through Lochaber, dismissed the few that still remained with him, and along with Sir George Barclay, Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, and other officers, took up his abode with Macdonell of Glengary, and Cannan, and his officers retired to the isles, under the protection of Sir Donald Macdonald. In their retreats, these officers who had displayed the most heroic attachment to the cause of the unfortunate King, under the most trying circumstances, still continued to cherish some distant hopes of his restoration, and were prepared to enter upon any service, however hazardous, which might, by possibility, lead to such a consummation.

* "I believe it shall fare so with the earl of Seaforth, that is, that he shall haply, (perhaps) submit, when his countrey is ruined, and spoyled, which is the character of a true Scotsman, *wyse behinde* the hand!"—*Letter to the Privy Council, 1st Sept.* 1690. *Appendix to Memoirs, No.* 73. Mackay was directed by the privy council, by warrant, dated 7th Oct. 1690, "to transport the person of Colin, earl of Seaforth, with safety from Inverness to Edinburgh, in such way and manner, as he should think fit." In consequence of this removal, he was entered a prisoner within the castle of Edinburgh, on 6th Nov. following, whence he was liberated on 7th Jan. 1792, on finding caution to appear when called upon. He was bound not to go ten miles beyond Edinburgh. He was again imprisoned, but made his escape, and was apprehended at Pencaitland, on 7th May, 1692, and again kept in close confinement, within the castle of Edinburgh. He was afterwards liberated, on giving security for his peaceable behaviour.—*Records of the Privy Council.*

At length, seeing no chance of making a successful effort in favour of James, they, in connexion with the chiefs, sent over the earl of Dunfermline to France in spring, sixteen hundred and ninety-one, to represent to him the state of matters, and to receive his commands. Having received instructions from his majesty to enter into a negotiation with the government, a meeting of the principal officers and the Jacobite chiefs was held at Auchalader in Glenorchy on the thirtieth of June, which was attended by the earl of Breadalbane on the part of the government, at which a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon till the first of October. To induce the chiefs to submit to the government, money and other inducements were held out to them by Breadalbane, at whose disposal a sum of £15,000 had been placed by King William. They, however, declined to come to any definite arrangement at this time, and requested liberty to send Sir George Barclay and Major Menzies to France, to obtain the sanction of King James, to enter into a treaty with the government, a request which was reluctantly granted. After learning from these officers the miseries to which the clans were reduced, and the utter hopelessness of attempting another campaign under existing circumstances, James allowed them to make the best terms they could with the government. Accordingly, and in terms of a proclamation issued by the government on the twenty-seventh of August, sixteen hundred and ninety-one, promising an indemnity to all persons who had been in arms, and who should take an oath of allegiance to the government before the first of January following; all the chiefs, with one unfortunate exception, which will be afterwards noticed, gave in their adherence, and took the oath within the prescribed time. Buchan and Cannan with their officers, in terms of an agreement with the government, were transported to France, to which country they had asked and obtained permission from their royal master to retire, as they could no longer be serviceable to him in their native land.

CHAPTER IX.

History of Dundee's officers after their retirement to France.

The page of history does not present a more noble and disinterested instance of fidelity and stern attachment to the cause of fallen greatness than that exhibited in the conduct of those gallant men, who, after undergoing the greatest hardships, and exposing their lives to imminent peril, still clung, now that all hopes of King James's restoration seemed to be at an end, to the fortunes of the exiled monarch, with an inflexible pertinacity which no adversity could subdue. Individual cases, displaying the same devoted and deep-rooted attachment to unfortunate princes, are not uncommon; but to see a body of about one hundred and fifty men, all, or the greater part of whom were gentlemen of family, and who might have retired with honour to themselves, and with the approbation of him whom they had so faithfully served to enjoy the sweets of domestic repose, simultaneously impelled by a high and chivalrous feeling of loyalty, sacrificing upon the altar of principle every thing which could contribute to their ease and happiness, and expatriating themselves, is an occurrence which can scarcely be paralleled in the records of monarchy. The following account of Dundee's officers, after their departure for France, will serve to close the history of his ill-fated insurrection:—

When landed in France, these officers were sent to Lisle, Burburgh, Arras, and other towns in French Flanders, where they were supported and pensioned at the expense of the French government, according to the rank they respectively held in Dundee's army. Notwithstanding the reverses of Louis the Fourteenth, which impaired his finances, he continued his benefactions to these faithful adherents of King James; but as, from the loss of the French fleet at La Hogue and Cherburgh, and other misfortunes, they considered that the French king would not be in a condition, for a considerable time at least, to aid in the restoration of James, and as they did not wish any longer to be a burden on the French government without performing duty, they unanimously resolved to make a proffer of their services to Louis, and requested permission of James to allow them to form themselves into a company of private soldiers, under the command of such officers as they themselves might choose.

In making this application to King James, they assured him that their only motive in doing so, was a desire to be as independent as the nature of their situation would admit of, and that they were ready and willing to fulfil all the duties required of common soldiers, until the course of events should enable his majesty to recall them to his service. The king, while he commended their loyalty, and approved of the motive which actuated them, gave a decided negative to the proposal. It was impossible, he observed, that gentlemen who had been accustomed to command, and who had been brought up in easy circumstances, could brook such service, and undergo the hardships which always attended the duty of a private soldier; that having himself, when an officer in France, commanded a company of officers, he could speak from experience of the insuperable difficulties which were opposed to the step they proposed to take, some of the officers he commanded, having soon died from fatigue, while others, wearied and disgusted with the service, sought for and obtained their discharges, so that the company soon dwindled away almost to nothing, and he got no reputation by the command. For these reasons he begged them to abandon the project. The officers, however, intent on their purpose, ultimately succeeded in obtaining James's consent to their being enrolled as a volunteer corps of private sentinels. The earl of Dunfermline was pitched upon for captain, but partly by the entreaties of King James, who wished to have a nobleman of such tried fidelity and discretion near his person, and partly by the intrigues of the court of St Germains, the earl was induced to decline the command. This was an unfortunate circumstance, as the officer who was selected in place of the earl did not act fairly towards the company.

Before proceeding to the station assigned to them by the French government, the officers repaired by invitation to St Germains to spend a few days before taking leave of King James. Here an occurrence took place, which, though probably intended by the officers as a jocular demonstration, made a deep impression upon the mind of the king. Understanding that James was to hunt in the royal demesnes, in the neighbourhood of St Germains, one morning, the officers, without any notice of their intention to the court, appeared early in the garden through which James had to pass, drawn up in a line, and dressed and accoutred as French soldiers. Somewhat surprised at the appearance of a body of troops in the garden at such an early hour, and little suspecting that the men whom he saw, clothed in the garb of common French soldiers, were his own officers, he had the curiosity to inquire who these men were, and on being informed that these were the gentlemen who had abandoned their country for his sake, he was seized with grief at the destitute situation in which he now beheld them, and instead of proceeding to enjoy the pleasures of the chace, retired to his palace to give vent to his sorrow.

In a few days thereafter, previous to their departure for the south of

France, whither they were ordered to march, about seventy of these officers were reviewed in the garden by King James, who, at the conclusion of the review, addressed them as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN,

"My own misfortunes are not so nigh my heart as yours. It grieves me beyond what I can express, to see so many brave and worthy gentlemen, who had once the prospect of being the chief officers in my army, reduced to the stations of private sentinels. Nothing but your loyalty, and that of a few of my subjects in Britain, who are forced from their allegiance by the prince of Orange, and who, I know, will be ready on all occasions to serve me and my distressed family, could make me willing to live. The sense of what all of you have done and undergone for your loyalty hath made so deep an impression on my heart, that if ever it please God to restore me, it is impossible I can be forgetful of your services and sufferings. Neither can there be any posts in the armies of my dominions but which you have just pretensions to. As for my son, your prince, he is of your own blood, —a child capable of any impression, and as his education will be from you, it is not supposable that he can forget your merits.

"At your own desires you are now going a long march, far distant from me. I have taken care to provide you with money, shoes, stockings, and other necessaries. Fear God, and love one another. Write your wants particularly to me, and depend upon it always to find me your parent and king."

When he had done speaking, he went to the head of the line, and passing along, stopt and conversed with every individual officer, asked his name, which he immediately noted down in his pocket-book. Resuming his former position, he took off his hat, and praying God to bless and prosper them, he made a most gracious bow, and retired. Overcome by his feelings, he returned a second time, made another bow, and burst into tears. The officers, to testify their sense of this mark of royal sympathy, knelt simultaneously down, and bowing their heads, remained for some time motionless and in profound silence, with their eyes fixed upon the ground. On rising, they passed before his majesty with the accustomed honours. About a month after, another division consisting of fifty officers, was reviewed by James, who noticed them in a similar manner.

Perpignan in the south of France, to which these volunteers were appointed to march, is about nine hundred miles from St Germains, but great as the distance was, they bore the difficulties of the march with extraordinary fortitude and patience. These difficulties were, however, greatly alleviated by the kind attentions which were paid to them by the magistrates and leading men of the different towns and villages through which they passed, all of whom interested themselves to provide them with the best accommodation, by billetting them on the richest in-

habitants. The affability of their deportment, their sufferings, their disinterestedness, and the singularity of their situation, made them favourites wherever they came, and the history of the Scottish gentlemen volunteers became the general theme of admiration. They were noticed in a particular manner by the young ladies, crowds of whom were to be seen every morning walking on the parade to take a parting glance at the unfortunate strangers.

When they arrived at Perpignan, they went to the house of Lieutenant-General Shaseron, before which they drew up in line. Hearing of their arrival, the whole ladies in the town assembled "to see so many worthy gentleman, for their loyalty and honour, reduced to the unhappy state of private sentinels."* These ladies were affected to tears on beholding this gallant band, and commiserating the destitute situation of the unfortunate strangers, they presented the commanding officer, according to common report, with a purse of two hundred pistoles for their behoof, but which, it is asserted, was kept up by the officer to whom it was intrusted. Having spent all their money on their march, and finding the daily pittance of three pence, and a pound and a half of bread, the pay and allowance of a common soldier, quite inadequate for their support, they were obliged to dispose of their scarlet clothes, laced and embroidered vests, shirts, watches, and rings, which were exposed occasionally for public sale in the streets of Perpignan and Canet, from November sixteen hundred and ninety-two, to the first of May, sixteen hundred and ninety-three, when they went to camp.

From Perpignan the corps marched to Canet, on the coast of the Mediterranean, where they were incorporated with another body which had arrived there some time before them. At Canet the officers laid aside their usual dress, and put on the French uniform. They were then instructed in the French exercise, and by the modesty of their demeanour, and the patience with which they underwent the fatigues of drill, they excited the sympathy of the French officers, who treated them with very great respect and attention. About the middle of March, sixteen hundred and ninety-three, they were joined by a company under Major Rutherford, and by a corps of veterans, under Captain John Foster, who had served in Dumbarton's regiment. The meeting of these different bodies tended greatly to alleviate their common sufferings, as they occasionally kept up a social intercourse, drinking whenever they met to the health of the king, and devising plans for his restoration.

Before these different companies were marched into camp, they were ordered to return to Perpignan to be reviewed by Marshal de Noailles. Their appearance, on the morning of their march from Canet, was extremely affecting, as they had now no longer any part of their former dress remaining, and were so completely metamorphosed, that they

* Account of Dundee's officers after they went to France, 1711.

could not be distinguished from the common soldiers of the country. The marshal was so well pleased with the appearance of the volunteers when passing in review, that he ordered them to march before him a second time, and presented them with a mule, which cost him fifty pistoles, to carry their tents. The officers observing some of the inhabitants of Perpignan, who attended the review, wearing the apparel which they had purchased from them, amused themselves with jocular remarks on the appearance of the burgesses in their "old clothes."

After the review was over, the corps returned to Canet the same evening, where they remained some days, and on the first of May, sixteen hundred and ninety-three, they began their march for Spain to join the army which invested the city of Roses. In their march across the Pyrenean mountains they suffered very much from fatigue, as they were obliged to carry their provisions, kettles, tent-poles, pins, and other utensils. They arrived at the French camp at Roses on the twentieth of May, and immediately entered upon the service of the siege. As the besieging army was wholly unprovided with pioneers, the officers volunteered to act as such, and in that capacity they employed themselves in the fatiguing and hazardous duty of hewing wood, making fascines, and raising batteries against the town. In addition to this labour, they also joined volunteer foraging parties, in which service, particularly when there was any probability of engaging parties of the enemy, they mounted double the required complement of men. They also took a share occasionally in the lighter duties of piquets, as a relaxation from the heavier toils of the camp. But arduous as these were, the Scotch officers, from their cheerfulness and alacrity, would have surmounted them all, if the unhealthiness of the climate had not speedily impaired their constitutions. In the valley of Lampardo, where Roses is situated, the water is so scarce and so muddy, and the climate so unhealthy for foreigners, that when Charles II. of Spain heard that Marshal de Noailles had encamped his army there, he said publicly at court that he wanted no army to fight them, as the climate would fight for him. Besides the unhealthiness of the climate, the Scotch officers had to combat another enemy to their constitutions in the shape of sardinas, horse-beans and garlic, which, with muddy water, formed the only food they could obtain. The consequence was, that in a short time many of them were seized with fevers and fluxes; but although every entreaty was used by some Irish officers with whom the climate and diet agreed better, to induce them to return to Perpignan, and enter the hospital, they insisted continuing in the camp, and performing the duty they had voluntarily undertaken.

The first occasion on which the officers distinguished themselves, was in a sally which the Spaniards made from the town. These officers, along with some detachments of Irish, having mounted the trenches, the Spaniards made several sallies out of the town into a field of barley; but they were repulsed by an equal number of the officers three several

times, who drove them back to the drawbridge which they had crossed in presence of the French army and the garrison. A French major-general, who observed the struggle, asked Colonel Scot, who commanded in the trenches, why one detachment only had attacked the enemy, and not the others? Without returning a direct answer, Colonel Scot told him that the attacking party was composed of the Scotch officers, and that the others were Irish. The major-general, intending to pay a compliment to the Scots, observed with a smile that he had often heard that Scotland and Ireland were two distinct kingdoms, but he never knew the difference before. Such is the account given by the author of the memoirs of Dundee's officers, which, if true, shows that the Frenchman was ignorant of the character of Irishmen, who certainly are not behind any other nation in bravery.

On the twenty-seventh of May, Marshal de Noailles having determined to make a grand attack upon the town, notified his wish that a select body of volunteers should mount the trenches. On this occasion all the Scotch officers, along with two other Scotch and two Irish companies, offered their services. Among the Scotch was a company of grenadiers commanded by Major Rutherford, with which the greater part of the officers was incorporated. It fell to the lot of the grenadiers to advance first towards the station assigned the volunteers at the trenches; but instead of marching in a direction to avoid the fire of the enemy, Major Rutherford, with rash but intrepid daring, led his men directly in front of a bastion where he was exposed to the fire of several pieces of cannon. Colonel Brown, at the head of the rest of the volunteers, finding himself bound in honour to follow the example thus set by Rutherford, was about following him; but the French commander seeing the great danger to which the latter had unnecessarily exposed himself, sent one of his aid-des-camps with orders to him to retrace his steps, and advance to his station another way under cover of the trenches. He, accordingly, took another direction and posted himself at the station pointed out to him, which was behind a trench near the town. Had he remained only six minutes longer, his men would have been all cut to pieces by a tremendous fire which the enemy was ready to open upon them. After Colonel Brown's battalion had joined the position assigned it, which was on the left flank of the grenadier company, a brisk fire was opened upon the town, by which a breach was made in the walls. The besieged, apprehensive of an immediate assault, beat a chamade, and offered to surrender the town on reasonable terms; but the marshal's demands were so exorbitant, that the governor of the city refused to accede to them, and resolved to hold out in expectation of more favourable terms being offered. The firing was, thereupon, resumed on both sides with great fury, and the city, in a short time, capitulated. Eight of the grenadiers were killed, and Captain Ramsay, a brave officer, was shot through both legs, and died in two days. Major Ruth-

erford also received a wound in his back, which proved fatal in three days. In an interview which the governor had with Marshal de Noailles after the city had surrendered, the former asked the French general who these grenadiers were, adding, at same time, that it was owing to the smart firing which they kept up, that he had been compelled to surrender, being afraid that such determined fellows, if longer opposed, would enter the breach. "Ces sont mes enfans,"—these are my children, answered the marshal with a smile, "these are the Scotch officers of the king of Great Britain, who, to show their willingness to share of his miseries, have reduced themselves to the carrying of arms under my command." On the following day the marshal took a view of his camp, and when he came to the officers' quarter he halted, and requested them to form a circle round him. After they had assembled he took off his hat, and proceeded to address them. He thanked them for their good services in the trenches, and freely acknowledged that, to their conduct and courage, he was indebted for the capture of the town, and he assured them that he would acquaint his royal master how well they had acted. This he accordingly did, in despatches which he sent to Versailles by his son, and the king was so well pleased with the account which the marshal had given of the behaviour of the Scotch volunteers, that he immediately went to St Germains and showed the despatches to King James, and thanked him personally for the services his subjects had done in taking Roses.

To alleviate the privations of these brave men, Marshal de Noailles had the generosity to make an allowance to each of them of a pistole, two shirts, a night-cap, two cravats, and a pair of shoes; but it is distressing to find that part of these gifts was not appropriated, owing to the rapacity of the officers to whom the distribution of them was intrusted. Some indeed got a pistole without any of the articles of clothing, some a pair of shoes, and others a shirt; but many of them got nothing at all. Even an allowance of fivepence *per diem* from King James's own purse, which was paid monthly, suffered peculation, as it passed through the hands of the paymaster, who always made some deductions for shoes, stockings, shirts, broken swords, fusils, or other things, all of which were fictitious, as they were covered by an allowance called *half-mounting*, of which the volunteers do not seem at the time to have been aware.

After the termination of the siege, the strength of the greater part of the company was greatly exhausted by the sickness they had suffered. Even after the fatigues of the siege were over, many of them were again attacked by fevers, agues, and fluxes, to such an extent, that the marshal requested them to leave the camp, and select a healthy place of residence till they should recover; but they declined his friendly offer, and told him "that they came not to that country to lie within rotten walls, when the king of France, (who was so kind to their master,) had business in the field." *

* Memoirs of Dundee's officers.

Marshal de Noailles marched from Roses for Piscador about the middle of June, sixteen hundred and ninety-three, with an army of twenty-six thousand men; but the heat was so great, and the supply of water so scanty, that he was obliged to leave sixteen thousand of his men behind him on the road. Afraid that this division would be attacked in its rear by the Spanish army, the generals ordered all the piquets to be drawn out immediately to watch the motions of the enemy; but as the greater part of the army had not come up to the ground, the corporals could not get the required compliment. In this dilemma, the Scottish officers, who were in the camp, mounted for their comrades, and marched to the parade of the piquets in such good order, and with such readiness, as to attract the especial notice of the French generals, who observed on the occasion, that "*Le gentilhomme est toujours gentilhomme, et se moutre toujours tel dans le besoin, et dans le danger.*"—'The gentleman is always a gentleman, and will always show himself such in time of need and danger.'

Leaving Piscador about the middle of July, they repassed some of the Pyrenees and encamped at Ville France at the foot of Mount Canigo, where they remained till about the twentieth of August, when they marched to Mount Escu, whence Major-General Wauchope, with some Irish troops, went to Savoy. After making a second campaign on the plains of Cerdanna, the company of officers were marched back to Perpignan, where they arrived on the first of November. Many of them entered the hospital of the town, where sixteen of them died in a short time. After remaining twelve days at Perpignan, they marched to Toureilles to pass the winter. Their friends, who had heard of their sickness in Catalonia, had made application to King James, to obtain an order for their removal to a more healthy situation, which had been so well attended to by his Majesty, that on their arrival at Toureilles they received an order to march to Alsace, which, from the coldness of its climate, was considered to be more congenial to the constitutions of Scotchmen.

When Marshal de Noailles received this order he was much surprised, and thinking that the officers had themselves applied for the order in consequence of some offence they had taken, he sent for Colonel Brown the commanding officer, and after showing him the order, requested him to say, on his honour, if the gentlemen had received any affront from him or his officers, and he added, that if he or they had given any offence of which they were not aware, they would give them every satisfaction. He, moreover, declared, that from the respect he entertained for them, and the high opinion he had formed of their bravery and services, he had resolved, had they remained in his army, to have promoted them to the rank they had respectively held in the army of King James. He then expressed his regret at parting with them and bade them adieu.

On the fourth of December, sixteen hundred and ninety-three, the

company of officers and the other two Scotch companies left Toureilles in Rousillon for Silistad in Alsace. Alluding to this route their historian observes, that the "gentlemen" were in many respects "very fit for that march; for the market of Perpignan eased them of that trouble they used to have in hiring mules for their baggage; so that when they left the country (of Rousillon,) the most frugal of them could carry his equipage in a handkerchief, and many had none at all; and the fatigues and hardships of the campaign had reduced their bodies so very low that many of them looked rather like shadows and skeletons than men. Their coats were old and thin, many of their breeches wanted lining, and their stockings and shoes were torn and worn in pieces, so that by the time they came to Lyons, where they kept their Christmas, their miseries and wants were so many and great, that I am ashamed to express them. Yet, no man that conversed with them could ever accuse them of a disloyal thought, or the least uneasiness under their misfortunes. When they got over their bottles (which was but seldom,) their conversation was of pity and compassion for their king and young gentleman (the prince,) and how his majesty might be restored without any prejudice to his subjects."

At Rouen in Dauphiny, they were left in a state of great destitution by Colonel Brown, who went to St Germains, carrying along with him two months gratification money, a term which they gave to King James's allowance of fivepence *per diem;* but notwithstanding the privations to which they were exposed by this other instance of the cupidity of that officer, they proceeded on their journey. Unfortunately, a famine raged in the countries through which they had to pass, which prevented the inhabitants from exercising the rites of hospitality, and as the winter was unusually severe, the ground being covered with snow for a considerable time and to a great depth,—the officers suffered under the combined effects of cold and hunger.

On arriving at Silistad they were received with great civility by the governor, (a Scotchman,) the mayor of the town, and the officers of the garrison, who frequently invited them to dine and sup with them; but as hospitality necessarily had its bounds, at a time when provisions of all sorts were extremely scarce, and of course uncommonly dear, the officers soon found themselves compelled to part with articles which they had formerly resolved to preserve. They accordingly opened a kind of market at Silistad, at which were exposed silver buckles, seals, snuff-boxes, periwigs, ruffles, cravats, stockings, and other articles. At Perpignan, when exposing for sale their scarlet coats, embroidered vests, and other less necessary or less valued appendages, they used, in reference to other articles on which they placed greater value, to say, for instance, "this is the seal of our family; I got it from my grandfather, therefore I will never part with it." Another would say, "I got this ring from my mother or mistress. I will sooner starve than part with it." All these fine protestations, however, were forgotten or disregarded amidst

the irresistible calls of hunger, and the cruel assaults of penury; for as the author of their memoirs quaintly observes, "when the gentleman poverty came amongst them he carried off every thing fair and clean, without any exception or distinction; and all the donor's returns were their healths toasted about in a bumper with a remnant of old Latin, *necessitas non habet legem.*"

Although the officers remained upwards of a year at Silistad, they were not able from sickness and disease to make up a battalion; but notwithstanding their impaired constitutions, the governor of Silistad was heard often publicly to declare, that if besieged he would depend more upon the three Scotch companies, and particularly the company of officers, for defending the place, than upon the two battalions which composed the rest of the garrison. The governor was led to make this observation from an apprehension he entertained that Prince Lewis of Baden, who had crossed the Rhine with an army of eighty thousand men during the stay of the officers at Silistad, and who remained three weeks in Alsace, would lay siege to that town. But the officers had not an opportunity afforded them of proving the correctness of the governor's opinion of their courage, as Prince Lewis, on receiving intelligence that Marshal de Boufflers was advancing with a force of fifteen thousand horse and dragoons, recrossed the Rhine in confusion, leaving his baggage behind him, and with a loss of three thousand men who were drowned in the river in consequence of the bridges across the Rhine having been broken down by the prince in his retreat. At the time Prince Lewis commenced his retreat, he had a foraging party of a hundred hussars traversing and plundering the country, who, being apprized on their way back to the camp, that their army had repassed the Rhine, and that they were left alone on the French side, resolved, as they could not get across the Rhine out of Alsace, to make the best of their way to Basle, and information of this design being brought to Marshal de Lorge the governor of Silistad, he despatched couriers to the commanders of the different garrisons which lay in their course to intercept them in their retreat. He at the same time sent out the company of Scotch officers, on whose courage he had the most unbounded reliance, to guard a pass through which he supposed the hussars would attempt to penetrate, a piece of service which the officers accepted of with great cheerfulness in return for the good opinion which the governor entertained of them. The hussars had in fact selected the pass for their route, but on approaching it they were deterred from their intention on being informed by a Jew, that the pass was guarded by a company of British officers that lay in wait for them, and that if they attempted to go through it every one of them would be either killed or taken prisoners. They, therefore, retraced their steps, and seeing no possibility of escape, went to Strasburg where they surrendered themselves; they boasted, however, that had not the company of Scotch officers prevented them they would

have marched through in spite of all the garrisons in Alsace and crossed the Rhine at Basle in Switzerland.

Although the officers suffered even greater privations than they did in Catalonia, and had to bear the hardships of an Alsace winter, remarkable that year for its severity, which, from the great deficiency in food and clothing, was no easy task, the mortality was not so great as might have been expected, only five having died during their stay at Silistad. A report of their sufferings having been brought to King James by some person who felt an interest in the officers, he sent orders to their colonel to discharge such of them as might desire to withdraw from the service, and granted them permission to retire to St Germains. Only fourteen however availed themselves of this kind offer. These, on arriving at St Germains, were received in the most gracious manner by King James, who offered either to support them handsomely at St Germains, or to send them home to their own country at his own expense. After thanking his majesty for his generous offer, they requested that he would allow them a few days to consider the matter; and, in the meantime, an occurrence took place which, though trivial in itself, was looked upon by the devoted cavaliers as a singular event in their history from which important consequences might ensue. The "young gentleman," as the son of King James, a child of six years of age, was called, was in the practice of going to Marli in a carriage for his amusement, and one day when about entering the carriage, on his return to St Germains, he recognised four of the officers whom he beckoned to advance. They accordingly, walked up to the carriage, and falling on their knees, kissed the hand of the prince, who told them that he was sorry for their misfortunes, and that he hoped to live to see his father in a condition to reward their sufferings; that as for himself he was but a child, and did not understand much about government and the affairs of the world, but he knew this much, that they had acquitted themselves like men of honour, and good and loyal subjects; and that they had, by their sufferings in the cause of his father, laid him under an obligation which he would never forget. Then, handing his purse to them, which contained ten pistoles and three half-crowns, he requested them to divide the contents among themselves, and to drink to the healths of his father and mother. After taking leave of the prince, they adjourned to a tavern in the town called, singularly enough, the Prince of Orange's Head, "where" (says the narrator of the anecdote) "they spoke no treason, nor burned pretenders," but poured out copious libations to the health of the king and queen, and the young prince who, on that day, had exhibited a precocity of talent which they were not quite prepared to expect. Before breaking up a quarrel was likely to ensue among the officers for the possession of the purse, each claiming a right to keep it for the sake of the donor, but the discussion was speedily put an end to, by some of the nobility of the court, who, hearing of the dis-

pute, and dreading the consequences, sent a person, in the king's name, to require delivery of the purse, a demand which was at once acceded to. It is remarkable, that among all these officers who gave such extraordinary proofs of attachment to a catholic king, there were very few catholics, and that they included in their ranks several young divines of the protestant episcopal church in Scotland, who had joined Dundee when they saw that the object of the revolution government was to overthrow episcopacy in that kingdom.

At an entertainment given at Silistad by Colonel Brown, on the tenth of June sixteen hundred and ninety-four, to celebrate the birth-day of the young prince, some symptoms of dissatisfaction were displayed by some of the officers at the bad treatment which they and their comrades had received from some of the superior officers, and one of them hinted that, if his majesty was aware of the circumstances, they would not only lose their commissions, but would be excluded from the king's presence. The result was, that the company immediately separated, and all familiar intercourse between Colonel Brown and the officers ceased. Apprehensive, therefore, that the officers might, if they went to St Germains, make disclosures of the peculation and robbery of the superior officers, an attempt was made to dissuade them from accepting the king's offer; but some of them went to St Germains, as has been stated, and, as anticipated, made known to the king the wrongs they had suffered. Colonel Brown was at court at the time, and in consequence of the statements of the officers, and a violent altercation he had with the earl of Dunfermline, who was a great favourite at St Germains, had made himself so disliked that no gentleman would converse with him. Irritated at the disclosures made by the officers, he quarrelled with Captain Robert Arbuthnot, one of the fourteen officers who had repaired to St Germains, which ended in a rencounter with drawn swords at the castle-gate of St Germains; but, after several pushes, in which neither of them sustained any injury, the guards interfered and separated them. On the matter being investigated, Brown being in fault, was compelled to crave Arbuthnot's pardon.

To counteract the effect of the disclosures made by the officers at St Germains, and to endeavour to restore himself to the good graces of the court, Brown drew up a certificate to be signed by the officers at Silistad, in which were stated many alleged good services which he had done to them, and he directed Colonel Scot and Major Buchan, to whom this paper was sent, to prevail upon the governor of Silistad, who had great influence over the officers, to obtain their signatures to it. A few were prevailed upon to subscribe, but many absolutely refused. On the writing being returned, Brown, or some other person, added the names of the officers who had declined to sign. The certificate was then presented to King James, but the imposition was speedily detected, and Brown was disgraced, and banished from court. In cou-

sequence of this exposure, the allowance of the officers was increased to ten-pence *per diem*.

In February sixteen hundred and ninety-four, the three companies marched from Silistad to Old Brisac, whence the company of officers was sent to Fort Cadette on the Rhine, where they lay a year and four months. Their next station was at Strasburg, where, in December sixteen hundred and ninety-seven, they especially signalized themselves. The occasion was this. General Stirk, who commanded the imperial forces, having appeared with an army of sixteen thousand men on the right bank of the Rhine, apparently with a design to cross it; the Marquis de Sell drew out all the garrisons in Alsace, including the company of officers, amounting to about four thousand men, and encamped them on the opposite bank over against Stirk, for the purpose of obstructing his passage, and to prevent him from carrying a bridge over into an island in the middle of the river, from which Stirk would be enabled to annoy the French army with his artillery. From the depth of the water, however, and the want of boats, which prevented the French commander from taking possession of the island, he had the mortification to see the imperial general openly throw a bridge of boats across to the island into which he placed a force of five hundred men, who immediately raised a battery, behind which they entrenched themselves. Seeing the chagrin and disappointment which such an occurrence had occasioned to the marquis, the Scotch officers, through the medium of Captain John Foster, who then commanded them, volunteered to cross over to the island by wading through the water, and to drive the Germans out of it. The marquis, who appears at first not to have understood the plan of wading through the water, told Foster that, as soon as his boats came up, the Scotch volunteers should have the honour of leading the attack; but Foster having explained that they meant to enter the water, the marquis, in a fit of amazement, shrugged up his shoulders, prayed God to bless them, and desired them to act as they thought fit. Captain Foster, thereupon, returned to his company, and having informed the officers that he had obtained permission from the marquis to make the proposed attack, they, along with the other two companies, immediately made preparations for entering upon the difficult and dangerous enterprize they had chosen for themselves. Having tied their arms, shoes, and stockings, around their necks, they, favoured by the darkness of the night, advanced quietly to the bank of the river, and taking each other by the hand for better security, according to a Highland custom, they entered the water with a firm and steady pace. After they had passed the deepest part of the river, where the water was as high as their breasts, they halted, and having untied their cartouch-boxes and firelocks, they proceeded quietly on their course, and gained the opposite bank unperceived by the enemy. They then advanced with their firelocks levelled, and when sufficiently near the enemy's entrenchments, they poured in a volley among the surprised Germans, who immediately fled in confusion

towards the bridge which they had erected. The volunteers pursued them closely, and killed several of them, and others were drowned in the river in consequence of the bridge having been broken down by the fugitives. When information was brought to the Marquis de Sell that the Germans were driven out of the island, and that it was in full possession of the Scottish companies, he expressed his gratitude and admiration by making the sign of the cross on his forehead and breast; and declared that these officers had performed the bravest action he had ever witnessed. Next morning he visited the island, and after embracing every officer, he gave them his most hearty thanks for the important service they had performed, and promised that he would send an account of their brave conduct to the French king, who, on receiving the despatches, went to St Germains and thanked King James in person for the eminent service his subjects had performed. The officers remained six weeks on the island, during which General Stirk made several attempts to retake it, but his endeavours were defeated by the vigilance of the officers, and seeing no hopes of being able to cross the Rhine, he abandoned his position, and retired into the interior. In honour of the captors the island was afterwards named *L'Isle d'Ecosse.*

Alsace being thus relieved from the presence of an enemy, the company of officers returned to Strasburg to perform garrison duty. The last piece of active service they performed was in attacking and driving from a wood a body of hussars who had crossed the Rhine above Fort Louis. In this affair several of the hussars were killed, and they were forced to recross the Rhine with the loss of some of their horses and baggage. The negotiations at Ryswick, which ended in a general peace, now commenced; and King William having, it is said, made the disbanding of the Scottish officers a *sine qua non*, the company was broken up at Silistad, after the conclusion of the treaty. Thus ended the history of these extraordinary men, few of whom survived their royal master.

CHAPTER X.

Massacre of Glenco.

The negotiation set on foot by the earl of Breadalbane with the Highland Jacobite chiefs was broken off by the latter, principally at the instigation of Mackian or Alexander Macdonald of Glenco, between whom and the earl a difference had arisen respecting certain claims which the earl had against Glenco's tenants for plundering his lands, and for which the earl insisted for compensation and retention out of Glenco's share of the money, which he had been intrusted by the government to distribute among the chiefs. The failure of the negotiation was extremely irritating to the earl, who threatened Glenco with his vengeance, and, following up his threat, entered into a correspondence with Secretary Dalrymple, the Master of Stair, between whom it is understood a plan was concerted for cutting off the chief and his people. Whether the "mauling scheme," of the earl, to which Dalrymple alludes in one of his letters, refers to a plan for the extirpation of the tribe, is a question which must ever remain doubtful; but there is reason to believe, that if he did not suggest, he was at least privy to the foul murder of that unfortunate chief and his people, an action which has stamped an infamy upon the government of King William, which nothing can efface.

In common with the other chiefs who had supported the cause of King James, Glenco resolved to avail himself of the indemnity offered by the government, and accordingly proceeded to Fort-William to take the required oaths, where he arrived on the thirty-first day of December, sixteen hundred and ninety-one, being the last day allowed by the proclamation for taking the oaths. He immediately presented himself to Colonel Hill, the Governor of Fort-William, and required him to administer the oath of allegiance to the government; but the Colonel declined to act, on the ground, that under the proclamation, the civil magistrate alone could administer them. Glenco remonstrated with Hill on account of the exigency of the case, as there was not any magistrate whom he could reach before the expiration of that day, but Hill persisted in his resolution. He, however, advised Glenco to proceed instantly to Inverary, and gave him a letter to Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinlass, sheriff of Argyleshire, begging of him to receive Glenco as "a lost sheep," and to administer the necessary oaths to him. Hill, at the same

time, gave Glenco a personal protection under his hand, and gave him an assurance that no proceeding should be instituted against him under the proclamation, till he should have an opportunity of laying his case before the King or the privy council.

Glenco left Fort-William immediately, and so great was his anxiety to reach Inverary with as little delay as possible, that although his way lay through mountains almost impassable, and although the country was covered with a deep snow, he proceeded on his journey without even stopping to see his family, though he passed within half a mile of his own house. At Barkaldin he was detained twenty-four hours by Captain Drummond. On arriving at Inverary, Sir Colin Campbell was absent, and he had to wait three days till his return, Sir Colin having been prevented from reaching Inverary sooner, on account of the badness of the weather. As the time allowed by the proclamation for taking the oaths had expired, Sir Colin declined at first to swear Glenco, alleging that it would be of no use to take the oaths; but Glenco having first importuned him with tears to receive from him the oath of allegiance, and having thereafter threatened to protest against the sheriff should he refuse to act, Sir Colin yielded, and administered the oaths to Glenco and his attendants on the sixth of January. Glenco, thereupon, returned home in perfect reliance that having done his utmost to comply with the injunction of the government, he was free from danger.

Three days after the oaths were taken, Sir Colin wrote Hill, acquainting him of what he had done, and that Glenco had undertaken to get all his friends and followers to follow his example; and about the same time he sent the letter which he had received from Hill, and a certificate that Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance to Colin Campbell, sheriff clerk of Argyle, then at Edinburgh, with instructions to lay the same before the privy council, and to inform him whether or not the council received the oath. The paper on which the certificate that Glenco had taken the oaths was written, contained other certificates of oaths which had been administered within the time fixed, but Sir Gilbert Elliot, the clerk of the privy council, refused to receive the certificate relating to Glenco as irregular. Campbell, thereupon, waited upon Lord Aberuchil, a privy councillor, and requested him to take the opinion of some members of the council, who accordingly spoke to Lord Stair and other privy councillors; all of whom gave an opinion that the certificate could not be received without a warrant from the King. Instead, however, of laying the matter before the privy council, or informing Glenco of the rejection of the certificate, that he might petition the King, Campbell perfidiously defaced the certificate, and gave in the paper on which it was written to the clerks of the council.

Whether in thus acting, Campbell was influenced by Secretary Dalrymple, who has obtained an infamous notoriety by the active part which he took in bringing on the massacre of Glenco, it is impossible to say; but it is not improbable that this man—who, a

few weeks before, had exulted * that as the winter was the only season in which the Highlanders could not escape, they could easily be destroyed "in the cold long nights"—was not an indifferent spectator to Campbell's proceedings. In fact, it appears that the secretary contemplated the total extirpation of the clans, for, in a letter to Sir Thomas Livingston, dated the seventh of January, he says, "You know in general that these troops posted at Inverness and Inverlochie, will be ordered to take in the house of Innergarie, and to destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel's lands, Keppoch's, Glengarie's, and Glenco," and he adds, "I assure you your power shall be full enough, and I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners." In another letter to Sir Thomas, written two days thereafter, by which time accounts had reached him that Glenco had taken the oaths, he expresses satisfaction that "the rebels" would not be able to oppose his designs, and as their chieftains were "all papists," he thinks it would be well that vengeance fell upon them. The Macdonalds were chiefly marked out by him for destruction, and after saying that he could have wished that they "had not divided" on the question of taking the oath of indemnity, he expresses his regret to find that Keppoch and Glenco were safe.

That no time, however, might be lost in enforcing the penalties in the proclamation, now that the time allowed for taking the oath of allegiance had expired, instructions of rather an equivocal nature, signed and countersigned by the King on the eleventh of January, were sent down by young Stair to Sir Thomas Livingston on the same day, inclosed in a letter from the secretary of same date. By the instructions, Livingston was ordered "to march the troops against the rebels who had not taken the benefit of the indemnity, and to destroy them by fire and sword;" but lest such a course might render them desperate, he was *allowed* to "give terms and quarters, but in this manner only, that chieftains and heritors, or leaders, be prisoners of war, their lives only safe, and all other things in mercy, they taking the oath of allegiance; and the community taking the oath of allegiance, and rendering their arms, and submitting to the government, are to have quarters, and indemnity for their lives and fortunes, and to be protected from the soldiers." As a hint to Livingston how to act under the discretionary power with which these instructions vested him, Dalrymple says in his letter containing them, "I have no great kindness to Keppoch nor Glenco, and it is well that people are in mercy, and then just now my Lord Argyle tells me that Glenco hath not taken the oath, *at which I rejoice. It is a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sect, the worst of the Highlands.*"

The purport of this letter could not be misunderstood; but lest Livingston might not feel disposed to imbrue his hands in the blood of

* Letters to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, &c. 1st and 3d, Dec. 1691.

Glenco and his people, additional instructions bearing the date of sixteenth January, and also signed and countersigned by King William, were despatched to Livingston by the master of Stair, ordering him to extirpate the whole clan. In the letter containing these instructions, Dalrymple informs Livingston that "the king does not at all incline to receive any after the diet but in mercy," but he artfully adds, "but for a just example of vengeance, I entreat the thieving tribe of Glenco may be rooted out to purpose." Lest, however, Livingston might hesitate, a duplicate of these additional instructions * was sent at the same time by Secretary Dalrymple to Colonel Hill, the governor of Fort-William, with a letter of an import similar to that sent to Livingston. From the following extract it would appear that not only the earl of Breadalbane, but also the earl of Argyle, was privy to this infamous transaction. "The earls of Argyle and Breadalbane have promised that they (the Macdonalds of Glenco) shall have no retreat in their bounds, the passes to Rannoch would be secured, and the hazard certified to the laird of Weems to reset them; in that case Argyle's detachment with a party that may be posted in Island Stalker must cut them off."

Preparatory to putting the butchering warrant in execution, a party of Argyle's regiment, to the number of one hundred and twenty men, under the command of Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, was ordered to proceed to Glenco, and take up their quarters there, about the end of January or beginning of February. On approaching the Glen, they were met by John Macdonald the elder son of the chief, at the head of about twenty men, who demanded from Campbell the reason of his coming into a peaceful country with a military force: Glenlyon and two subalterns who were with him explained that they came as

* These instructions are as follow:

WILLIAM R. 16th January, 1692.

1. The copy of the paper given by Macdonald of Aughtera to you has been shown us. We did formerly grant passes to Buchan and Cannon, and we do authorize and allow you to grant passes to them, and ten servants to each of them, to come freely and safely to Leith; from that to be transported to the Netherlands before the 15th of March next, to go from thence where they please, without any stop or trouble.

2. We doe allow you to receive the submissions of Glengarry and those with him upon their taking the oath of allegiance and delivering up the house of Invergarry; to be safe as to their lives, but as to their estates to depend upon our mercy.

3. In case you find that the house of Invergarry cannot probably be taken in this season of the year, with the artillery and provision you can bring there; in that case we leave it to your discretion to give Glengarry the assurance of entire indemnity for life and fortune, upon delivering of the house and arms, and taking the oath of allegiance. In this you are to act as you find the circumstances of the affair do require; but it were much better that those who have not taken the benefit of our indemnity, in the terms within the diet prefixt by our proclamation, should be obliged to render upon mercy. The taking the oath of allegiance is indispensable, others having already taken it.

4. If M'Ean of Glenco and that tribe can be well separated from the rest, it will be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that set of thieves. The double of these instructions is only communicated to Sir Thomas Livingston.

W. REX.

friends, and that their sole object was to obtain suitable quarters, where they could conveniently collect the arrears of cess and hearth-money,—a new tax laid on by the Scottish parliament in sixteen hundred and ninety,—in proof of which, Lieutenant Lindsay produced the instructions of Colonel Hill to that effect. The officers having given their parole of honour that they came without any hostile intentions, and that no harm would be done to the persons or properties of the chief and his tenants, they received a kindly welcome, and were hospitably entertained by Glenco and his family till the fatal morning of the massacre. Indeed, so familiar was Glenlyon, that scarcely a day passed that he did not visit the house of Alexander Macdonald the younger son of the chief, who was married to his niece, and take his "morning drink," agreeably to the most approved practice of highland hospitality.

If Secretary Dalrymple imagined that Livingston was disinclined to follow his instructions he was mistaken, for immediately on receipt of them, he wrote Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, who had been fixed upon by the secretary to be the executioner, expressing his satisfaction that Glenco had not taken the oath within the period prescribed, and urging him now that a "fair occasion" offered for showing that his garrison served for some use, and as the order to him from the court was positive, not to spare any that had not come timeously in, and desiring that he would begin with Glenco, and spare nothing of what belongs to them, "but not to trouble the government with prisoners," or in other words, to massacre every man, woman, and child. Hamilton, however, did not take any immediate steps for executing this inhuman order. In the meantime, the master of Stair was not inactive in inciting his blood-hounds to the carnage, and accordingly on the thirtieth of January, he wrote two letters, one to Livingston, and the other to Hill, urging them on. Addressing the former, he says, "I am glad Glenco did not come in within the time prefixed; I hope what is done there may be in earnest, since the rest are not in a condition to draw together help. I think to harry (plunder) their cattle, and burn their houses is but to render them desperate lawless men to rob their neighbours, but I believe you will be satisfied, it were a great advantage to the nation that thieving tribe were rooted out and cut off; it must be quietly done, otherwise they will make shift for both their men and their cattle. Argyle's detachment lies in Lelrickweel, to assist the garrison to do all of a sudden." And in his letter to Hill, he says, "Pray, when the thing concerning Glenco is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, otherwise the men will shift you, and better not meddle with them than not to do it to purpose, to cut off that nest of robbers who have fallen in the mercy of the law, now when there is force and opportunity, whereby the king's justice will be as conspicuous and useful as his clemency to others. I apprehend the storm is so great that for some time you can do little, but so soon as possible I know you will be

at work, for these false people will do nothing, but as they see you in a condition to do with them."

In pursuance of these fresh instructions from the secretary, Hill, on the twelfth of February, sent orders to Hamilton, forthwith to execute the fatal commission, who, accordingly, on the same day, directed Major Robert Duncanson of Argyle's regiment to proceed immediately with a detachment of that regiment to Glenco, so as to reach the post which had been assigned him by five o'clock the following morning, at which hour Hamilton promised to reach another post with a party of Hill's regiment. Whether Duncanson was averse to take an active personal part in the bloody tragedy about to be enacted, is a question the solution of which would neither aggravate nor extenuate his guilt as a party to one of the foulest murders ever perpetrated in any age or country; but the probability is that he felt some repugnance to act in person, as immediately on receipt of Hamilton's order, he despatched another order from himself to Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, then living in Glenco, with instructions to fall upon the Macdonalds precisely at five o'clock the following morning, and put all to the sword under seventy years of age.*

* Colonel HILL's Order to Lieut.-Col. JAMES HAMILTON,

"Fort William, 12th Feb., 1692.

"Sir,

"You are, with four hundred of my regiment, and the four hundred of my Lord Argyle's regiment under the command of Major Duncanson, to march straight to Glenco, and there put in due execution the orders you have received from the commander-in-chief. Given under my hand at Fort William, the 12th February 1692.

"J. HILL."

"*To Lieut.-Col. James Hamilton.*"

Order from Lieut.-Col. HAMILTON to Major ROBERT DUNCANSON.

"Ballechylls, 12th Feb. 1692.

"Sir,

"Persuant to the commander-in-chief and my colonel's order to me for putting in execution the King's commands against those rebels of Glenco, wherein you with the party of the earl of Argyle's regiment under your command, are to be concerned; you are therefore forthwith to order your affair so, as that the several posts already assigned you be by you and your several detachments faln in activeness precisely by five of the clock to-morrow morning, being Saturday; at which time I will endeavour the same with those appointed from this regiment from the other places. It will be most necessary you secure well those avenues on the south side, that the old fox, nor none of his cubbs get away. The orders are, that none be spared of the sword, nor the government troubled with prisoners; which is all until I see you from,

"Sir,

"Your most humble Servant,

"JAMES HAMILTOUNE."

"Please to order a guard to secure the ferry, and boats there; and the boats must be all on this side the ferry after your men are over.

"For their Majesty's service.

"*To Major Robert Duncanson of the Earl of Argyle's Regt.*"

Campbell was a man fitted for every kind of villany, a monster in human shape, who, for the sake of lucre, or to gratify his revenge, would have destroyed his nearest and dearest friend; and who, with consummate treachery,

Could smile, and murder while he smiled.

With this sanguinary order in his pocket, he accordingly did not hesitate to spend the eve of the massacre at cards with John and Alexander Macdonald, the sons of the chief, to wish them good night at parting, and to accept an invitation from Glenco himself to dine with him the following day, although he had resolved to imbrue his hands in the blood of his kind hearted and unsuspecting host, his sons, and utterly to exterminate the whole clan within a few hours. Little suspecting the intended butchery, Glenco and his sons retired to rest at their usual hour; but early in the morning, while the preparations for the intended massacre were going on, John Macdonald, the elder son of the chief, hearing the sound of voices about his house, grew alarmed, and jumping out of bed threw on his clothes and went to Inveriggen, where Glenlyon was quartered, to ascertain the cause of the unusual bustle which had interrupted his nocturnal slumbers. To his great surprise he found the soldiers all in motion, as if preparing for some enterprise, a circumstance which induced him to inquire at Captain Campbell the object of such extraordinary preparations at such an early hour. The anxiety with which young Macdonald pressed his question, indicating a secret distrust on his part, Campbell endeavoured by professions of friendship to lull his suspicions, and pretended that his sole design was to march against some of Glengarry's men. As John Macdonald, the younger son of Glenco, was married to Glenlyon's niece, that crafty knave referred to his connexion with the family of Glenco, and put it to the young man, whether if he intended any thing

Order from Major DUNCANSON to Captain ROBERT CAMPBELL of Glenlyon.

12th Feb. 1692.

"Sir,

"You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebells the Macdonalds of Glenco, and put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have a special care that the old fox and his sons do not escape your hands; you are to secure all the avenues that no man escape. This you are to put in execution at five of the clock precisely; and by that time, or very shortly after it, I will strive to be at you with a stronger party. If I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me but to fall on. This is by the King's speciall commands, for the good and safety of the countrey, that these miscreants be cut off, root and branch. See that this be put in execution without fear or favour, or you may expect to be dealt with as one not true to king or government, nor as man fit to carry commission in the king's service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love yourself, I subscribe this with my hand at Ballychylls, the 12th February, 1692.

'ROBERT DUNCANSON."

hostile to the clan, he would not have provided for the safety of his niece and her husband. Macdonald, apparently satisfied with this explanation, returned home and retired again to rest, but he had not been long in bed when his servant, who, apprehensive of the real intentions of Glenlyon and his party, had prevented Macdonald from sleeping, informed him of the approach of a party of men towards the house. Jumping immediately out of bed he ran to the door, and perceiving a body of about twenty soldiers with muskets and fixed bayonets coming in the direction of his house, he fled to a hill in the neighbourhood, where he was joined by his brother Alexander, who had escaped from the scene of carnage, after being wakened from sleep by his servant. *

The massacre commenced about five o'clock in the morning at three different places at once. Glenlyon, with a barbarity which fortunately for society has few parallels, undertook to butcher his own hospitable landlord and the other inhabitants of Inverriggen, where he and a party of his men were quartered, and despatched Lieutenant Lindsay with another party of soldiers to Glenco's house to cut off the unsuspecting chief. Under the pretence of a friendly visit, he and his party obtained admission into the house. Glenco was in bed, and while in the act of rising to receive his cruel visitors, he was basely shot at by two of the soldiers, and fell lifeless into the arms of his wife. One ball

* This part of the account, which is taken from the Report of the Commission appointed by King William to inquire into the massacre, and is said to be grounded on the evidence of Glenco's sons, differs from that given in a letter from Edinburgh of date April 20th, 1692, written by "a gentleman in Scotland to his friend in London." According to this writer, Alexander Macdonald had been very distrustful of Glenlyon, and had watched him more carefully than even his father or brother, who allowed themselves, by his reiterated promises of friendship, to be lulled into a false security. Believing that Glenlyon had some bad design upon the clan, Alexander, the night previous to the massacre, placed himself in a retired place where, unobserved, he could watch the motions of Glenlyon's men. About midnight he perceived several soldiers enter the guard-house, an event which alarmed his suspicions so much, that he immediately went and communicated his apprehensions to his brother. But John Macdonald, the elder brother, at first derided these fears, and endeavoured to calm the mind of Alexander by asserting, that the party which he had seen enter the guard-house must have been intended either for strengthening the guard, from an apprehension of danger, or for relieving the sentinels oftener on account of the severity of the weather. But Alexander persisting in his suspicions, John arose from his bed and accompanied his brother to their father's bed-room. Although the old gentleman was not disposed to believe that any thing hostile was intended, he allowed his sons to watch the motions of the party. They, accordingly, went out, and from their knowledge of the localities approached, unperceived, a sentinel's post, where, instead of one, they observed no less than eight or ten men. This discovery made them still more inquisitive, and they crept so near, that they could hear one soldier say to his companions, "I do not like this work, and had I known of it I would not have come here, if only I had known of it a quarter of an hour before." He added, that he was willing to fight against the men of the glen, but he considered it base to murder them. The others replied, that the blame would rest on those who had given the orders, as they were bound to obey their officers. On hearing these words, the young men returned as quietly and quickly to the house as they could to inform their father of what they had heard; but on coming near the house, they found it surrounded by soldiers, heard fire-arms discharged and people shrieking. They had, therefore, no alternative but flight.

entered the back of his head, and another penetrated his body. The lady in the extremity of her anguish leapt out of bed and put on her clothes, but the ruffians stripped her naked, pulled the rings off her fingers with their teeth, and treated her so cruelly that she died the following day. The party also killed two men whom they found in the house, and wounded a third named Duncan Don, who came occasionally to Glenco with letters from Braemar.

While the butchery was going on in Glenco's house, Glenlyon was busily pursuing the same murderous course at Inverriggen, where his own host was shot by his order. Here the party seized nine men whom they first bound hand and foot, after which they shot them one by one. Glenlyon was desirous of saving the life of a young man about twenty years of age, but one Captain Drummond shot him dead. The same officer, impelled by a thirst for blood, ran his dagger through the body of a boy who had grasped Campbell by the legs, and who was supplicating for mercy. Glenlyon's party carried their cruelty even so far as to kill a woman, and a boy only four or five years old.

A third party under the command of one Sergeant Barker, which was quartered in the village of Auchnaion, fired upon a body of nine men whom they observed in a house in the village sitting before a fire. Among these was the laird of Auchintrincken, who was killed on the spot, along with four more of the party. This gentleman had at the time a protection in his pocket from Colonel Hill, which he had received three months before. The remainder of the party in the house, two or three of whom were wounded, escaped by the back of the house, with the exception of a brother of Auchintrincken, who having been seized by Barker, requested him as a favour not to despatch him in the house but to kill him without. The sergeant consented, because, as he said, he had experienced his kindness; but when brought out he threw his plaid, which he had kept loose, over the faces of the soldiers who were appointed to shoot him, and also escaped.

Besides the slaughter at these three places, there were some persons dragged from their beds and murdered in other parts of the Glen, among whom was an old man of eighty years of age. Between thirty and forty of the inhabitants of the Glen were slaughtered, and the whole male population under seventy years of age, amounting to two hundred, would have been cut off, if, fortunately for them, a party of four hundred men under Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, who was principally charged with the execution of the sanguinary warrant, had not been prevented by the severity of the weather from reaching the Glen till eleven o'clock, six hours after the slaughter, by which time the whole surviving male inhabitants, warned of their danger and of the fate of their chief and the other sufferers, had fled to the hills. Ignorant of this latter circumstance, Hamilton, on arriving at Cannelochleven, appointed several parties to proceed to different parts of the Glen, with orders to take no prisoners, but to kill all the men that came

in their way. They had not, however, proceeded far when they fell in with Major Duncanson's party, by whom they were informed of the events of the morning, and who told them that as the survivors had escaped to the hills, they had nothing to do but to burn the houses, and carry off the cattle. They accordingly set fire to the houses, and having collected the cattle and effects in the Glen, they carried them to Inverlochy, where they were divided among the officers of the garrison. That Hamilton would have executed his commission to the very letter, is evident from the fact, that an old man, the only remaining male inhabitant of the desolate vale they fell in with, was put to death by his orders.

After the destruction of the houses, a scene of the most heart-rending description ensued. Ejected from their dwellings by the devouring element, aged matrons, married women and widowed mothers, with infants at their breasts and followed by children on foot, clinging to them with all the solicitude and anxiety of helplessness, were to be seen all wending their way, almost in a state of nudity, towards the mountains in a piercing snow-storm, in quest of some friendly hovel, beneath whose roof they might seek shelter from the pitiless tempest and deplore their unhappy fate. But as there were no houses within the distance of several miles, and as these could only be reached by crossing mountains deeply covered with snow, the greater part of these unhappy beings overcome by fatigue, cold, and hunger, dropt down and perished miserably among the snow.

While this brutal massacre struck terror into the hearts of the Jacobite chiefs, and thus so far served the immediate object of the government, it was highly prejudicial to King William, who was considered its chief author. In every quarter, even at court, the account of the massacre was received with horror and indignation, and the Jacobite party did not fail to turn the affair to good account against the government, by exaggerating, both at home and abroad, the barbarous details. The odium of the nation rose to such a pitch, that had the exiled monarch appeared at the head of a few thousand men, he would, probably, have succeeded in regaining his crown. The ministry, and even King William, grew alarmed, and to pacify the people he dismissed the Master of Stair from his councils, and appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate the affair, and pretended that he had signed the order for the massacre among a mass of other papers, without knowing its contents. This is the only defence ever offered for King William, but it is quite unsatisfactory. For 1st, It is inconceivable that Secretary Dalrymple or any other minister, would have ventured to prepare such an extraordinary order without the express authority of his majesty, or would have obtained his signature to it without first acquainting him of its purport. 2d, The fact that neither Dalrymple nor any other minister was impeached for such an act, makes it extremely probable that William was privy to its contents. 3d, The unusual mode of signing and countersigning the order, would have made William desirous to know the im-

port of such a document, had he not been previously aware of its nature. 4th, His refusal or neglect to order the principal parties concerned in the massacre to be brought to trial, after the estates of parliament had addressed him for that purpose, and the fact of his promoting those guilty individuals in his service, show that he could not do so without implicating himself.

Though the nation had long desired an inquiry into this barbarous affair, it was not until the twenty-ninth day of April, sixteen hundred and ninety-five, upwards of three years after the massacre, that a commission was granted. A commission had indeed been issued in sixteen hundred and ninety-three appointing the duke of Hamilton and others to examine into the affair; but this was a piece of mere mockery, and was never acted upon; but it now became necessary to satisfy the call of the nation by instituting an investigation. The marquis of Tweeddale, lord high chancellor of Scotland, and the other commissioners now appointed, accordingly entered upon the inquiry, and, after examining witnesses and documents, drew up a report, which was subscribed at Holyrood-house, on the twentieth of June, and transmitted to his majesty. The commissioners appear to have executed their task with great fairness, but, anxious to palliate the conduct of the king, they gave a forced construction to the terms of the order, and threw the whole blame of the massacre upon Secretary Dalrymple. As the substance of this report has partly been embodied in the preceding narrative, it will be here only necessary to give the conclusions to which the commissioners arrived:—Upon the whole matter, they gave as their opinion, *first*, that it was a great wrong that Glenco's case and diligence, as to his taking the oath of allegiance, with Ardkinlas's certificate of his taking the oath of allegiance on the sixth of January, sixteen hundred and ninety-two, and Colonel Hill's letter to Ardkinlas, and Ardkinlas's letter to Colonel Campbell, sheriff-clerk, for clearing Glenco's diligence and innocence, were not presented to the lords of his majesty's privy-council when they were sent to Edinburgh in the month of January, and that those who advised the not presenting thereof were in the wrong, and seem to have had a malicious design against Glenco; and that it was a farther wrong, that the certificate, as to Glenco's taking the oath of allegiance, was deleted and obliterated after it came to Edinburgh; and that being so obliterated, it should neither have been presented to, nor taken in by the clerk of the council: *secondly*, that it appeared to have been known in London, and particularly to the master of Stair, in the month of January, sixteen hundred and ninety-two, that Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance, though after the appointed day; for he said in his letter, to Sir Thomas Livingstone, of the thirtieth of January, as above remarked: "I am glad that Glenco came not within the time prescribed:" *thirdly*, that there was nothing in the king's instructions to warrant the committing of the slaughter itself, and far less as to the manner of it, seeing all his instructions did plainly import, that the most obstinate of the rebels

might be received into mercy upon taking the oath of allegiance, though the day was long before elapsed; and that he ordered nothing concerning Glenco and his tribe, "but that, if they could be well separated from the rest, it would be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that set of thieves," an expulsion (say the commissioners) which plainly intimated, that it was his majesty's mind, that they could not be separated from the rest of these rebels, unless they still refused his mercy, by continuing in arms and refusing the oath of allegiance; and that even in that case, they were only to be proceeded against in the way of public justice, and in no other way: *fourthly*, that Secretary Stair's letters, especially that of the eleventh January, sixteen hundred and ninety-two, in which he rejoices to hear that Glenco had not taken the oath, and that of the sixteenth of January, of the same date with the king's additional instructions, and that of the thirtieth of the same month, were no ways warranted by, but quite exceeded the king's foresaid instructions, since the said letters, without any insinuation of any method to be taken that might well separate the Glenco-men from the rest, did, in place of prescribing a vindication of public justice, order them to be cut off and rooted out in earnest, and to purpose, and that, *suddenly*, and *secretly*, and *quietly*, and *all on a sudden*, which are the express terms of the said letters; and comparing them and the other letters with what ensued, appeared to have been the only warrant and cause of their slaughter, which in effect was a barbarous murder, perpetrated by the persons deponed against. And this was yet farther confirmed by two more of his letters, written to Colonel Hill after the slaughter was committed, viz. one on the fifth of March, sixteen hundred and ninety-two, wherein, after having said, "That there was much talk at London, that the Glenco-men were murdered in their beds, after they had taken the allegiance," he continues, "For the last I knew nothing of it; I am sure neither you, nor any body impowered to treat or give indemnity, did give Glenco the oath; and to take it from any body else after the diet elapsed, did import nothing at all; all that I regrate is, that any of the sort got away, and there is a necessity to prosecute them to the utmost." And another from the Hague, the last of April, sixteen hundred and ninety-two, wherein he says, "For the people of Glenco, when you do your duty in a thing so necessary to rid the country of thieving, you need not trouble yourself to take the pains to vindicate yourself by showing all your orders, which are now put in the Paris Gazette; when you do right you need fear nobody; all that can be said is, that in the execution it was neither so full nor so fair as might have been."

The commissioners appear to have discovered no evidence to implicate the earl of Breadalbane, but merely say, in reference to him, that it "was plainly deponed" before them, that, some days after the slaughter, a person waited upon Glenco's sons, and represented to them that he was sent by Campbell of Balcalden, the chamberlain or steward of the earl, and authorized to say, that, if they would declare, under their

hands, that his lordship had no concern in the slaughter, they might be assured the earl would procure their "remission and restitution." While the commissioners were engaged in this inquiry, they ascertained that, in his negotiations with the Highlanders, the earl had acted in such a way as to lay himself open to a charge of high treason, in consequence of which discovery, he was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; but he was soon liberated from confinement, as it turned out that he had professed himself a Jacobite, that he might the more readily execute the commission with which he had been intrusted, and that King William himself was a party to this contrivance.

The report of the commissioners was laid before the parliament of Scotland on the twenty-fourth of June, which, although it voted the execution of the Glenco-men to be a murder, resolved *nemine contradicente*, that the instructions contained in the warrant of the sixteenth of January, sixteen hundred and ninety-two, did not authorize the massacre. After a variety of procedure at different sittings, "the committee for the security of the kingdom" was appointed to draw up an address to the king on the subject of the massacre, which being submitted to parliament on the tenth of July, was voted and approved of.

In this address the estates stated, that in the first place they had found that the Master of Stair's letters had exceeded his Majesty's instructions as to the killing and destruction of the Glenco-men—that this appeared by comparing the instructions and letters—that in these letters the Glenco-men were over and again distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, not as the fittest subjects of severity in case they continued obstinate, and made severity necessary according to the meaning of the instructions, but as men absolutely and positively ordered to be destroyed without any further consideration, than that of their not having taken the indemnity in due time, and that their not having taken it was valued as a happy incident, since it afforded an opportunity to destroy them—that the destroying of them was urged with a great deal of zeal, as a thing acceptable and of public use, and this zeal was extended even to the giving of directions about the manner of cutting them off; from all which it was plain that though the instructions were for mercy to all who would submit, though the day of indemnity had elapsed, yet the letters excluded the Glenco-men from this mercy.

The Parliament stated in the next place that they had examined the orders given by Sir Thomas Livingston in this matter, and were unanimously of opinion, that he had reason to give such orders for cutting off the Glenco-men, upon the supposition that they had rejected the indemnity, and without making them new offers of mercy, being a thing in itself lawful, which his majesty might have ordered; but it appearing that Sir Thomas was then ignorant of the peculiar circumstances of the Glenco-men, he might very well have understood his majesty's instructions in the restricted sense, which the Master of Stair's letters had given them, or understood the Master of Stair's letters to be his ma-

jesty's additional pleasure, as it was evident he did from the orders which he gave.

They then inform his majesty that they next proceeded to examine Colonel Hill's part of the business, and that they were unanimous that he was clear and free from the slaughter of the Glenco-men; for though his majesty's instructions, and the Master of Stair's letters were sent direct to him as well as to Livingston from London; yet as he knew the particular circumstances of the Glenco-men, he avoided executing these instructions, and gave no orders in the matter, till finding that his Lieutenant-Colonel (Hamilton) had received orders to take with him four hundred men of his garrison and regiment, he, to save his own honour and authority, gave a general order to Hamilton to take the four hundred men, and put in due execution the orders which others had given him.

That as to Hamilton the parliament had required him to attend, but as he had not appeared, they had ordered him to be denounced, and to be seized wherever he could be found; and that having considered the orders that he had received, and the orders which he admitted before the commission he had given, and his share in the execution, they had agreed that from what appeared he was not clear of the murder of the Glenco-men, and that there was ground to prosecute him for it.

As to Major Duncanson who had received his orders from Hamilton, they stated that as he and the persons to whom he had given instructions were absent in Flanders, and as they had not seen these orders, they had only resolved, in the meantime, to address his majesty either to cause him to be examined in Flanders about the orders he received, and his knowledge of the affair, or to order him home for trial.

The estates stated, in the last place, that the depositions of the witnesses being clear as to the share which Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, Captain Drummond, Lieutenant Lindsay, Ensign Lundy, and Sergeant Barker had in the massacre of the Glenco-men, upon whom they had been quartered, they had come to the conclusion that the said persons were the actors in the slaughter of the Glenco-men, and that they had agreed to address his majesty to send them home for trial for the said slaughter, according to law.

The estates, therefore, humbly prayed his majesty, "that, considering that the Master of Stair's excess in his letters against the Glenco-men has been the original cause of this unhappy business, and hath given occasion, in a great measure, to so extraordinary an execution, by the warm directions he gives about doing it by way of surprise; and considering the station and trust he is in, and that he is absent, we do therefore beg that your majesty will give such orders about him for vindication of your government, as you in your royal wisdom shall think fit. And, likewise, considering that the actors have barbarously killed men under trust, we humbly desire your majesty would be pleased to send the actors home, and to give orders to your advocate to prosecute them according

to law, there remaining nothing else to be done for the full vindication of your government from so foul and scandalous an aspersion, as it has lain under upon this occasion."

As the surviving inhabitants of the glen had been reduced to great poverty and distress by the destruction of their property, and as they had conducted themselves with great moderation under their misfortunes, the estates solicited his majesty to order reparation to be made to them for the losses they had sustained in their properties. Whether the "royal charity and compassion" (how misapplied are these words when used in the present instance) invoked by the estates in behalf of these unfortunate people were ever exercised does not appear; but it is highly probable, that this part of the address was as little heeded as the rest. The murderers, instead of being brought to trial, were allowed by William to remain in his service, and some of them were even promoted; but what justice could be expected from a government which had the audacity to bestow a pension upon the most perjured villain that ever trod the earth—the infamous Titus Oates! In fact, the whole matter was hushed up by William and his ministers, and the report of the Scottish Parliament, though drawn up as favourably for the king as possible, was carefully suppressed during his lifetime, a pretty sure indication that they were afraid to court a scrutiny into one of the most revolting and barbarous occurrences that ever disgraced any government.*

* The following extraordinary anecdote is given by General Stewart (Sketches, Vol. I.) in reference to the punishment which, in the opinion of the Highlanders,—an opinion in perfect accordance with the Decalogue,—awaits the descendants of the oppressor. "The belief that punishment of the cruelty, oppression, or misconduct of an individual, descended as a curse on his children to the third and fourth generation, was not confined to the common people. All ranks were influenced by it, believing that if the curse did not fall upon the first, or second generation, it would inevitably descend upon the succeeding. The late Colonel Campbell of Glenlyon retained this belief through a course of thirty years' intercourse with the world, as an officer of the 42d regiment, and of Marines. He was grandson of the laird of Glenlyon, who commanded the military at the massacre of Glenco; and who lived in the laird of Glenco's house, where he and his men were hospitably received as friends, and entertained a fortnight before the execution of his orders. He was playing at cards with the family when the first shot was fired, and the murderous scene commenced. Colonel Campbell was an additional captain in the 42d regiment in 1748, and was put on half pay. He then entered the Marines, and in 1762 was major, with the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel, and commanded eight hundred of his corps at the Havannah. In 1771, he was ordered to superintend the execution of the sentence of a court-martial on a soldier of marines, condemned to be shot. A reprieve was sent, but the whole ceremony of the execution was to proceed until the criminal was upon his knees, with a cap over his eyes, prepared to receive the volley. It was then he was to be informed of his pardon. No person was to be told previously, and Colonel Campbell was directed not to inform even the firing party, who were warned that the signal to fire would be the waving of a white handkerchief by the commanding officer. When all was prepared, and the clergyman had left the prisoner on his knees, in momentary expectation of his fate, and the firing party were looking with intense attention for the signal, Colonel Campbell put his hand into his pocket for the reprieve, and in pulling

out the packet the white hankerchief accompanied it, and catching the eyes of the party, they fired, and the unfortunate prisoner was shot dead.

"The paper dropped through Colonel Campbell's fingers, and clapping his hand to his forehead, he exclaimed, 'The curse of God and of Glenco is here, I am an unfortunate ruined man.' He desired the soldiers to be sent to the barracks, instantly quitted the parade, and soon afterwards retired from the service. This retirement was not the result of any reflection or reprimand on account of this unfortunate affair, as it was known to be entirely accidental. The impression on his mind, however, was never effaced. Nor is the massacre and the judgment which the people believe has fallen on the descendants of the principal actors in this tragedy, effaced from their recollection. They carefully note, that while the family of the unfortunate gentleman who suffered is still entire, and his estate preserved in direct male succession to his posterity, this is not the case with the family, posterity, and estates, of those who were the principals, promoters, and actors in this black affair."

The same author, to illustrate the force of principle, when founded on a sense of honour and its consequent influence, relates another anecdote in reference to this massacre, which also deserves to be here repeated. When the army of Prince Charles, in the ranks of which were Macdonald of Glenco, the descendant of the murdered chief, and all his followers, lay at Kirkliston in the year 1745, near the seat of the earl of Stair, the grandson of Secretary Dalrymple, who took such a prominent part in the massacre, the prince, anxious to save the house and property of Lord Stair, and to remove from his followers all excitement to revenge, but at the same time not comprehending their true character, proposed that the Glenco-men should be marched to a distance from Lord Stair's house and parks, lest the remembrance of the share which his grandfather had had in the order for extirpating the whole clan, should now excite a spirit of revenge. When the proposal was communicated to the Glenco-men, they declared that, if that was the case, they must return home. If they were considered so dishonourable as to take revenge on an innocent man, they were not fit to remain with honourable men, nor to support an honourable cause; and it was not without much explanation, and great persuasion, that they were prevented from marching away the following morning."

CHAPTER XI.

The Darien Company—Its Progress and Suppression—Death of the young Duke of Gloucester—Hopes of the Jacobites—Act of Succession passed—Death of James II. —His character—Death and character of King William—Accession of the Princess Anne—Proceedings in the Scottish Parliament—Conspiracy of Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat—Struggles in the Scottish Parliament about the succession—Nomination of Commissioners to treat about a Union with England—Ferment in Scotland against the Union—Hooke's negotiation—Preparations in France for invading Scotland—Sailing of the French fleet with the Chevalier de St George—Unsuccessful result of the expedition—State of Scotland—Proceedings of the Jacobites—Death of Queen Anne.

To allay the excitement which the massacre of Glenco had created in the minds of the people against the government, advantage was taken by William and his ministers, of a scheme proposed by Paterson, the celebrated projector, for establishing a company in Scotland for trading to Africa and the Indies; by countenancing which, they expected not only to stifle inquiry into the massacre, but also to engage the Scottish nation to support the measures of the government.

Accordingly, the commissioner to the Scottish parliament was ordered by the king to declare, "That if the members found it would tend to the advancement of trade, that an act should be passed for the encouragement of such as should acquire and establish a plantation in Africa, America, or any other part of the world where plantations might be lawfully acquired, his majesty was willing to grant to the subjects of this kingdom, in favour of these plantations, such rights and privileges as he granted in like cases to the subjects of his other dominions." Pursuant to this declaration, an act was passed, establishing a company for trading to the East and West Indies, with a variety of important privileges, and so eager were the nobility and gentry of Scotland for the success of a concern which appeared to promise many national advantages, that they advanced £400,000 to promote the undertaking. As the greater part of the isthmus of Darien or Panama had not yet been colonized, and as its situation was peculiarly calculated for carrying on trade with both the Indies, Paterson fixed upon it as the headquarters of his commercial association, which thence took the name of the Darien company.

No sooner, however, was the scheme promulgated, than a spirit of opposition was raised against it by the English House of Commons, in-

stigated by the English East India company, which came to a resolution, that the directors of the Darien company had, by administering and taking "an oath *de fideli*, and, under colour of a Scotch act of parliament, styling themselves a company, and acting as such, and raising monies in this kingdom (England), for carrying on the said company," been "guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor." Yet notwithstanding this direct attack upon the company, such was the favour in which it was held in England, that a sum of £300,000 was subscribed there, of which a fourth part was paid down; and even the merchants of Hamburg offered to embark £200,000 in the undertaking. But the Darien company might have surmounted the opposition of the house of commons and the English East India company, had not the Dutch East India company—a body remarkable for its monopolizing character—also joined in the outcry against the Scottish enterprise. Intent upon their object, the directors of the company, in spite of every opposition, made the necessary preparations for taking possession of the intended settlement, and accordingly fitted out an expedition of five ships and twelve hundred men, which set sail from Leith roads on the seventeenth day of July, sixteen hundred and ninety-eight. The greater part of the men who went out consisted of veterans, who had served in King William's wars, and the remainder consisted of Highlanders and others who had been opposed to the revolution, and about three hundred gentlemen of family, desirous of trying their fortunes. The expedition arrived on the coast in the beginning of November, and disembarked at a harbour near Golden island, between Portobello and Carthagena. The new settlers were well received by the inhabitants, and as matters began to look well, the most favourable anticipations were entertained of the success of the enterprise; but the colonists had soon the mortification to find that the king had given way to the clamours of the two great English and Dutch rival companies, which he had resolved to gratify at the expense of the Darien company. In fact they soon found that proclamations, by order of William, had been issued by the governors of Jamaica and the English settlements in America, prohibiting under the severest penalties, all intercourse with the Scottish settlers, or assisting them in any shape; in consequence of which, they were obliged to abandon the settlement for want of provisions and other necessaries. A second expedition shared a similar fate, and a third much better provided and more numerous than either the first or second capitulated to the Spaniards.

When accounts of the ruin of the colony reached Scotland, a feeling of universal dismay seized the nation, as if its only happiness in future was to have consisted in the fulfilment of those golden dreams which had floated in the vivid imaginations of the sanguine adventurers. Thousands of families, once in comparative opulence, now found themselves reduced to ruin, and the flower of the nation was either languishing in prison in the Spanish settlements, or starving in

the English colonies. To the bitterness of disappointment succeeded an implacable hostility to the king, who was denounced, in pamphlets of the most violent and inflammatory tendency, as a hypocrite, and as the deceiver of those who had shed their best blood in his cause, and as the author of all the misfortunes which had befallen Scotland. One of these pamphlets was voted by the house of commons a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and ordered to be burned by the common executioner, and an address was voted to his majesty to issue a proclamation for apprehending the author, printer, and publisher of the obnoxious publication; but although the proclamation was issued, no apprehension followed. The king was so chagrined at the conduct of the Scotch that he refused to see Lord Basil Hamilton, who had an address to present to his majesty from the company, praying for his interference on behalf of their servants who were kept in captivity by the Spaniards. He, however, desired the Scottish secretaries to intimate to the company that he would attend to their request, and would endeavour to promote the trade of Scotland; but unsatisfied with such a declaration, the directors of the company requested the lord-chancellor of Scotland, then in London, to urge his majesty to receive Lord Basil Hamilton. Seeing no way of evading the importunity of the company, and neutralizing the ferment which prevailed in Scotland, the king threw himself upon the English parliament. A motion, that the settlement of the Scottish colony at Darien was inconsistent with the good of the plantation trade in England, was carried in the house of lords in favour of the ministers, after a warm debate, by a small majority. An address to his majesty was then voted by the lords, in accordance with this resolution, in which, after declaring their sympathy with their fellow-subjects for their losses, they approved of the prohibitory orders which his majesty had sent to the governors of the plantations. The house of commons, however, refused to concur in this address, chiefly, it is believed, from an antipathy entertained by a majority of the house at the Dutch, on account of the predilection shown by the king on all occasion to his countrymen. In his answer to the address of the lords, the king having recommended a union of the two kingdoms as a measure eminently calculated for the good of both countries, a bill was introduced into the house of lords, appointing commissioners to treat with commissioners from Scotland about a union; but this bill was rejected by the commons from sheer opposition to the court.

In direct contradiction to the house of lords, the Scottish parliament voted that the colony of Darien was a lawful and rightful settlement which they would support; a resolution which induced the duke of Queensberry, the commissioner, to prorogue the session. But this step only tended to increase the discontents of the nation; and, to show the king that the people would be no longer trifled with, an address to his majesty, containing a detail of national grievances, and representing the

necessity of calling an immediate meeting of parliament, was drawn up and signed by a considerable number of the members; and a deputation, with Lord Ross at its head, was appointed to present the address to the king. His majesty, however, evaded the address, by informing the deputation that they would be made acquainted in Scotland with his intentions; and, as if to show his displeasure, he ordered the parliament to be adjourned by proclamation.

Exasperated at this attempt to stifle the just complaints of the nation, the promoters of the first address began to prepare a second one, to be signed by the shires and burghs of the kingdom. But before this new address was completed, the king, by the advice of the duke of Queensberry, wrote a letter to him and the privy council for the purpose of allaying the national ferment, and which they immediately published. Although in this letter the king regretted the loss which the people of Scotland had sustained, and assured them that he had their interest at heart, and that they should soon have convincing proofs of his inclination to promote the wealth and prosperity of Scotland, and that his intended absence from England had obliged him to adjourn the parliament, which he promised to convene on his return; yet, as William's sincerity was doubted—the people wisely judging that the explanation was a mere state expedient—the national excitement was increased instead of being diminished, by the promulgation of the letter.

The Scottish nation was now fully ripe for a rebellion, but neither James nor his advisers had the capacity to avail themselves of passing events, to snatch the tottering crown from the head of the illustrious foreigner, who was destined to be the happy instrument of placing the liberties of the nation upon a more sure and permanent footing than they had hitherto been. The hopes of the Jacobites were, however, greatly raised by the jarrings between the king and his Scottish subjects, and an event occurred, about this time, which tended still farther to strengthen them. This was the death of the young duke of Gloucester, the only surviving child of the princess Anne, who died of a malignant fever, on the twenty-ninth day of July, in the year one thousand seven hundred, in the eleventh year of his age. As the Jacobites considered that the duke stood chiefly in the way of the accession of the prince of Wales to the crown, they could not conceal their pleasure at an occurrence which seemed to pave the way for the restoration of the exiled family, and they privately despatched a trusty adherent to France to assure King James that they would settle the succession upon the prince of Wales. Such a proposition had indeed been made by William himself at an interview he had with Louis XIV. in sixteen hundred and ninety-seven, when a prospect opened of James being elected king of Poland on the death of John Sobieski; but this proposal was rejected by James, who told the king of France, that though he could bear with patience the usurpation of his nephew and son-in-law, he would not allow his own son to commit such an act of injustice; that

by permitting his son to reign while he (James) was alive, he would, in fact, be held as having renounced his crown, and that the prince of Wales would also be held as having resigned his own right, if he accepted the crown as successor to the prince of Orange. As James had now given up all idea of a crown, and was wholly engrossed with the more important concerns of a future life, it is probable that he received the proposal of his friends in a very different spirit from that he evinced when made by William.

The designs of the Jacobites, however, were frustrated by the intrigues of the princess Sophia, electress and dutchess dowager of Hanover, grand-daughter of King James VI., who had for several years contemplated the plan of getting the succession to the English crown settled upon her and her heirs. An act was accordingly passed by the English parliament in June, seventeen hundred and one, at the desire of the king, whom the princess had prevailed upon to espouse her cause, declaring her to be the next in succession to the crown of England, after his majesty and the princess Anne, in default of issue of their bodies respectively, and that after the decease of William and Anne respectively without issue, the crown and government of England should remain and continue to the princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being protestants. This act, which, by one fell swoop, cut off the whole catholic descendants of James the First, of whom there were forty then alive, all nearer heirs to the crown than the princess, gave great offence to all the catholic princes concerned in the succession; but the dutchess of Savoy, grand-daughter of Charles I., the next in the line of succession after the family of King James II., alone openly asserted her right, by ordering her ambassador, Count Maffei, to protest in her name against every act of the English parliament tending to deprive her of her hereditary right to the crown. The count, accordingly, drew up a protest, two copies of which were delivered to the lord-keeper and the speaker of the house of commons, by two gentlemen in presence of a notary; but no notice being taken of the matter in parliament, it was altogether overlooked.

The act of settlement in favour of the princess Sophia and her heirs, was a death-blow to the Jacobite interest, but still the hopes of the party were not extinguished. As James had given up all idea of dispossessing William, and even discountenanced any attempt to disturb the peace of the kingdom during his own life-time, the partizans of his family had given up every expectation of his restoration. But the death of King James, which took place at St Germains on the sixteenth of September, seventeen hundred and one, and the recognition of his son by Louis XIV. as king, were events which opened up brighter prospects than they had yet enjoyed. The unfortunate monarch had, for several years, taken farewell of worldly objects, and had turned his whole attention to the concerns of eternity, setting an example to all around him of Christian humility and of calm resignation to the will of Providence. Ardently attached

to the creed which, from principle, he had embraced, he conjured his son in his last illness, rather to forego the splendours of a crown and every worldly advantage, than renounce his religion; and while he declared that he heartily forgave all those who had injured him, he recommended to his son the practice of Christian forgiveness and justice. Of the arbitrary and unconstitutional conduct of James, at the period preceding the revolution, it is impossible for any lover of genuine liberty to speak without feelings of indignation; but it must not be forgotten, that in his time the prerogatives of the crown were not clearly defined, and that he was misled by evil counsellors, who, to effect his ruin, advised him to violate the existing constitution.

Nothing but the prospect of an immediate war with England could, it is believed, have induced Louis to recognise, as he did, the prince of Wales as king of England, Ireland, and Scotland. William remonstrated against this act of the French king, as a violation of the treaty of Ryswick, and appealed to the king of Sweden, as the guarantee for its observance; but Louis was inflexible, and maintained in the face of all Europe, that he was not debarred by the treaty from acknowledging the title of the prince of Wales, to which he had right by birth. He admitted that by the fourth article of the treaty he was bound not to disturb William in the possession of his dominions, and he declared his intention to adhere to that stipulation; but this explanation was considered quite unsatisfactory by William, who recalled his ambassador from Paris. The conduct of the French king excited general indignation in England, and addresses were sent up from all parts of the kingdom, expressive of attachment to the government. The English parliament passed two separate acts of attainder against the pretended prince of Wales, as the son of James was termed, and the queen, his mother, who acted as regent. Great preparations were made for entering into a war with France, and William had concerted with his allies the plan of a campaign, but he did not live to see the gigantic schemes which he had devised for humbling the pride of France put into execution. He expired at Kensington on the eighth day of March, seventeen hundred and two, in consequence of a fall from his horse, on the twenty-first day of February preceding, which fractured his collar-bone. He reigned thirteen years, and was in the fifty-second year of his age.

In person, William was of the middle stature; his body was slender, and his constitution delicate. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave, solemn aspect. He was extremely reserved in conversation, and, when he did speak, his conversation was dry and uninteresting. Naturally grave and phlegmatic, he never showed any symptoms of fire or animation except on the day of battle, when he was all life and energy. Sullen in his disposition, he was an utter stranger to the tender sympathies, and dead to every warm and generous emotion. His ruling passion was ambition, to gratify which he did not scruple to adopt means the most unworthy—to disregard the

ties of kindred—and to sacrifice the interests of the country which had adopted him.

The accession of the princess Anne gave satisfaction to all parties, particularly to the Jacobites, who imagined, now that she had no heirs of her own body, that she would be induced to concur with them in getting the succession act repealed, so as to make way for her brother, the prince of Wales. At first the queen seemed disposed to throw herself into the hands of the Tory faction, at the head of which was the earl of Rochester, first cousin to the queen, who was averse to a war with France; but the earl, afterwards the celebrated duke of Marlborough, his rival, succeeded, through the intrigues of his countess, in altering the mind of her majesty, and war was accordingly declared against France on the fourth day of May.

The Scottish parliament, which under a late act should have met within twenty days after the death of the king, did not, however, assemble till three months thereafter, the queen having deferred the meeting by repeated adjournments. The Scottish ministry, who were all of the revolution party, probably afraid of the result of an election, were anxious for the continuance of the parliament; but the Jacobite party, at the head of which was the duke of Hamilton, who, as earl of Arran, had suffered for his loyalty to King James, was desirous of a new parliament. The parliament, to which the duke of Queensberry was appointed commissioner, met on the ninth day of June; but before his commission was read, the duke of Hamilton objected to the legality of the meeting, the parliament having been virtually dissolved, as he maintained, by not having met within the statutory period; and having taken a formal protest against its proceedings, he withdrew from the house, followed by seventy-nine members of the first rank in the kingdom, amidst the acclamations of the people. The seceding members, thereupon, sent up Lord Blantyre to London with an address to the queen, but she refused to see him. This refusal highly displeased the people, whose resentment was still farther increased by a prosecution raised by the lord advocate against the faculty of advocates, for having, by a vote, approved of the secession and address. Several acts were passed by the parliament, one of the most important of which was that which authorized the queen to name commissioners for negotiating a treaty of union with England. An attempt was made by the earl of Marchmont, the lord-chancellor, (better known as Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth) without any instructions from his colleagues, and even contrary to the advice of the commissioner, to alter the succession, by bringing in a bill similar to that which had passed in England for abjuring the prince of Wales, and settling the succession on the princess Sophia and her heirs; but as the ministry had no instructions from the queen, the bill was not supported. It is not improbable that Marchmont intended, by the introduction of this measure, to sound the disposition of the queen in regard of her brother.

The queen, by virtue of the powers conferred on her by the parliaments of England and Scotland, named commissioners to treat about a union, who accordingly met at the Cockpit, near Whitehall, on the twenty-second day of October; but after some of the preliminaries had been adjusted, the conference broke off, in consequence of the Scottish commissioners insisting that all the rights and privileges of the Darien company should be preserved and maintained.

A partial change in the Scottish ministry having taken place, the queen resolved upon calling a new parliament, in the spring of seventeen hundred and three, previous to which, she issued an act of indemnity in favour of every person who had taken any part against the government since the revolution, and allowed such of them as were abroad to return home. Under the protection of this amnesty many of the Jacobites returned to Scotland, and took the oaths to the government, in the hope of forwarding the interest of the prince of Wales. At this time Scotland was divided into three parties. The first consisted of the revolutionists, who were headed by the duke of Argyle. The second of what was called the country party, who were opposed to the union, and who insisted on indemnification for the losses sustained in the Darien speculation, and satisfaction for the massacre of Glenco and other grievances suffered in the late reign. The duke of Hamilton and the marquis of Tweeddale took the direction of this party. The last, called Mitchell's club, from the house they met in, was composed entirely of the Jacobites or Cavaliers. These were headed by the earl of Home.* The two latter parties, by coalescing at the elections, might have returned a majority favourable to their views; but the earl of Seafield, who had succeeded the earl of Marchmont as chancellor, had the address to separate the Jacobites from the country party, and, by making them believe that he was their friend, prevailed upon them to throw their interest at the elections into the scale of the government. The parliament, however, which met on the sixth of May, was not so pliable to ministerial dictation as might have been expected, for although the royal assent was refused to what was called the act of security for limiting the power of the crown "this session of parliament, (to use the words of Lockhart,) did more for redressing the grievances and restoring the liberties of the nation than all the parliaments since the year 1660."† It was in this parliament that the celebrated patriot, Fletcher of Salton, first distinguished himself.‡ The earl of Marchmont again brought in

* Lockhart Papers, Vol. I. p. 58. † Ibid. Vol. I. p. 71.

‡ The following is the character of this patriot, from the pen of Lockhart, a stern Jacobite, and of course no way prejudiced in his favour:—"The thoughts of England's domineering over Scotland, was what his generous soul could not do away with. The indignities and oppression Scotland lay under, galled him to the heart; so that in his learned and elaborate discourses, he exposed them with undaunted courage and pathetic eloquence. He was blessed with a soul that hated and despised whatever was mean and unbecoming a gentleman, and was so stedfast to what he thought right, that no hazard nor advantage, no, not the universal empire, nor the gold of America, could tempt him to yield or desert it. And I may affirm that, in all his life, he never once pursued a

his bill for settling the crown of Scotland upon the house of Hanover; but such was the indignation with which the proposal was received by the house, that some of the members proposed that the bill should be burnt, while others moved that the proposer of the measure should be committed to the castle of Edinburgh. On a division the bill was thrown out by a very large majority.

After the prorogation of the parliament, the courtiers and the heads of the cavaliers repaired to London to pay court to the queen, who received them kindly, and conferred marks of her favour upon some of them. The marquis of Athole, in particular, who aspired to be leader of the Jacobites, was made a duke, and invested with the dignity of a knight of the order of the thistle, which she had just revived to enable her to extend the royal favour. Her policy seems to have been to gain over all parties to her interest; but she was soon made to believe that a conspiracy existed against her among the cavaliers to supersede her, and to place her brother upon the throne.

According to Lockhart, this was a sham plot, got up by the duke of Queensberry, with the special advice and consent of the duke of Argyle, and the earls of Stair and Leven, and Mr Carstairs, a presbyterian minister, and one of her majesty's chaplains, to ruin the cavaliers and the country party, in revenge for the opposition they had made to him *in* the last session of parliament, and to prevent these

measure with the prospect of any by-end to himself, nor further than he judged it for the common benefit and advantage of his country. He was master of the English, Latin, Greek, French, and Italian languages, and well versed in history, the civil law, and all kinds of learning; and, as he was universally accomplished, he employed his talents for the good of mankind. He was a strict and nice observer of all the points of honour, and his word sacred; as brave as his sword, and had some experience in the art of war, having, in his younger years, been some time a volunteer in both the land and sea service. In his travels he had studied, and came to understand, the respective interests of the several princes and states of Europe. In his private conversation, affable to his friends, (but could not endure to converse with those he thought enemies to their country,) and free of all manner of vice. He had a penetrating, clear, and lively apprehension, but so extremely wedded to his own opinions, that there were few, (and those too must be his beloved friends, and of whom he had a good opinion,) he could endure to reason against him, and did for the most part, so closely and unalterably adhere to what he advanced, (which was frequently very singular,) that he'd break with his party, before he'd alter the least jot of his scheme and maxims; and therefore it was impossible for any set of men, that did not give themselves up to be absolutely directed by him, to please him, so as to carry him along in all points. And thence it came to pass, that he often in parliament acted a part by himself, tho' in the main he stuck close to the country party, and was their Cicero. He was, no doubt, an enemy to all monarchical governments, at least thought they wanted to be much reformed; but I do very well believe, his aversion to the English and the Union was so great, in revenge to them, he'd have sided with the Royal family; but as that was a subject not fit to be entered upon with him, this is only a conjecture from some inuendo's I have heard him make; but so far is certain, he liked, commended, and conversed with high-flying Tories, more than any other set of men, acknowledging them to be the best countrymen, and of most honour, integrity, and ingenuity. To sum up all, he was a learned, gallant, honest, and every other way, well accomplished gentleman; and, if ever a man proposes to serve and merit well of his country, let him place his courage, zeal, and constancy, as a pattern before him, and think himself sufficiently applauded and rewarded, by obtaining the character of being like Andrew Fletcher of Salton."—*Papers, Vol. I., p. 77.*

parties from ever again thwarting his plans. That, in pursuance of this determination, he had pitched upon Simon Fraser of Beaufort, afterwards so well known as the Lord Lovat, who suffered for the part he acted in the rebellion of seventeen hundred and forty-five, as a fit instrument for effecting his design. Fraser had fled the country in consequence of a sentence of death pronounced against him in absence by the court of justiciary, for an alleged rape upon the person of the lady dowager Lovat, sister of the duke of Athole, and had retired to France; but, on account of his reputed crime, and the sentence of outlawry pronounced against him, he was debarred by King James, during his life, from appearing at the court of St Germains. Being sent for from France by Queensberry, he returned to Scotland; but, knowing the object for which he was wanted, he had the address before leaving France, by imposing upon Louis, to whom he was introduced by the pope's nuncio, to obtain from the widow of King James, acting as regent for her son, a commission of Major-General, with power to raise and command forces in his behalf. As the court of St Germains had some suspicion of Fraser's integrity, Captain John Murray, brother of Mr Murray of Abercarnie, and Captain James Murray, brother of Sir David Murray of Stanhope, were sent over to Scotland, under the protection of Queen Anne's indemnity, as a check upon him, and to sound the dispositions of the people.

On arriving on the borders of Scotland, Fraser was met by the duke of Argyle, who conducted him to Edinburgh, where he was kept private till he should receive instructions from the duke of Queensberry how to act. After obtaining his instructions, and a pass from the duke to protect him against letters of fire and sword, which had been issued against him during the reign of King William, he set off for the Highlands, introduced himself into the society of the adherents of the exiled family, and, by producing his commission of major-general, induced some of them to give him assurances that they would rise in arms when required, though they regretted that such a character should have been intrusted with such an important command. Others, however, apprehensive of his real designs, refused to hold any intercourse with him on the subject of his mission. He, thereafter, went to London to report to his patrons the progress he had made, who, finding that he had not been able to entrap some of the persons they intended to insnare, sent him back to France to endeavour to procure letters from the court of St Germains to the dukes of Hamilton and Athole, the earls of Seafield and Cromarty, and the leading Jacobite chiefs. To conceal his journey from the ministry, the duke of Queensberry procured a pass for him from the earl of Nottingham, the English secretary, under a fictitious name; but, before Fraser reached Paris, the whole pretended plot was brought to light by a gentleman of the name of Ferguson, with whom he had tampered. The duke of Athole being made acquainted by Ferguson with the discovery he had made,

immediately laid a state of the matter before the queen, who had been previously apprised of the conspiracy by the duke of Queensberry; and the duke being called upon for an explanation, excused himself by saying that, when Fraser came to Scotland, he had received a written communication from Fraser informing him that he could make important discoveries relative to designs against the queen's government, in proof of which he delivered him a letter from the queen dowager at St Germains, addressed to L—— M——, which initials Fraser informed him were meant for Lord Murray, now marquis of Athole, and that, after seeing him, he had given him a protection in Scotland, and procured a pass for him in England to enable him to follow out further discoveries.

When this pretended conspiracy became publicly known it excited considerable sensation, and the house of lords immediately resolved that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the matter; but the queen, who was already well acquainted with the circumstances, sent them a message, intimating, that as the affair was already under investigation, she was desirous that the house should not interfere, and she promised in a short time to inform them of the result. Accordingly, on the seventeenth day of December, she went to the house of peers, and made a speech to both houses, informing them that she had complete evidence of evil practices and designs against her government, carried on by the emissaries of France in Scotland. After thanking her majesty for the information she had given, the peers persisting in their resolution for an inquiry, appointed a select committee by ballot; but this proceeding was resented by the commons as a violation of the laws of the land, and as an improper interference with the prerogative of the crown, and they voted an address to the queen accordingly. The upper house in its turn resented with indignation the conduct of the commons, and voted that the address of the commons was unparliamentary and groundless, and highly injurious to the house of peers. They followed up this resolution by a remonstrance to the queen, in which they justified their interference in the affair of the conspiracy, and expressed great zeal and affection for her majesty. The peers proceeded in the inquiry, and after considerable investigation they agreed to the following resolution, "that there had been a dangerous conspiracy in Scotland toward the invading that kingdom with a French power, in order to subvert her majesty's government, and the bringing in the pretended prince of Wales; that it was their opinion nothing had given so much encouragement to these designs as the succession of the crown of Scotland not being declared in favour of the Princess Sophia and her heirs; that the queen should be addressed to use such methods as she thought convenient, for having the succession of the crown of that kingdom settled after that manner; and that being once done, then they would do all in their power to promote an entire union of the two kingdoms." Mr Lockhart asserts that the lords thus interfered at the instance of

the duke of Queensberry, as he knew that the Whigs would bring him off, and although they were so clear as to the existence of a plot, he maintains that "it was all trick and villany." Meanwhile Fraser, for his imposition upon the French king, was committed a prisoner to the Bastile, in which he remained several years.*

Lord Lovat, in his memoirs, gives a very different version of this affair from that furnished by Mr Lockhart. After denying in the most pointed manner the crime for which he was outlawed, he states that on his arrival at St Germains, he addressed himself to his cousin, Sir John Maclean, the chief of the Macleans, who introduced him to Lord Perth—that that nobleman received him with open arms, and introduced him to King James in presence of the queen and the young prince—that his majesty complained to him of the conduct of the Athole family, and acknowledged the obligations he lay under to the family of Lovat—that King James having advised him to make his peace with the reigning government, to save his clan, he returned to London, and that not having been able to obtain a reversal of the outlawry before King William's departure for Loo, his favourite residence, followed him thither, with a letter of recommendation from the duke of Argyle to Carstairs, the chaplain, who had much influence with his royal master. The king was induced to give Lovat the most "unlimited pardon," and he immediately despatched his cousin Simon, son of David Fraser of Brae, to get the great seal of Scotland affixed to it; but for some reason or other the pardon was suppressed, and another pardon passed the seals limited to Lovat's treachery against the king and government. Having, he says, after the accession of Queen Anne, visited the chiefs of the clans and some of the Jacobite Scottish peers, he engaged them to grant him a general commission on their part to go to France and to announce to the court of St Germains that they were ready to take up arms and hazard their lives and fortunes for the exiled family, and to require that the young prince might be sent over with an officer to command the Jacobite forces.

Lovat says that he arrived at Paris about the month of September, seventeen hundred and two, and sent an express to Sir John Maclean to St Germains, to meet him; and that he thereafter went to court, and was introduced to Lord Perth, to whom he explained the object of his mission. The plan was, however, ruined by the earl of Middleton, who undermined Lovat at court, a circumstance which made him resolve to return to Scotland, but he was induced by Cardinal Gualterio and the Marquis de Torcy to remain. He then obtained, through the interest of Madame de Maintenon and others, a private interview with the king of France, who promised to assist him in his enterprise. Provided with an ample commission from the young king, Lovat left France for England, but he had been anticipated on his journey by James Murray,

* Lockhart, vol. i. pp. 78—83.

brother of Sir David Murray of Stanhope, who had been privately sent by the earl of Middleton to inform the government of Lovat's proceedings. On his arrival in Scotland Lovat found that the Scottish privy council, in expectation of his coming, had a month before issued a proclamation to take him dead or alive, had fixed a price upon his head, and had prohibited all persons under pain of death from holding any intercourse with him in word or writing. He, however, proceeded on his journey, and had interviews with the heads of the clans, and the principal Jacobite nobility, all of whom he asserts promised their services. A council of war was afterwards held in Drummond castle, at which the chiefs of the clans were for taking up arms immediately, but Lord Drummond having objected to the proposal till succours should arrive from France, and a commander appointed, the consideration of the matter was deferred for some months, and in the meantime Lovat was directed to return to France without delay, and to demand the necessary supplies.

Before setting out for France, Lovat says he was induced, by Lord Drummond and Captain John Murray, the latter of whom had accompanied him to Scotland, and was desirous of remaining in the country to concert measures with the duke of Gordon and other noblemen attached to the cause of King James; to wait upon the dukes of Argyle and Queensberry, and the earl of Leven, "to amuse them with a fictitious account of their journey," and to entreat them to give no trouble to Mr Murray, who had come to Scotland merely to visit his relations and friends. At meeting, Queensberry informed Lovat that he was fully aware of the object of his visit, which had been fully explained to him by Captain James Murray, who had discovered to him the whole plan of the proposed insurrection, and that he was also aware of all Lovat's proceedings in the north. Queensberry added, that he did not mean to put any questions to him upon that subject, but to ask a favour from him by informing him whether there was any truth in the report that the dukes of Athole and Hamilton had, at the very time they were displaying an officious zeal in the service of the government, corresponded with the court of St Germains. On receiving the duke's assurance that Captain Murray should be protected, Lovat informed him that both Hamilton and Athole were the most faithful friends and servants of King James, that Captain James Murray had brought over commissions for them from the court of St Germains; and that they had promised to take up arms at a very early period, and to put themselves at the head of the whole Jacobite party in order to restore the king. This "pretended discovery," Lovat says, had no foundation, as he had been assured by the laird of Fintry, that Hamilton was no friend of the exiled family, and that he even aspired to the crown himself; and as to Athole it was notorious that he was "the incorrigible enemy of King James."

The duke of Queensberry was overjoyed at this "chimerical discovery," by which he hoped to effect the ruin of two noblemen, who,

he said, "had for a long time endeavoured to deprive him of estate, reputation, and life," and made a thousand professions of friendship to Lord Lovat. He offered to make his peace with Queen Anne, to obtain a regiment for him and a considerable pension, and to make him chief-justiciary and commandant of the county in which the estates of Lovat lay; but if we are to believe Lovat, he declined these magnificent offers, being obliged in honour and conscience to return to France, and to carry on the project in which he was engaged. Before taking leave, Lovat promised that if the duke would favour him with a passport, to enable him to return immediately to France, he would furnish him, in due time, with a particular account of Hamilton and Athole's engagements with the court of St Germains, which would enable him to ruin both these noblemen at the court of London. The duke, not suspecting any deceit, granted a passport to Lovat upon the spot, written and signed by himself as the queen's representative in Scotland, to enable him to proceed in safety from Edinburgh to London. On the following day Lord Drummond and Captain Murray arrived in Edinburgh, who, on being informed by Lovat of the manner he had conducted himself in his interview with the duke, approved of what he had done, and even applauded the dexterity with which he had delivered himself from an imminent and unforeseen danger. As both Hamilton and Athole were regarded by Lovat as "impostors" and enemies of the exiled family, he considered that his conduct, in thus attempting to ruin them, "far from being a real crime, ought to be regarded as a good and essential service to the king (James III.), and the sincere, political, and ingenious fruit of his zeal, for his project, and the interests of his sovereign."* Such is a specimen of the morality of this extraordinary personage, who, in his correspondence with the revolution party, always pretended to be a friend to the revolution settlement.

Alluding to Lockhart's account of the conspiracy, Lovat says, "The design of the author is sufficiently evident. His book is entirely calculated to undermine the reputation, the interests, and the lives of the dukes of Queensberry and Argyle, and the earl of Leven, the most formidable enemies of his party; and to give to the world, as undoubted realities, the dark inventions of the duke of Hamilton, and the lords Athole and Tarbat, produced by the fear of punishment for their correspondence with the court of St Germains, at the same time that they pretended to be the zealous partisans of the court of London. In prosecuting this design, he endeavours to throw upon the shoulders of the first mentioned noblemen, the contrivance of a project of which they knew as much as the Khan of Crim Tartary. He represents them as sending for Lord Lovat, their intimate friend, whom (probably by a miracle) this visionary writer represents as acquainted with the nature and particulars of their plot, at the distance of two hundred leagues, and

* Memoirs of the Life of Simon, Lord Lovat. Written by himself. p. 179.

at a time when the commerce of letters was rendered totally impracticable by the war. In the next place, by a miracle not less wonderful, he converts Lord Lovat to the popish religion, by the advice and command of his patrons, Queensberry, Argyle, Leven, and Carstairs, pillars of the presbyterian religion in Scotland; a most admirable means which this author has discovered for advancing the interests of the protestant succession.

"And upon this foundation, equally chimerical, false, scandalous, and diabolical, the author commences his narrative with calumniating Lord Lovat. He makes him, in the first place, guilty of a rape—a crime of which he was as innocent as the child unborn, and which the whole north of Scotland, where Lord Lovat has always been, and is at this day much loved and respected, knows to have had no foundation but in the malicious invention of Lord Athole;—in order to accumulate the crime of high treason against King William, with which he charged him; and to make himself master of his estate: for which tyranny the name of Athole is regarded with odium and horror, through the whole north of Scotland.

"The author proceeds with his ridiculous suppositions, and sends Lord Lovat into France, three years before he quitted his own country; not knowing, probably, that Lord Lovat obtained a pardon from King William; and that at the time of that prince's death, he was in quiet possession of his estates, and about to commence a prosecution against Lord Athole, which would have reduced him to the same beggary as the young Lord Murrays, his brothers, not knowing that it was at the accession of Queen Anne, and her declared favouritism to Lord Athole and his other enemies, that Lord Lovat proclaimed his sovereign in his own province, and afterwards entered into an engagement with the most considerable of the loyal nobility and heads of clans, previous to his passing into France."*

As the *exposé* in Fraser's affair had rendered the duke of Queensberry very unpopular in Scotland, he was dismissed from his situation as one of the Scottish secretaries of state, and the marquis of Tweeddale was appointed to succeed him as lord high-commissioner to the Scottish parliament, which met on the sixth day of July, seventeen hundred and four. The friends of the duke, afraid that the dukes of Hamilton and Athole would make his connexion with Fraser the subject of a parliamentary investigation, entered into a negotiation with the friends of these noblemen, the result of which was a mutual arrangement, by which the latter agreed not to push the proposed examination, and the former in respect of such forbearance, promised to join the Cavaliers in opposing the succession of the crown on the house of Hanover, and other court measures.†

At the opening of the session a letter from the queen was read, ex-

* Memoirs, pp. 216 19.

† Lockhart, vol. I. p. 98.

horting the parliament to unity, and recommending an immediate settlement of the succession as in England, as necessary to establish peace and secure the protestant religion. Before the ministry, however, had time to bring on the question of the succession, the duke of Hamilton moved, "that this parliament will not proceed to the nomination of a successor to the crown, until we have had a previous treaty with England, in relation to our commerce, and other concerns with that nation." The ministry were greatly surprised and perplexed at a proposition which could not fail to be supported by the voice of the nation. The earl of Rothes, who had joined the court party, made a counter motion, that the parliament should, in the first place, proceed to the consideration of such conditions of government as might be judged proper for rectifying the constitution, by vindicating and securing the sovereignty and independence of the nation, after which they should take into consideration the other motion for a treaty previous to the nomination of a successor to the crown. This proposition, plausible enough, was no doubt intended to create a division among the Cavalier and country parties, which the ministry hoped would enable them eventually to get rid of the duke of Hamilton's motion; but Sir James Falconer of Phesdo, to counteract this design, ingeniously conjoined the two motions, so as to give full effect to each. After congratulating the house on the emulation displayed by the members to promote the interest and security of the nation, he said that he thought both the resolutions under consideration good and necessary, but as it would be a pity that they should justle with one another, he moved that the house should not proceed to the nomination of a successor until a treaty should be concluded with England for regulating the commerce of Scotland, and settling other affairs with that nation; and further, that the parliament should proceed to make such limitations and conditions of government for rectifying the constitution as might secure the religion, independence, and liberty of the nation, before proceeding to the nomination of a successor to the crown. This motion was supported by the whole of the Cavalier party, and unanimously opposed by that of the court. After a stormy debate, in which Fletcher of Salton took a prominent part, and gave a most affecting detail of the miseries which the union of the two crowns of Scotland and England had entailed upon Scotland, the earl of Rothes' motion was negatived by a vast majority.*

From the temper displayed in the Scottish parliament, it was obvious that without entering into a treaty with Scotland, it would be utterly impossible for the English ministry to carry the question of the succession in Scotland. To accomplish this the English parliament authorized the queen to nominate commissioners to treat with commissioners from Scotland; but the conduct of the parliament was by no means calculated to allay the jealousy entertained by the Scotch, of the interference of Eng-

* Lockhart, vol. I. p. 102.

land in imposing a foreign sovereign upon them. Instead of simply empowering the queen to appoint commissioners, the English parliament, instigated by the Scottish ministry, insolently directed the Scottish parliament in the choice of its commissioners, and they even prohibited their own commissioners to meet and treat with those of Scotland unless the parliament of Scotland allowed the queen to name these commissioners herself. And, as if this encroachment upon the liberties of an independent nation was not sufficiently insulting, all Scotsmen not settled in England, or in its service, were declared aliens, until the succession to the crown of Scotland should be settled on the Princess Sophia and her protestant heirs. Several prohibitory clauses against the trade of Scotland were also inserted in the act, which were to take effect about eight months thereafter if the Scottish parliament did not, before the appointed time, yield to the instructions of that of England.

To strengthen the government party the Scottish ministry was changed, and the duke of Queensberry was recalled to office, being appointed to the privy seal. The Cavaliers, thus deprived of the aid of the duke and his friends, to which they had been lately so much indebted, applied to the marquis of Tweeddale—who, with his displaced friends, had formed a party called the "*squadrone volante*," or flying squadron—to unite with them against the court; but he declined the proposal, as being inconsistent with the object for which it was said to be formed, namely, to keep the contending parties in parliament in check, and to vote only for such measures, by whatever party introduced, which should appear most beneficial to the country.

Notwithstanding the exertions of the court party, the Scottish ministry soon found themselves in a minority in the parliament, which was opened on the twenty-eighth day of June, seventeen hundred and five, by the duke of Argyle as commissioner. The motion of Sir James Falconer, which had hitherto remained a dead letter, was again renewed; but although the ministry was supported by the squadron in opposition to the motion, the cavaliers carried it by a great majority. The dukes of Hamilton and Athole were now desirous of pushing on the inquiry into the alleged plot, but by advice of the cavaliers, who insisted that such a proceeding would be a violation of the agreement entered into between them and the duke of Queensberry's friends, they desisted for a time. But the duke having prevailed upon such of his friends as had voted with the cavaliers in the beginning of the session to join the court party, the subject was introduced before the house in the shape of a motion, to know what answer the queen had sent to an address which had been voted to her in the preceding session, to send down to Scotland against the next session such persons as had been examined respecting the plot, and the papers connected therewith. The dukes of Hamilton and Athole vindicated themselves against the charge of being accessory to Fraser's proceedings, and the latter particularly, in a long speech, reprobated the conduct of the duke of

Queensberry, whom he openly accused of a design to ruin him. Neither the duke nor his friends made any answer to the charge, and Athole and Hamilton conceiving that they had cleared themselves sufficiently, allowed the subject to drop. The most important business of the session was the measure of the proposed union with England, an act for effecting which was passed, though not without considerable opposition.

Before the state of the vote upon this measure was announced, the duke of Athole, "in regard that by an English act of parliament made in the last sessions thereof, entituled an act for the effectual securing England from the dangers that may arise from several acts passed lately in Scotland, the subjects of this kingdom were adjudged aliens, born out of the allegiance of the queen, as queen of England, after the twenty-fifth day of December 1705," protested that, for saving the honour and interest of her majesty as queen of Scotland, and maintaining and preserving the undoubted rights and privileges of her subjects, no act for a treaty with England ought to pass without a clause being added thereto, prohibiting and discharging the commissioners that might be appointed for carrying on the treaty from departing from Scotland until the English parliament should repeal and rescind the obnoxious act alluded to. To this protest twenty-four peers, thirty-seven barons, and eighteen of the burgh representatives adhered. When the state of the vote was announced, the duke of Hamilton, to the infinite surprise of the cavaliers and the country party, moved that the nomination of the commissioners should be left wholly to the queen. From twelve to fifteen members immediately exclaimed that the duke had deserted and basely betrayed his friends, and ran out of the house in rage and despair. A warm debate then ensued, in which Hamilton was roughly handled, and the inconsistency of his conduct exposed; but he persisted in his motion, which was carried by a majority of eight votes. Had the other members remained he would have found himself in a minority. The duke of Athole protested a second time for the reasons contained in his first protest, and twenty-one peers, thirty-three barons, and eighteen burgh representatives adhered to his second protest. The protesters consisted of most of the cavaliers and the country party, and the whole of the squadron. The protesters, however, were not discouraged, and they succeeded so far as to obtain an order of the house prohibiting the Scottish commissioners from treating until the clause in the English act, declaring the subjects of Scotland aliens, should be repealed, a resolution which had the desired effect, the English parliament rescinding the clause before the time fixed for its operation arrived.*

In terms of the powers vested in her by the parliaments of England and Scotland, the queen nominated commissioners, who met in the council chamber of the Cockpit, near Whitehall, on the sixteenth day of

* Lockhart, Vol. I., pp. 131, 132, 133, 137, 140.

April, seventeen hundred and six. During their sittings by intervals, they were twice visited by the queen, who urged them to complete, with as little delay as possible, a treaty which, she anticipated, would be advantageous to both kingdoms. They, accordingly, proceeded to fulfil the great object for which they had been appointed, and on the twenty-second of July, the celebrated treaty of union was finished, and mutually signed by the contracting parties. By the second article of the treaty, it was declared that the succession to the monarchy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, in default of issue of the queen, should remain and continue to the Princess Sophia and her heirs, being Protestants.

When the terms of the treaty became publicly known in Scotland, a shout of indignation was set up in every part of the kingdom, at a measure which, it was supposed, would destroy the independence of the nation; and when the Scottish parliament met for the purpose of ratifying the treaty, considerable rioting took place in different parts of the country, and large bodies of armed men threatened to march upon the capital, and disperse the assembly. Numerous addresses were sent to the parliament from every part of the kingdom against the Union, and considerable opposition was made by the dukes of Hamilton and Athole, Lord Belhaven, Fletcher of Salton, and others, but the court party, having obtained the support of the "Squadron," carried the measure by a great majority.

As the restoration of the son of James II. now appeared to the Scottish nation as necessary to preserve its independence, various combinations were entered into among the people to effect it. The inhabitants of the western shires, chiefly Cameronians, formerly the most determined supporters of the Protestant government, all at once became the most zealous partizans of the exiled family, whose Catholicity they showed themselves disposed altogether to overlook. Preparatory to more active measures for accomplishing their object, the ringleaders among them held several meetings, divided themselves into regiments, chose their officers, provided themselves with horses and arms, and, notwithstanding the religious asperity which had long existed between them and the inhabitants of the northern shires, offered to unite with them in any measures which might be devised for accomplishing the restoration of the young prince, who had now assumed the title of the Chevalier de St George.* The court of St Germains, fully aware of the strong national feeling which existed in favour of the prince, sent, in concert with the French king, one Hooke into Scotland to obtain intelligence, and to treat with the people for his restoration. This gentleman had been one of the duke of Monmouth's chaplains when he invaded England; but after the execution of that unfortunate nobleman, Hooke went to France, where he became a Catholic, and entered into the French service, in which he rose to the rank of Colonel. He had been in Scotland in seventeen hundred and five

* Lockhart, vol. I. p. 196.

on a previous mission to the heads of the Jacobite chiefs and the country party; but though a man of sense, he conducted himself with such indiscretion, that he could only obtain general promises, from the parties he consulted, of their readiness to advance the prince's interest. The cavaliers, however, sent Captain Henry Straton, a gentleman in whom they placed great confidence, to France, in July the following year, to ascertain the extent of the aid they might expect from Louis.

Hooke, on this occasion, landed in the north of Scotland, about the end of February or beginning of March, seventeen hundred and seven, and took up a temporary abode in Slains Castle, the seat of the earl of Errol, high-constable of Scotland, where he was waited upon by the countess-dowager, the mother of the earl, her son being then absent from home. Instead of consulting, as he should have done, the principal chiefs upon the subject of his mission, Hooke at first confined himself to interviews with some gentlemen in the shires of Perth and Angus, by whom he was received with great favour and hospitality, and looked upon as a person of no ordinary importance. The attention thus paid him, flattered his vanity, in return for which he made them his confidents, and proceeded, in concert with them, to deliberate upon the mode of accomplishing a restoration. This party, however, had not the wisdom to conceal the negotiation with Hooke, whose presence in the country became consequently generally known. The result was, that the duke of Hamilton and others, conceiving themselves slighted, and alarmed at the imprudence of Hooke's friends, declined to correspond with him, and entered into direct communication with the court of St Germains itself.

As the French king was desirous of ascertaining the exact situation of affairs in Scotland, M. de Chamillard, his minister of war, had furnished Hooke with a paper of instructions, in the shape of questions, to which he was desired to obtain distinct answers, to enable his majesty to judge of the extent of the assistance required from him, and the probability of success. In answer to these questions, a memorial, addressed to the king of France, was drawn up, and signed by several noblemen and gentlemen, in which they stated that the greater part of the Scottish nation had always been disposed for the service of "its lawful king" ever since the revolution; but that this disposition had now become universal, and that the shires of the west, which used to be the most disaffected, were now zealous to serve him. That to reap the benefit of so favourable a disposition, and of so happy a conjuncture, the presence of the king (the Chevalier) would be absolutely necessary, the people being unwilling to take arms without being sure of having him at their head—that the whole nation would rise upon his arrival—that he would become master of Scotland without opposition, and that the existing government would be entirely abolished—that of the numbers that they would raise, the memorialists would immediately despatch twenty-five thousand foot, and five thousand horse and dragoons into England,

while the other peers and chiefs would assemble all their men in their respective shires, and that the general rendezvous of the troops on the north of the river Tay, should be at Perth, those of the western shires at Stirling, and those of the south and east at Dumfries and Dunse. As to the subsistence of the troops, they informed his majesty that they would require nothing from him, as the harvests of two years were to be found in the granaries, and that so great was its abundance, that a crown would purchase as much flour as would maintain a man two months—that there was also a great plenty of meat, beer and brandy in the kingdom, and cloth, linen, shoes and bonnets, sufficient to clothe a considerable number of troops. The principal articles they stood in most need of, were arms and money. Of the former, the memorialists begged his majesty to send them as many as would equip twenty-five thousand foot, and five thousand horse or dragoons, together with a proportional quantity of ammunition, and also some pieces of artillery, bombs, &c. Of money, of which the country had been almost drained by the Darien speculation, by five years of famine, and by the constant residence of the nobility at London, they required a remittance of one hundred thousand pistoles, to enable them to march into England, and also a regular monthly subsidy during the war. In addition to these demands, they required that the Chevalier should be accompanied to Scotland by a body of eight thousand troops, to protect his person against any sudden attempt by the government forces. The memorialists concluded, by assuring his Most Christian Majesty of their resolution to bind themselves by the strictest and most sacred ties, to assist one another in what they deemed a common cause, to forget all family differences, and to concur sincerely, and with all their hearts, "without jealousy or distrust, like men of honour in so just and glorious an enterprise."*

Having finished his negotiation, Hooke returned to France in the month of May, after assuring his friends that "the Pretender" would land in Scotland about August following. On arriving at the court of St Germains, Hooke gave the most flattering account of his reception, and of the zeal of the people in behalf of the Chevalier, and accused the duke of Hamilton and the other persons who had refused openly to commit themselves, of lukewarmness in the cause. The armament, promised by the king of France, should have been ready in August; but the court of Versailles contrived to put it off, from time to time, under various pretences. The fact appears to be, that Louis was indifferent about the matter, and, although he pretended that his object was to place the Chevalier upon the throne of his ancestors, his real object was to create a diversion in his own favour by embroiling Great Britain in a civil war. His reverses at Ramillies and Turin

* Secret History of Colonel Hooke's Negotiation in Scotland in 1707—Edin. 1760. Pp. 69—75.

had induced him to send Hooke into Scotland to obtain information, but, having afterwards defeated the allies at Almanza, he was in hopes that he would be able to retrieve his affairs without the aid of the intended descent on Scotland.

To hasten the enterprise, the cavaliers sent the Honourable Charles Fleming, brother of the earl of Wigton, over to France with letters to his most Christian Majesty and the Chevalier, in consequence of which, preparations for the expedition were commenced at Dunkirk, where a squadron was collected under the command of the Chevalier de Forbin. When the news of these preparations reached England, the greatest exertions were made to meet the threatened danger. Both houses of parliament joined in an address to the queen, in which they pledged themselves to defend her with their lives and fortunes against the "pretended prince of Wales," and all her other enemies. They suspended the habeas corpus act, and passed a bill enacting, that all persons should take the oath of abjuration under the pain of being held as convicted recusants. They also passed another bill, releasing the Scottish clans from all vassalage to those chiefs who should appear in arms against her majesty; and "the Pretender" and his adherents were declared traitors and rebels. A large fleet was equipped and assembled at Deal with extraordinary promptitude, and despatched towards Dunkirk under the command of Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, and Lord Dursley, and transports were engaged to bring over ten British battalions from Ostend. When this fleet, which the French had supposed to be destined for Lisbon, appeared off Mardyke, they were greatly surprised; and the embarkation of their troops, which had commenced, was immediately countermanded. The French admiral represented to his court the danger of proceeding with the expedition; but he received positive orders to finish the embarkation, and to sail with the first favourable wind. The Chevalier de St George, at taking farewell, was presented by Louis with a sword studded with costly diamonds, and sumptuous services of gold and silver plate, rich dresses, and other necessaries becoming his high station.

While the embarkation was going on, Mr Fleming and a gentleman of the name of Arnott were separately despatched for Scotland from Dunkirk, on the evening of the sixth of March seventeen hundred and eight, in two frigates, with instructions from the Chevalier to the Jacobite chiefs. Fleming arrived on the northern coast on the thirteenth, and, when about two leagues off the land, entered a fishing boat which landed him at Slains castle, where he met the earl of Errol, who received the intelligence of the expedition with great pleasure. On perusing the Chevalier's instructions, he immediately despatched a messenger to Mr Malcolm of Grange, in Fife, with orders to have a boat and pilots in readiness at the mouth of the Frith of Forth to go on board the first vessel that should give the signal agreed on.

In the mean time, the British fleet having been forced, by stress of

weather, off their station on the fourteenth of March, the expedition sailed on the seventeenth from the road of Dunkirk; but it was detained in Newport-pits in consequence of a change in the wind, till the nineteenth, when it again set sail with a fair breeze for Scotland. The expedition consisted of seven men-of-war, two of which were fitted up as transports, and twenty-one frigates, having on board five thousand one hundred troops, under the command of Monsieur le Comte de Gassè, who, on the last-mentioned day, received from the French king the patent of a marshal of France, and assumed the name of Mantignon. While at Newport, three of the frigates, which had received some damage, returned to Dunkirk; but, at a council of war, held in the apartment of the Chevalier, it was resolved, at his desire, to proceed without them, although these vessels had eight hundred troops on board, and a considerable quantity of arms and provisions. At the same council it was also determined to sail directly to the Frith of Forth, and to disembark the troops at Burntisland, whence it was proposed to send a detachment to take possession of Stirling.*

The French fleet having been observed in Newport-pits from the steeples of Ostend, a vessel was immediately despatched thence by Major-General Cadogan to inform Sir George Byng of their having left Dunkirk: Sir George went immediately in quest of the enemy. The French fleet, favoured by a strong and fair wind, reached the Frith on the evening of the twenty-third, without seeing any of the English squadron, and anchored off Crail, the commander intending to proceed up the Frith the following morning; but he had been anticipated by the Proteus, one of the three vessels which had returned to Dunkirk, and which, being a superior sailer, had reached the Frith before him, and had given notice of the approach of the French fleet to the friends of the Cheva lier, who lived on the coast, by firing five guns, the concerted signal by which the friends of the prince along that coast were to be apprized of his arrival. Malcolm of Grange, who had been for some days anxiously looking out for the fleet, went immediately on board this vessel with a pilot.

The resolution of M. de Forbin to proceed up the Frith next morning, was, however, put an end to, by the appearance, at day break, of the English fleet, consisting of twenty-eight sail, standing in for the Frith. Alarmed for the safety of his ships, the French commander immediately cut his cables, and by favour of a strong land breeze which fortunately sprung up, stood out to sea under full sail, having previously given orders to the different ships, in case of separation, to rendezvous at Cromarty, or Inverness. The French vessels being lighter and cleaner, outstripped the English in sailing, and all of them escaped, with the exception of the Salisbury, a ship formerly captured from the English, which was taken. On board of this vessel were

* M. D'Andrezel's Account in Hooke, p. 139.

Lord Griffin, the earl of Middleton's two sons, M. La Vie, a Major-General, Colonel Francis Wauchope, some other officers, and between three and four hundred soldiers. On the following day, the French commander finding himself out of sight of the enemy, and all his vessels together, with the exception of the Salisbury, he consulted with the Marshal de Mantignon, on the expediency of landing at some place in the north of Scotland, and proposed Inverness. The Chevalier, who was so desirous of landing, that he had, though in vain, entreated M. de Forbin, the preceding day, to put him on shore, though his domestics alone should accompany him, received this proposal with great satisfaction. The fleet accordingly, aided by a favourable wind, steered to the north during the whole of the twenty-fifth; but at ten o'clock at night, the wind suddenly changed to the north, and blew directly in their teeth with considerable violence. As the storm continued the whole of the following day, and as M. de Forbin was afraid that the fleet would be dispersed, and might, when separated, fall into the hands of the enemy, a council was held, at which it was unanimously resolved, with the entire concurrence of the Chevalier, to return to Dunkirk, where the expedition arrived on the seventh of April.

Such was the result of an enterprise, which, but for the merest accidental circumstance, might have been crowned with the most complete success; for had the expedition arrived only a few hours earlier in the Frith of Forth, the whole troops, arms and ammunition, would have been landed without opposition. Such were the dispositions of the people of Scotland in favour of "the Pretender," and so disaffected had they become towards the government, that a universal rising would undoubtedly have taken place in his support had he set his foot in Scotland. No effectual resistance could have been offered to him by the regular troops, which did not exceed twenty-five hundred men; and as little reliance could be placed in them, from their participating generally in the national feeling; the earl of Leven, the commander-in-chief, had determined to retire to Carlisle, or Berwick, with such forces as would accompany him.* The news of the sailing of the expedition, created a panic in

* Alluding to the appearance of the French fleet in the Frith, Lockhart says, "It is impossible to describe the different appearance of people's sentiments; all this day (23d March) generally speaking, in every person's face was to be observed an air of jollity and satisfaction, excepting the general, (Leven) those concerned in the government, and such as were deeply dipt in the revolution. These indeed were in the greatest terror and confusion. And it was no great wonder that the earl of Leven did afterwards, in one of his letters to the secretaries of state, complain that the Jacobites were so uppish he durst hardly look them in the face as they walked in the streets of Edinburgh; for uppish they were indeed, expecting soon to have an occasion of repaying him and his fellow-rebels in the same coin he and they had treated them for these twenty years past. But next day advice was sent from Sir George Byng, that he had come up with and was then in pursuit of the French fleet, and then it was that every body was in the greatest pain and anxiety imaginable; some fearing it would, and others that it would not, determine as it did. In this perplexity were people when, on the next day, being Sunday, a great number of tall ships were seen sailing up the Frith. This put our general in

England, which was followed by a run upon the bank, which would have been obliged to have suspended its payments had not the most extraordinary exertions been made to support its credit.

The principal friends of the Chevalier de St George, and every person of any distinction in Scotland, suspected of favouring his pretensions, were, upon the failure of the expedition, immediately seized and committed to the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and the common jails, whence many of them were transmitted to England, and imprisoned in the Tower of London, or in Newgate. Among those who were carried to London, was the duke of Hamilton, who, taking advantage of a quarrel between the Lord-treasurer Godolphin, and the Whigs, obtained, by offering his support to the latter in the election of the Scottish representative peers, not only his own liberation, but also that of all the other prisoners, with the exception of Stirling of Kier, Seaton of Touch, Stirling of Carden, and other gentlemen of Stirlingshire, who, on receiving intelligence that the Chevalier had landed, had mounted their horses and advanced in a body towards Edinburgh, to support him. These last were brought to trial for high treason, as having appeared in arms against the government; but as no proof was brought against them, they were acquitted.* The fact is, that the queen's advisers, fully aware of the great danger which the government had escaped, and the risks to which it was still exposed, were disposed to act a very lenient part, and were afraid, under existing circumstances, to commit themselves by sacrificing any of the disaffected to a doubtful, and, as it must have appeared to them, a precarious expediency.

For a time, the idea of a restoration seems to have been abandoned; but the systematic attacks made by the High Church party in England, upon the principles of the revolution, and the popular excitement raised against the Whig ministry in consequence of Dr Sacheverel's trial, raised anew the expectations of the Jacobites, which were still farther elevated by the expulsion of the Whigs from office in seventeen hundred and ten, by the intrigues of the Tories. Although the queen on opening the new parliament, which met on the twenty-fifth of November, de-

such a terror and confusion as can scarcely be well expressed: he drew up his army in battle array on the sands of Leith, as if he'd oppose a landing, and in this posture did he remain for several hours, when at last his fears, which truly had almost distracted him, vanished by the landing of a boat, which acquainted him that it was the English fleet returned from chasing the French. For Sir George Byng, after a day's pursuit, finding the French out-sailed him, tackt about for the Frith, which was the place he designed chiefly to guard; besides, he had sailed so unprovided that most of his ships wanted water and provisions. Here he lay several weeks, and for the most part the wind was easterly, so that he could not well have sailed down the Frith, and the French might and every body believed would, have landed in the north, or sailed round and landed in the west; but instead of that they went sneakingly home, without doing any good, but on the contrary, much harm to the king, his country and themselves."—Vol. I. pp. 243, 244.

* Lockhart.

clared to both houses that she would employ such persons only as were warmly attached to the protestant succession in the house of Hanover; yet it was generally understood that she was inclined to favour the pretensions of her brother, the Chevalier de St George. As his religion was, in fact, the only bar in the way of his succession, she endeavoured, but without success, to induce him to abandon it. "You see (she observed to the duke of Buckingham, when speaking of her brother,) he does not take the least step to oblige me. I have no reason to think he values me or my kingdom, therefore I shall give it to the Elector of Hanover." On another occasion, when warmly pressed by the duke, she replied, "What would you have me to do? You know, as the law stands, a Papist cannot inherit the crown, and, therefore, any will I may make will be to no purpose; the law gives all to Hanover; and therefore I had better do that with a good grace which I cannot help. He may thank himself for it. He knows I always loved him better than the Elector."* The Tories were by no means averse to her majesty's views of a successor, but afraid of a reaction in public opinion in favour of the Whigs, who were endeavouring to excite the fears of the nation by raising a no-popery cry, they not only carefully abstained from any act which might be considered as favouring the claims of "the Pretender;" but even appeared as if hostile to them. Indeed, so desirous were some of the Tory members of the house of commons to settle the crown upon his head, that they required a mere profession of Protestantism from him, till he should be firmly seated on the throne, after which he might, they said, again resume the exercise and profession of his religion. But the prince disdained to act such a hypocritical part.†

In Scotland, however, little reserve was shown, a remarkable instance of which occurred in the Faculty of Advocates, which body accepted from the dutchess of Gordon a silver medal, having on one side an impression of the head of the Chevalier de St George, and on the reverse a representation of the British islands, with the motto, "*Reddite.*" At presenting this treasonable device, a motion thanking her grace for her gift was carried, after a warm debate, by a majority of sixty-three voices against

* Stuart Papers, July, 1712. Vol. ii. p. 327.

† Alluding to the prince's refusal to concur in this unprincipled design, Lord John Russell, (*Memoirs of the affairs of Europe from the Peace of Utrecht*, Vol. i. p. 261.) observes, "I confess I think his decision does him honour. A person who is indifferent to religion may change his outward faith without much diminution of his honesty, but he who is thoroughly persuaded of the doctrines of his belief, ought not to renounce them for any worldly interest. Any sacrifice of State policy may be complied with out of respect to the opinions of others; but a change of profession on the most important of all subjects, cannot be made by a sincere believer in his faith, without a conscious postponement of his eternal welfare to his temporal advantage. And mankind will naturally argue, that he who would sell his soul for a great interest, will forfeit his word and honour for a small one."†

† See a letter from the Prince, Macpherson, Vol. ii. p. 525.

twelve. Dundas of Arniston, to whom the task of conveying the vote was intrusted, thanked her grace for having presented the Faculty with a medal of their sovereign, and stated a hope that she would very soon be enabled to present them with a second medal struck upon the restoration of the king and royal family, and the finishing of usurpation, rebellion, and whiggery. This proceeding created an extraordinary sensation, and Sir David Dalrymple, the lord advocate, was directed by the ministry to inquire into the matter. The Faculty grew alarmed, disclaimed the conduct of Dundas and of Horne, another member with whom they alleged the transaction originated, and by a solemn resolution declared their attachment to the queen and the protestant succession. To satisfy, in some measure, the court of Hanover, the resident of which at the British court had presented a memorial to the queen desiring that Dundas and his party might be prosecuted, the lord advocate was dismissed from office, because he had been remiss in bringing the delinquents to justice; but no instructions were given to his successor to prosecute them.

The remaining years of Queen Anne's reign were chiefly occupied with party struggles which embittered her existence and impaired her constitution. The Tories disunited among themselves, split latterly into two factions, which were respectively headed by Harley, earl of Oxford, and Henry St John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke. The Whigs, on the other hand, united, active and vigorous, pressed hard upon them, and employed every art to inflame the people against the authors of their disgrace. Popery and the Pretender were the never-ceasing topics with which they endeavoured to enlist the feelings of the nation in their favour, and the duke of Argyle, in a warm debate which took place in the house of peers on a question proposed by the earl of Wharton, "Whether the protestant succession was in danger under the present administration?" offered to prove that the lord-treasurer had remitted a sum of money annually to the Highland Jacobite chiefs. Oxford did not deny the charge, but defended himself by saying, that he had only adopted the policy of King William, who had granted yearly pensions to the heads of the clans, the better to secure their obedience to the government. The fate of the Tory ministry was at length sealed by the removal of Oxford and the death of the queen, who survived that event only a few days. Fatigued by a long attendance at a cabinet council held immediately after the dismissal of the lord-treasurer, she was thrown into a lethargic disorder, which terminated her existence on the morning of the first of August, seventeen hundred and fourteen, in the fiftieth year of her age, and in the thirteenth of her reign. With the exception of her dereliction of duty towards her father, which, from the circumstances in which she was placed, may admit of some slight palliation, she left behind her an un-

blemished reputation, and though not possessed of much genius or vigour of mind, she wielded the sceptre with greater skill than is usually to be found in sovereigns, who, like her, have allowed themselves to be controlled by favourites.

CHAPTER XII.

Proceedings of the Whig ministry—Declaration of the Chevalier de St George—Meeting of the Parliament—Arrival of George I. in England—Conduct of the earl of Mar—New Parliament assembled—Intrigues of the Jacobites—Character of the earl of Mar—Departs from England to erect the standard of revolt in Scotland—Summons a meeting of the Jacobites under the pretence of a hunting-match—Addresses the meeting, and informs them of his designs—Principal Jacobite chiefs summoned to appear at Edinburgh—The Chevalier de St George proclaimed by Mar, who raises the standard of revolt in Braemar—Sends a circular letter to the gentlemen of Perthshire—Issues a declaration—Letter by Mar to the bailie of Kildrummy—Death of Louis XIV.—Manifesto of the Jacobite chiefs.

The dismissal of the earl of Oxford, from the office of lord-high-treasurer, was gratifying to the Jacobites, whose expectations he had disappointed, and they naturally waited with anxiety for the appointment of his successor, whom they confidently imagined would be Bolingbroke, his rival, who was supposed, on juster grounds, to favour their views, and to whom they had transferred their confidence. But all their hopes were disappointed by the promotion of the duke of Shrewsbury to the treasury, a nobleman distinguished for modesty and disinterestedness, and a devoted attachment to his country. This appointment was owing to the determined conduct of the dukes of Somerset and Argyle, who, on hearing of the dangerous state of the queen, and that the committee of the council were assembled at Kensington on the thirtieth of July, had repaired to the palace and entered the council chamber without being summoned. Their unexpected presence excited some surprise, particularly in Bolingbroke; but on the invitation of the duke of Shrewsbury, who thanked them for their attendance at such a critical juncture, they took their places at the council board. The meeting, thereupon, unanimously agreed to recommend Shrewsbury to the queen as the fittest person to fill the office of lord-treasurer, and she accordingly presented him with the white staff and requested him, at same time, to retain the staff of lord-chamberlain, which he offered to return.

To counteract still farther the schemes of Bolingbroke, all the privy counsellors in London, or the neighbourhood, had been invited, on the proposal of Somerset and Argyle, to attend the council without distinction of party, in consequence of which, Lord Somers, and many other Whig noblemen, repaired to Kensington. The presence of such a number of

the Whigs completely overawed the Tories, who, confused, distracted, and disunited, were either unable or afraid to oppose the measures proposed by the former for effectually securing the protestant succession, and gave a tacit acquiescence to them. Every precaution, in short, had been taken to prevent any movement of the Jacobite party in favour of the Chevalier, and an express was sent to the elector of Hanover, informing him that the physicians despaired of the queen's life, and desiring him to repair to England, with all convenient speed.

As soon as the death of the queen was announced, the lords of the privy council met, and drew up and issued a proclamation the same day, declaring that by the death of Queen Anne, the imperial crowns of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, had "solely and rightfully come to the High and Mighty Prince George, Elector of Brunswick, Lunenburg," in consequence of which, the prince was immediately proclaimed in London, by the heralds at arms, with the usual solemnities, and on Thursday the fifth of August, the same ceremony was repeated at the market cross of Edinburgh, by the deputy-lord-lyon, king at arms, in presence of the magistrates and town council of the city, the judges of the supreme courts, a considerable number of the nobility, and a large assemblage of the inhabitants. The Jacobites preserved a prudent silence on this occasion, but the supporters of the government at Edinburgh, took care, notwithstanding, to provide against any contigency. They, accordingly, cut off a part of the wooden bridge before the castle gate, and drew up the remaining part to cover the gate itself. They also threw up an intrenchment between the gate and the castle wall, on which they posted a party of armed soldiers. In addition to these precautions, Major-general Wightman, the commander of the forces, ordered the different detachments quartered at Dundee, and other places, to join his camp in the vicinity of Edinburgh, with which order they immediately complied.*

Pursuant to an act of the late reign, the parliament met on the day the queen died. The first four days were occupied in swearing in the members, and on the fifth of August, the parliament was opened by the lord chancellor, in name of the lords justices, on whom the interim administration of the government had devolved by an act of the fourth and fifth of Queen Anne. Both houses thereafter voted loyal addresses to his majesty, in which, after congratulating him upon his accession to the throne, they expressed their anxiety for his safe and speedy arrival in Great Britain. To these addresses, his majesty returned most gracious answers, which were reported to both houses on the twenty-fifth of August, on which day the parliament was prorogued till the twenty-third day of September.

When the Chevalier de St George heard of the death of his sister, Queen Anne, he set off from his residence in Lorraine, to Paris, to,

* Rae's History of the late Rebellion, Dumfries, 1718. p. 63.

crave the aid of the king of France, in vindication of his hereditary rights; but Louis declined to interfere, on the ground that he had, by the treaty of Utrecht, acknowledged the protestant succession. Disappointed in his application, he retired first to Luneville, and afterwards to Plombieres, whence on the twenty-ninth of August, he issued a declaration as King James the Third, asserting his indefeasible right to the crowns of Great Britain and Ireland, and solemnly protesting against every act that had been already done, or that should thereafter be done to the prejudice of his hereditary rights. In this declaration, he refers to a previous one which he issued on the eighth of October, seventeen hundred and four, after the death of King William, and to a protest dated from St Germains, on the twenty-fifth of April, seventeen hundred and twelve, when he found that a treaty of peace was about being concluded without any regard to him, in which protest he also maintained his right to the said crowns, and protested against whatever might be stipulated in the proposed treaty to his prejudice. He says, that although he had been obliged by the treaty to remove from France, that he had still continued to have his kingdoms and his people in view, and that he had never ceased to hope, that God would in time open his people's eyes, and convince them not only of the notorious injustice done to the crown and him, but of the dangerous consequences thereof for themselves; and that as he could not see, without grief and sorrow, their blood and treasure lavished in the late war, in opposition to his rights, so he could not now with less sorrow, see them exposed to be subjected to an arbitrary power, and become a prey to foreigners—that the settlement of the succession upon one who was so far removed from the regular line, was opposed to the maxims of the English constitution—that the elector of Brunswick was, besides, a foreigner, a powerful prince, and absolute in his own country—that he was ignorant of the laws, manners, customs, and language, and supported by a good many of his own people—that there had been many thousands of aliens domiciled in England, for the last thirty years, who would be ready to stand by him upon all occasions—that the subversion of such a sacred and fundamental principle as hereditary right, would lead to endless wars and divisions, and that as there were many other princes, who had better pretensions to the crown than the elector of Brunswick, the nation could never enjoy any lasting peace or happiness, till the succession was again settled "in the rightful line."*

Meanwhile, certain movements in Scotland, among the friends of the Chevalier, indicated to the government that an insurrection was intended. Bodies of armed men were seen marching towards the Highlands, and a party of Highlanders appeared in arms near Inverlochy, which was, however, soon dispersed by a detachment from the garrison. In this situation of matters, the lords justices sent down to Scotland a

* Culloden Papers, pp. 30, 31.

considerable number of half pay officers, chiefly of the Scots regiments, to officer the militia of the country, under the direction of Major-general Whitham, then commander-in-chief in Scotland. These prompt measures taken by the government, alarmed the Jacobites, who, after several consultations, retired to their homes. The duke of Gordon was, by order of the justices, confined in the city of Edinburgh, and the marquis of Huntly, and Lord Drummond, in their respective residences of Brahen, and castle Drummond. The last, on hearing that an order for his seizure had arrived, fled to the Highlands, but offered bail for his good behaviour. At the same time, Captain Campbell of Glendarnel, who had obtained a commission from the late Tory administration, to raise an independent company in the Highlands, was apprehended at Inverlochy, and carried prisoner to the capital, and Sir Donald M'Donald of Slait, was also seized and committed to the castle of Edinburgh.* As the lords justices had received information that the Chevalier intended to land in the kingdom, they, on the fifteenth of September, issued a proclamation, in terms of an act passed in the last session of parliament, offering a reward of one hundred thousand pounds sterling for his apprehension, should he land or attempt to land in Great Britain.†

King George, after vesting the government of his German dominions in a council, embarked at Orange Polder for England on the sixteenth day of September, and landed at Greenwich on the eighteenth, where he was received by the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guards, and by the lords justices, and a large number of the nobility and other persons of distinction. Among those who presented themselves on this occasion was the earl of Mar, one of the secretaries of state, but the king had been so prepossessed against this nobleman, and indeed against all the heads of the Tory party, that he did not vouchsafe even to notice him. The earl suspecting that means had been used to prejudice his majesty against him, had, in order to take off any unfavourable impression which these might have produced upon the king's mind, written a letter to George when in Holland on his way to England, congratulating him upon his accession to the throne, stating the services which he had rendered to the government, and assuring his majesty that he should find him as faithful and dutiful a subject and servant as ever any of his family, which had been always loyal, had been to the crown, or as he had been to his late mistress, the queen.‡ With the same view, it is supposed, or to throw the go-

* Rae, p. 77. † Gazette, 25th September, 1714.

‡ The following is a copy of the original letter as published by Sir Richard Steele:—

"Sir,

"Having the happiness to be your majesty's subject, and also the honour of being one of your servants, as one of your secretaries of state, I beg leave to kiss your majesty's hand, and congratulate your happy accession to the throne, which I would done myself the honour of doing sooner, had I not hoped to have had the honour of doing it personally ere now.

vernment off its guard, Mar caused a letter to be addressed to him by some of the heads and branches of the Jacobite clans expressive of their loyalty to King George, and declaring, that as they had been always ready to follow his lordship's directions in serving Queen Anne, they were equally ready to concur with him in faithfully serving his majesty.* But the prejudices of the king against Mar were too deeply rooted to be overcome, and within eight days after the king's arrival in

I am afraid I may have had the misfortune of being misrepresented to your majesty, and my reason for thinking so is, because I was, I believe, the only one of the late queen's servants whom your ministers here did not visit, which I mentioned to Mr Harley and the earl of Clarendon, when they went from hence to wait on your majesty; and your ministers carrying so to me, was the occasion of my receiving such orders as deprived me of the honour and satisfaction of waiting on them and being known to them.

I suppose I had been misrepresented to them by some here upon account of party, or to ingratiate themselves by aspersing others, as our parties here too often occasion; but I hope your majesty will be so just as not to give credit to such misrepresentations.

The part I acted in the bringing about and making of the Union, when the succession to the crown was settled for Scotland on your majesty's family, when I had the honour to serve as secretary of state for that kingdom, doth, I hope, put my sincerity and faithfulness to your majesty out of dispute.

My family have had the honour, for a great tract of years, to be faithful servants to the crown, and have had the care of the king's children, (when kings of Scotland) intrusted to them. A predecessor of mine was honoured with the care of your majesty's grandmother when young, and she was pleased afterwards to express some concern for our family in letters, which I still have under her own hand.

I had the honour to serve her late majesty in one capacity or other ever since her accession to the crown. I was happy in a good mistress, and she was pleased to have some confidence in me, and regard for my services; and since your majesty's happy accession to the crown, I hope you will find that I have not been wanting in my duty in being instrumental in keeping things quiet and peaceable in the country to which I belong and have some interest in.

Your majesty shall ever find me as faithful and dutiful a subject and servant as ever any of my family have been to the crown, or as I have been to my late mistress, the queen. And I beg your majesty may be so good not to believe any misrepresentations of me, which nothing but party-hatred, and my zeal for the interest of the crown, doth occasion; and I hope I may presume to lay claim to your royal favour and protection.

As your accession to the crown hath been quiet and peaceable, may your majesty's reign be long and prosperous; and that your people may soon have the happiness and satisfaction of your presence among them, is the earnest and fervent wishes of him who is, with the humblest duty and respect,

Sir,
Your majesty's most faithful, most dutiful, and most obedient subject and servant,

MAR."

Whitehall, Aug. 30, *O. S.* 1714."

* This document, which was signed by the chief of Maclean, Macdonell of Glengarry, Cameron of Lochiel, Macdonell of Keppoch, Sir Donald Macdonald, Mackintosh of Mackintosh, Mackenzie of Fraserdale, M'Leod of Contulick, Grant of Glenmoriston, Chisholm of Comer, and M'Pherson of Cluny, is as follows:—

" My Lord,

" So soon as we heard of the afflicting news of the death of her late majesty, Queen Anne, it did exceedingly comfort us, that, after so good and great a queen, who had the hearts and consulted the true happiness of all her people, we were to be governed by his sacred majesty, King George, a prince so brightly adorned with all royal virtues, that Britain, under his royal administration, shall still be flourishing at

England, Mar was dismissed from office, and the duke of Montrose appointed in his stead. It was very natural for the king to prefer the Whig party, by whose influence he had been raised to the throne; but unfortunately for the nation, he carried this predilection too far. A wise and prudent prince would have endeavoured to conciliate the adverse faction by acts of kindness, but George turned his back upon the entire body of the Tories, and threw himself completely into the arms of the Whigs, who alone shared in the royal favour, and who used every art to confirm their own interest, and extend their connexions. The consequence was, that a spirit of the most violent discontent was excited throughout the whole kingdom, and the populace, led on by the Tories or Jacobites, raised tumults in different parts of the kingdom. The Chevalier de St George availing himself of this excitement, transmitted by the French mail copies of the manifesto, or declaration, which he had issued from Plombieres to the chief nobility, particularly the dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and Argyle, who delivered them to the secretaries of state. The king, imagining that the duke of Lorraine was privy to the preparation and transmission of the manifesto, refused an audience to the Marquis de Lamberti, minister from the duke; but although the duke, on being informed by his minister of the circumstance, denied most pointedly that he was accessory to the affair, and declared that the Chevalier took up his residence in Lorraine by the directions of the king of France; the king persisted in refusing an audience to De Lamberti till his master should remove the Chevalier from his dominions.

home, and able to hold the balance in the affairs of Europe.* Allow us, my Lord, to please ourselves with this agreeable persuasion, that his majesty's royal and kindly influence shall reach to us, who are the most remote, as well as to others of his subjects in this island. We are not ignorant that there are some people forward to misrepresent us, from particular private views of their own, and who, to reach their own ends against us, on all occasions, endeavour to make us, in the Highlands of Scotland, pass for disaffected persons.

Your lordship has an estate and interest in the Highlands, and is so well known to bear good will to your neighbours, that in order to prevent any ill impressions which malicious and ill-designing people may at this juncture labour to give of us, we must beg leave to address your lordship, and entreat you to assure the government, in our names, and in that of the rest of the clans, who, by distance of place, could not be present at the signing of this letter, of our loyalty to his sacred majesty, King George. And we do hereby declare to your lordship, that as we were always ready to follow your directions in serving Queen Anne, so we will now be equally forward to concur with your lordship in faithfully serving King George. And we entreat your lordship would advise us how we may best offer our duty to his majesty upon his coming over to Britain; and on all occasions we will beg to receive your counsel and direction how we may be most useful to his royal government.

We are, with all truth and respect," &c.

* There is little difficulty in perceiving, by comparing this letter with that written by Mar to the king, that it is the production of Mar himself, though said to be drawn up by his brother, Lord Grange. "The balance in the affairs of Europe," an expression since changed into that of the "balance of power," is a phrase which could have occurred only to a secretary of state. What calamities have been inflicted upon Europe since the sway of the *Grand Monarque* in attempts to adjust "this balance," and yet the scales vibrate as much as ever!

The parliament having been dissolved, the king, in the month of January, seventeen hundred and fifteen, issued an extraordinary proclamation, calling a new parliament in which proclamation he complained of the evil designs of the disaffected, and of the misrepresentation of his principles and conduct, which had been industriously circulated throughout the kingdom, and expressed his hopes that his loving subjects would send up to parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders, and to provide for the peace and happiness of the kingdoms, and ease of the people for the future, and therein would have a particular regard to such "as showed a firmness to the protestant succession when it was in danger." In order to secure the interest of those in civil and military employments in the elections, a proclamation was issued on the same day, continuing all persons who had been duly invested in their offices, civil or military, before the demise of the queen, and who had not been since removed therefrom, for the space of six months from the date of the proclamation, unless his majesty should see cause to remove them sooner. A warmly contested election followed in England, but although the Tories made every exertion, and set up the usual shout of the church in danger, a cry which was responded to by the populace in many places, a majority of Whigs was returned. The Whigs were still more successful in Scotland, where a majority of the sixteen peers, and forty out of forty-five members returned to the commons, were in the interest of the government. The principal struggle in Scotland was in Inverness-shire, between M'Kenzie of Preston-hall, who was supported by Glengarry and the other Jacobite chiefs, and Forbes of Culloden, brother of the celebrated President Forbes, who carried the election by the interest of Brigadier-General Grant, and the friends of Lord Lovat.

The new parliament assembled on the nineteenth day of March at Westminster, and was for some time chiefly occupied in investigating the conduct of the late ministers, against some of whom measures of extreme rigour were resolved upon ; but these proceedings were interrupted by the necessity of devising means for the suppression of a growing spirit of discontent and disaffection, which seemed to gain ground daily in England, of which an insurrection in Scotland, and an invasion from abroad, seemed about to ensue as inevitable results. To put an end to future rioting, a bill was passed, by which it was declared, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, riotously, tumultuously, and unlawfully assembled, should continue together for an hour after having been required to disperse by a justice of peace or other officer, by proclamation being publicly read,—and of which a form was given in the act, they should be guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy. When the king attended in the house of lords on the thirteenth of July, to give his assent to this and other bills, he informed both houses, that a rebellion had actually begun at home, and that an invasion was threatened from abroad, and he, therefore, solicited the commons to enable him to

provide for the defence of the kingdom. The preparations of the Chevalier de St George for a descent upon Great Britain, were indeed already far advanced. Elated by the intelligence which had been sent him from England by the Tories, of the disaffection of the people to the government, and by the promises of support which he had received from them, should he land in Great Britain, the prince had applied a second time to Louis for succour, who, notwithstanding the treaty of Utrecht, supplied him privately with money, and allowed a ship to be fitted out for him, at his own expense, in the port of Havre.* The cause of the Chevalier had now been openly espoused by the duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke, both of whom having retired to France, had been attainted by the British parliament without a hearing, and were busily employed corresponding with the Tories of England. These intrigues and preparations were early discovered by the earl of Stair, the British ambassador at Paris, and communicated by him to the ministry. Proceeding upon this information, the parliament suspended the Habeas Corpus act, and offered a reward of one hundred thousand pounds to any person or persons who should seize the Pretender, dead or alive. Great naval and military preparations were made, and the trained bands were kept in readiness to suppress tumults.

As early as May, a report was current among the Jacobites of Scotland of the Chevalier's design to make a descent, in consequence of which they began to bestir themselves, by providing arms, horses, &c. Lockhart of Carnwath, a very warm partizan of the Chevalier, went to Edinburgh in August, where he met Mr Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, who informed him that he had been sent to Edinburgh by some of the Chevalier's friends in Stirlingshire and other places, to obtain and bring them intelligence of the state of affairs, and what was intended to be done, that they might concert measures accordingly. Lockhart also learnt that a gentleman of the name of Paterson had just arrived from London, with an express from the earl of Mar to Captain Straton, who had been sent over to France by the Jacobites in seventeen hundred and five. Walkinshaw and Lockhart repeatedly applied to Straton for an interview, but he declined to see them; but having met with Mr Hall, a Catholic priest, who showed them a letter he had received the same day by post from Father Innes at Paris, which threw no light on the Chevalier's motions, they separated, and Lockhart returned home to Dryden house, in the county of Edinburgh. While "solacing" himself, as he says, with the expectation of hearing "great and good news," his house was surrounded about four days thereafter, at three o'clock in the morning, by a strong detachment of Lord Shannon's regiment of foot, which carried him prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, by virtue of a warrant "under the Elector of Hanover's own hand." The appre-

* Bolingbroke's Letter to Sir Wm. Wyndham, deservedly mentioned as "one of the best written works in the English language."

hension of Lockhart served as a signal to the other Jacobites in Scotland, against whom warrants were issued, all of whom escaped, with the exception of the earls of Hume and Wigton, who were taken up, and also committed prisoners to the castle.*

Of John Erskine, the eleventh earl of Mar, the chief leader in the ensuing insurrection, it may now be proper to say a few words. Following the footsteps of his father, who joined the revolution party, merely because he considered it his interest so to do; the young earl, on entering into public life, attached himself to the party then in power, at the head of which was the duke of Queensberry, the leader of the Scottish Whigs. He took the oaths and his seat in Parliament in September, sixteen hundred and ninety-six, sworn in a privy councillor the following year, and was afterwards appointed to the command of a regiment of foot, and invested with the order of the Thistle. In seventeen hundred and four, when the Whigs were superseded by the country party, the earl, pursuant to the line of conduct he intended to follow, of making his politics subservient to his interest, immediately paid court to the new administration, by placing himself at the head of such of the duke of Queensberry's friends as opposed the marquis of Tweeddale and his party. In this situation he showed so much dexterity, and managed his opposition with so much art and address, that he was considered by the Tories as a man of probity, and well inclined to the exiled family. Afterwards, when the Whig party came again into power, he gave them his support, and became very zealous in promoting all the measures of the court, particularly the treaty of union, for which he presented the draught of an act in parliament, in seventeen hundred and five. To reward his exertions, he was, after the prorogation of the parliament, appointed secretary of state for Scotland, instead of the marquis of Annandale, who was displaced, because he was suspected of holding a correspondence with the *Squadron*, who were inclined to support the succession to the crown without, rather than with the proposed union. His lordship was chosen one of the sixteen representative peers in seventeen hundred and seven, and re-elected at the general election the following year, and in seventeen hundred and ten, and thirteen. By the share he had taken in bringing about the union, Mar had rendered himself very unpopular in Scotland; but he endeavoured to regain the favour of his countrymen, by attending a deputation of Scottish members, consisting of the duke of Argyle, himself, Cockburn, younger of Ormiston, and Lockhart of Carnwath, which waited on queen Anne in seventeen hundred and twelve, to inform her of their resolution to move for a repeal of the union with England. When the earl of Findlater brought forward a motion for repeal in the house of lords, Mar spoke strongly in favour of it, and pressed the dissolution of the union as the only means to preserve the

* Lockhart Papers, Vol. I. p. 483—4.

peace of the island.* He was made a privy-councillor in seventeen hundred and eight, and on the death of the duke of Queensberry in seventeen hundred and thirteen, the earl was again appointed secretary of state for Scotland, and thus, for the second time, enlisted himself under the banners of Toryism, but an end was put to his political tergiversation by his abrupt and unceremonious dismissal from office by George I., and he vowed revenge.

Though not possessed of shining talents, he made ample amends for their deficiencies by artifice and an insinuating and courteous deportment, and managed his designs with such prudence and circumspection as to render it extremely difficult to ascertain his object when he desired concealment; by which conduct "he showed himself," in the opinion of a contemporary, "to be a man of good sense, but bad morals."† The versatility of his politics was perhaps owing rather to the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed than to any innate viciousness of disposition. He was a Jacobite from principle, but as the fortunes of his house had been greatly impaired in the civil war by its attachment to the Stuarts, and, as upon his entrance into public life, he found the cause of the exiled family at a low ebb, he sought to retrieve the losses which his ancestors had sustained; while, at the same time, he gratified his ambition, by aspiring to power, which he could only hope to acquire by attaching himself to the existing government. The loss of a place of five thousand pounds a-year, without any chance of ever again enjoying the sweets of office, was gall and wormwood to such a man. This disappointment, and the studied insult he had received from the king, operating upon a selfish and ambitious spirit, drove him into open rebellion, with no other view than the gratification of his revenge. But whatever were his qualifications in the cabinet, he was without military experience, and consequently unfit to command an army, as the result has shown.

On the eve of Mar's departure from England to place himself at the head of the intended insurrection in Scotland, he resolved to show himself at court; and, accordingly, he appeared in the presence of King George on the first of August, with all the complaisance of a courtier, and with that affability of demeanour for which he was so distinguished. What his motives were for thus needlessly laying himself open to the charge of studied duplicity by confronting a sovereign whose throne he was about to attempt to overturn, it is difficult to conjecture. Was it to solace his offended pride, or to show the world the hardihood of his determination to unfurl the standard of revolt, that he had the cool daring in presence of the nobles of the land, to look in the face the man against whom he had inwardly vowed to wage war? Or was his object, in thus appearing as if no treasonable

* Lockhart, Vol. I. p. 436. † Ibid.

design could be in his contemplation, intended as a feint to deceive the court and lull suspicion, so as to enable him the more effectually to conceal the preparations he had made for his intended departure? These are questions of which, in the absence of all evidence, no solution can be attempted; but all, or each of them, may be fairly answered in the affirmative, as being in perfect conformity with the earl's character.

Having disguised himself by changing his usual dress, he embarked at Gravesend on the second day of August, seventeen hundred and fifteen, on board a vessel bound for Newcastle, accompanied by Major-General Hamilton and Colonel Hay, and attended by two servants. On arriving at Newcastle he and his party went on board another vessel bound for the Frith of Forth, the property of one Spence, and were landed at Ely, a small port on the Fife coast, near the mouth of the Frith. During the great civil war, and for many years thereafter, a landing in Fife in support of the Stuarts would have been a dangerous attempt, but the opinions of many of the Fife people had, of late, undergone a complete revolution; and, at the time in question, Fife had, as the Jacobites would have said, many "honest" men, or, in other words, persons who were warmly attached to the interests of the exiled family. From Ely, Mar proceeded to Crail, where he was met by Sir Alexander Erskine, the Lord Lyon, and other friends of the Jacobite interest, who accompanied him to the house of "the Honest Laird," a name by which John Bethune of Balfour, a staunch Jacobite, was commonly known. After remaining a few days in Fife, Mar paid a visit to his brother-in-law, the earl of Kinnoull, at his seat of Dupplin in the county of Perth, whence he departed on Thursday the eighteenth of August, and crossed the Tay about two miles below Perth, with forty horse, on his way to his seat of Kildrummy, in the Braes of Mar. On the following day he despatched letters to the principal Jacobites, inviting them to attend a grand hunting-match at Braemar, on the twenty-seventh of August. As the government was on the alert, and watched very narrowly any unusual assemblages, the Jacobites had frequently before had recourse to this and similar expedients to enable them to concert their measures without exciting the suspicion of the government.*

That the earl had matured his plans before coming to Scotland, and that the Jacobites were let into the secret of his designs, is evident from the fact that, as early as the sixth of August, those in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood were aware of his intention to come down to Scotland. On the following morning the Honourable John Dalzel, a captain on half pay, sent in a resignation of his commission to the earl of Orkney, that he might join with greater freedom the standard of the earl, and set off immediately to Elliock, the residence of his

* Rae, 188. Annals of King George, year the second. London. 1717. p. 25.

brother, the earl of Carnwath, to apprize him of Mar's expected arrival. Dalzel reached Elliock at night, and next morning expresses were sent by the earl to the earl of Nithsdale, the Viscount Kenmure, and the other Jacobite chiefs in the southern and western parts of Scotland, communicating the same information. The earl of Carnwath went from Elliock the same day to meet his friends, and, after spending some time together, concerting measures and sounding the inclinations of the people, they repaired to Lothian, giving out as they went along, that they were going to attend a hunt in the north.*

Under pretence of attending a hunting-match, a considerable number of noblemen and gentlemen arrived at Aboyne, in Aberdeenshire, about the time appointed. Among these were the marquis of Huntly, eldest son of the duke of Gordon; the marquis of Tullibardine, eldest son of the duke of Athole; the earls of Nithsdale, Marischal, Traquair, Errol, Southesk, Carnwath, Seaforth, Linlithgow, and others; the viscounts Kilsyth, Kenmure, Kingston, and Stormont; the Lords Rollo, Duffus, Drummond, Strathallan, Ogilvie, and Nairne; and about twenty-six gentlemen of influence in the Highlands, among whom were Generals Hamilton and Gordon, Glengary, Campbell of Glendarnel, and the lairds of Auchterhouse and Auldbar.†

After the meeting had assembled, the earl proceeded to address his friends in a regular and well ordered speech. He began by expressing his sorrow for having been instrumental in forwarding the union of the two kingdoms. He informed them that his eyes were now opened, and that he clearly perceived the error he had committed: that he would therefore do every thing in his power to make his countrymen again a free people, and restore to them their ancient liberties which had been surrendered into the hands of the English by the accursed treaty of union. That this treaty, which had already done so much injury to Scotland, was calculated to inflict additional grievances upon it, and that such were the designs of the English appeared evident by the measures which had been daily pursued ever since the Elector of Hanover had ascended the throne. That this Prince regarded neither the welfare of his people, nor their religion; but had committed the charge of both entirely to a set of men who, while they stuck to the protestant succession, made such alterations in church and state as they thought fit. That they had already begun to encroach upon the liberties of both, on which account he had resolved to vindicate their rights by placing the lawful sovereign, James VIII., who had promised to hear their grievances and redress their wrongs, upon the throne of his ancestors. He then informed them of his determination to take up arms in behalf of his lawful king: that he would summon all the fencible men among his own tenantry, and with them hazard his life in the cause; and he exhorted all those assembled to follow his example. To encourage them

* Rae, p. 188. † Ibid. p. 189. Annals of King George, p. 15, 16.

to do so, he assured them that there would be a general rising in England in support of the cause; that they would receive powerful assistance from France, whither the duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke had gone to induce Louis XIV. to aid and assist them with men and money; and that the duke of Berwick would certainly land in the West of England with a large force. That there were thousands of persons throughout the kingdom, who had solemnly pledged themselves to him, and to one another, to join him in deposing King George, and establishing James VIII. on the throne. He then informed them that he had received letters (which he exhibited) under the hand of James himself, from Lorraine, promising to come over to Scotland and place his person under the protection of the valour and fidelity of his Scottish subjects; and that, in the meantime, ships, provided with arms, ammunition, and other military stores, would be sent over from France as soon as a landing port should be fixed upon. He thereupon produced, or stated that he had in his possession, a commission from James, appointing him his Lieutenant-general, and commander of all the Jacobite forces in Scotland, * and informed the meeting that he was furnished with money, and that an arrangement had been made by which he would be enabled to pay regularly the troops that should be raised, so that no gentleman who might join his standard, with his followers, would be put to any expense, and the country would be quite relieved from the burden of supporting the war. After the earl had finished his harangue, the meeting unanimously resolved to take up arms in support of the Chevalier; and after taking an oath of fidelity to the earl as the representative of James VIII. and to each other; the persons present took leave of him, and promised to return immediately to their estates and raise their men, and to hold themselves in readiness to join the earl on the first summons. To enlist the feelings of the people in favour of the prince, copies of his manifesto, of which each individual who attended the meeting obtained a supply from the earl, were industriously circulated throughout the country, and dropt in the streets of the different towns in Scotland during night.

The government was not inattentive to the proceedings of the Jacobites, and measures were adopted immediately by the Lord Advocate for securing the chiefs. Under the authority of an act passed on the thirtieth of August, the following persons were summoned by him to appear at Edinburgh within certain specified periods, under the pain of a year's imprisonment and other penalties, to give bail for their allegiance to the government; namely, the marquis of Huntly, the earls of Seaforth,

* There appears to be a discrepancy in the accounts as to this matter. The Master of Sinclair says, (MS. in the possession of the earl of Rosslyn) that Mar produced a forged commission, but it would appear from the Journal printed at Paris, (Appendix to Paton's History, p. 241.) with his own approbation, that the meeting was aware that he had no commission, and the writer of the Journal mentions as "no small proof of the people's zeal for their country, that so great a number followed his advice, and obeyed his orders before he could produce one."

Winton, Carnwath, Southesk, Nithsdale, Linlithgow, Mar, Hume, Wigton, Kinnoul, Panmure, Marischal, and Breadalbane; the viscounts Kenmure, Stormont, Kilsyth, Kingston, and Strathallan; the lords Nairn, Rollo, Glenorchy, Drummond, and Ogilvie; Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, Sir Donald Macdonald, Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre, Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, Sir Alexander Erskine, Lord Lyon, Sir John Maclean, Lieutenant-general George Hamilton, the masters of Stormont and Nairn; Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale, James Stirling of Keir, Robert Stewart of Appin, John Campbell of Auchalader, William Murray, younger of Auchtertyre, Alexander Robertson of Struan, the chief of Mackinnon, Seton of Touch, Lieutenant Allan Cameron of Lochiel, Robert Roy, alias Macgregor, Stewart of Ardshiel, Francis Stewart, brother to the earl of Moray, John Cameron younger of Lochiel, the lairds of Clanranald, Glengary, and Keppoch; John Fullarton of Greenhall, Mackintosh younger of Borlum, James Malcolm of Grange, Henry Maule, brother to the earl of Panmure, Walkinshaw of Barrafield, Colin Campbell of Glendarnel, Graham of Bucklyvie, George Home of Whitfield, John Drummond brother to Lord Drummond, Lyon of Auchterhouse, Colonel Balfour, Bethune of Balfour, and William Drummond, servant to Lord Drummond. The time allowed for the appearance of such of the before-mentioned persons as resided to the south of the river Tay, was seven days, to those on the north, fifteen, and to such as might be out of Scotland, sixty days after the day of citation. Very few of them however appeared, and the remainder, almost without exception, rushed at once into the insurrection.

The confederated chiefs had scarcely all of them reached their respective homes, when they were again summoned by Mar to meet him at Aboyne, on the third of September, to concert measures for appearing immediately in arms. Some of those who resided only a short distance from the appointed rendezvous, attended, and having received instructions to assemble their men, and to join him without delay, at Kirkmichael, a village in Braemar, they returned to their estates, and despatched the fiery cross to summon their followers to the field. With sixty followers only, Mar proclaimed the Chevalier at Castletown in Braemar, after which he proceeded to Kirkmichael, where on the sixth of September he raised his standard, which was consecrated by prayer, in presence, according to some accounts, of a force of two thousand men, most of whom were horse. * When the standard was in the course of being erected, the ball on the top of the pole fell off, an incident which was regarded by the superstitious highlanders as a bad omen, and which threw a damp over the proceedings of the day.

On the following day, Mar intimated by a circular letter to the gentlemen of Perthshire, his appointment to the chief command of all

* [illegible]

King James's forces in Scotland, and he required them to hold themselves in readiness, to join him with their vassals when called upon. He also directed them to secure the arms of such persons as were hostile to the cause of King James, and desired they would prevent their men from plundering, or living at free quarters, upon his Majesty's subjects. "The King," he observes, "makes no doubt of your zeal for his service, especially at this juncture when his cause is so deeply concerned, and the relieving of our native country from oppression and a foreign yoke, too heavy for us and our posterity to bear, and when now is the time to endeavour the restoring, not only our rightful and native king, but also our country to its ancient, free, and independent constitution under him, whose ancestors have reigned over us for so many generations."

Two days thercafter the earl published the following declaration. "Our rightful and natural king, James the eighth, by the grace of God, who is now coming to relieve us from our oppressions, having been pleased to intrust us with the direction of his affairs, and the command of his forces, in this, his ancient kingdom of Scotland: and some of his faithful subjects and servants met at Aboyne; namely, the Lord Huntly, the Lord Tullibardine, the Earl Marischal, the Earl Southesk, Glengary from the clans, Glenderule from the earl of Broadalbine, and gentlemen of Argyleshire, Mr Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse, the laird of Auldbair, Lieutenant-general George Hamilton, Major-general Gordon, and myself, having taken into consideration his Majesty's last and late orders to us, find that as this is now the time that he ordered us to appear openly in arms for him, so it seems to us absolutely necessary, for his Majesty's service, and the relieving of our native country from all its hardships, that all his faithful and loving subjects, and lovers of their country, should, with all possible speed, put themselves into arms. These are, therefore, in his Majesty's name and authority, and by virtue of the power aforesaid, and by the king's special order to me thereunto, to require and empower you furthwith, to raise your fencible men with their best arms; and you are immediately to march them to join me and some other of the king's forces, at the Invor of Mar, on Monday next, in order to proceed in our march to attend the king's standard with his other forces. The king intending that his forces shall be paid from the time of their first setting out, he expects, as he positively orders, that they behave themselves civilly, and commit no plundering or other disorders, upon the highest penalties, and his displeasure, which is expected you'l see observed.

"Now is the time for all good men to show their zeal for his majesty's service, whose cause is so deeply concerned, and the relief of our native country from oppression, and a foreign yoke too heavy for us and our posterity to bear; and to endeavour the restoring not only of our rightful and native king, but also our country to its ancient, free, and inde-

pendent constitution, under him whose ancestors have reigned over us for so many generations.

"In so honourable, good, and just a cause, we cannot doubt of the assistance, direction, and blessing of Almighty God, who has so often rescued the royal family of Stuart, and our country, from sinking under oppression.

"Your punctual observance of these orders is expected, for the doing of all which this shall be to you, and all you employ in the execution of them, a sufficient warrant. Given at Brae-Mar, the ninth of September, 1715. MAR."

As a contrast to this high-flown and liberty-sounding document, the following singular letter, written by the earl to his baillie in the lordship of Kildrummy, on the evening of the day on which the above declaration was issued, is curious. It exhibits, in a remarkable point of view, the despotic power which, even down to such a modern period, a feudal chief considered himself entitled to exercise with impunity over his vassals. Had such an order been issued by a baron, who had scarcely ever gone beyond the boundaries of his own demesnes, it might have been passed over without remark, as in perfect keeping with the ideas of a feudal despot; but to see the refined courtier threatening his own vassals and tenants with destruction, and even extermination, merely because they hesitated to take up arms in opposition to the government under which they lived, and under which the earl himself had served, is indeed very extraordinary. It is probable, however, that the earl intended this mandate as a mere *brutum fulmen*, as it is inconceivable that he could contemplate the execution of such a barbarous threat.

"*Invercauld, Sept.* 9, *at night*, 1715.

"Jocke,—Ye was in the right not to come with the hundred men ye sent up to-night, when I expected four times the number. It is a pretty thing, when all the Highlands of Scotland are now rising upon their king and country's account, as I have accounts from them since they were with me, and the gentlemen of our neighbouring lowlands expecting us down to join them, that my men should be only refractory. Is not this the thing we are now about, which they have been wishing these twenty-six years? And now, when it is come, and the king and country's cause is at stake, will they for ever sit still and see all perish? I have used gentle means too long, and so I shall be forced to put other orders I have in execution. I have sent you enclosed an order for the lordship of Kildrummy, which you are immediately to intimate to all my vassals: if they give ready obedience, it will make some amends, and if not ye may tell them from me, that it will not be in my power to save them (were I willing) from being treated as enemies, by those who are ready soon to join me; and they may depend on it, that I will be

the first to propose, and order their being so. Particularly, let my own tenants in Kildrummy know, that if they come not forth with their best arms, that I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them. And they may believe this not only a threat, but, by all that's sacred, I'll put it in execution, let my loss be what it will, that it may be an example to others. You are to tell the gentlemen that I'll expect them in their best accoutrements, on horseback, and no excuse to be accepted of. Go about this with all diligence, and come yourself and let me know your having done so. All this is not only as ye will be answerable to me, but to your king and country.

Your assured friend and servant,

MAR."

"*To John Forbes of Inverau, Bailie of Kildrummy.*"

While the Jacobite chiefs were collecting their forces, an event occurred which ought to have induced them to abandon, at least for a time, an enterprise signalized by such an untoward beginning. This was the death of Louis the Fourteenth, who expired on the first of September, after a short illness.* An occurrence more unfortunate to the cause of the Chevalier could scarcely have happened at such a conjuncture, as it tended to damp the spirits of his partizans, who looked upon Louis as the main prop of the cause. On receipt of this intelligence, the chiefs held a meeting to consult upon the course they ought to pursue under this new aspect of matters. Some of the more moderate were for returning home, and remaining quiet till the arrival of the Chevalier, should he receive any encouragement from the new government of France to proceed on his intended voyage; but the majority argued that they had already gone too far to recede with safety, and that as a general insurrection would take place in England in favour of the Chevalier, they should take the field forthwith. An immediate appeal to arms having been resolved upon, messengers were despatched to France to urge the Chevalier to hasten his departure, and the following notable manifesto, which had been privately printed at Edinburgh by Freebairn, one of the king's printers, was issued at the same time:—

* Of this extraordinary personage, whose character has been represented in various and contrary points of view, by a host of writers, the duke of Berwick, who knew him well, thus writes:—"No prince was ever so little known as this monarch. He has been represented as a man not only cruel and false, but difficult of access. I have frequently had the honour of audiences from him, and have been very familiarly admitted to his presence; and I can affirm that his *pride* was only in *appearance*. He was born with an *air of majesty* which struck every one so much that nobody could approach him without being seized with awe and respect; but, so soon as you spoke to him, he softened his countenance, and put you quite at ease. He was the most polite man in his kingdom, and his answers were accompanied with so many obliging expressions, that, if he granted your request, the obligation was doubled by the manner of conferring it; and, if he refused, you could not complain."—*Memoires vol. II.*

"Manifesto by the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, who dutifully appear at this time in asserting the undoubted rights of their lawful sovereign, James the Eighth, by the grace of God, king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.; and for relieving this, his ancient kingdom, from the oppressions and grievances it lies under.

"His majesty's right of blood to the crowns of these realms is undoubted, and has never been disputed or arraigned by the least circumstance or lawful authority. By the laws of God, by the ancient constitutions, and by the positive unrepealed laws of the land, we are bound to pay his majesty the duty of loyal subjects. Nothing can absolve us from this our duty of subjection and obedience. The laws of God require our allegiance to our rightful king—the laws of the land secure our religion and other interests; and his majesty giving up himself to the support of his protestant subjects, puts the means of securing to us our concerns, religious and civil, in our own hands. Our fundamental constitution has been entirely altered and sunk amidst the various shocks of unstable faction, while, in searching out new expedients pretended for our security, it has produced nothing but daily disappointments, and has brought us and our posterity under a precarious dependence upon foreign councils and interests, and the power of foreign troops. The late unhappy union which was brought about by the mistaken notions of some, and the ruinous and selfish designs of others, has proved so far from lessening and healing the differences betwixt his majesty's subjects of Scotland and England, that it has widened and increased them. And it appears by experience so inconsistent with the rights, privileges, and interests of us, and our good neighbours and fellow-subjects of England, that the continuance of it must inevitably ruin us, and hurt them; nor can any way be found out to relieve us, and restore our ancient and independent constitution, but by the restoring our rightful and natural king, who his the only undoubted right to reign over us. Neither can we hope that the party who chiefly contributed to bring us into bondage, will at any time endeavour to work our relief, since it is known how strenuously they opposed, in two late instances, the efforts that were made by all Scotsmen by themselves, and supported by the best and wisest of the English, towards so desirable an end, as they will not adventure openly to disown the dissolution of the union to be. Our substance has been wasted in the late ruinous wars, and we see an unavoidable prospect of having wars continued on us and our posterity so long as the possession of the crown is not in the right line. The hereditary rights of the subjects, though confirmed by conventions and parliaments, are now treated as of no value or force, and past services to the crown and royal family are now looked upon as grounds of suspicion. A packed up assembly, who call themselves a British parliament, have, so far as in them lies, inhumanely murdered their own

and our sovereign, by promising a good sum of money as the reward of so execrable a crime. They have proscribed, by unaccountable and groundless impeachments and attainders, the worthy patriots of England, for their honourable and successful endeavours to restore trade, plenty, and peace to these nations.

"They have broken in upon the sacred laws of both countries by which the liberty of our persons was secured, and they have empowered a foreign prince, (who, notwithstanding his expectations of the crown for fifteen years, is still unacquainted with our manners, customs, and language) to make an absolute conquest (if not timely prevented) of the three kingdoms, by investing himself with an unlimited power, not only of raising unnecessary forces at home, but also of calling in foreign troops, ready to promote his uncontrollable designs. Nor can we be ever hopeful of its being otherwise, in the way it is at present, for some generations to come. And the sad consequences of these unexampled proceedings have really been so fatal to great numbers of our kinsmen, friends and fellow subjects of both kingdoms, that they have been constrained to abandon their country, houses, wives and children, to give themselves up prisoners, and perhaps victims, to be sacrificed to the pleasure of foreigners, and a few hot-headed men of a restless faction, whom they employ. Our troops abroad, notwithstanding their long and remarkable good services, have been treated, since the peace, with neglect and contempt, and particularly in Holland; and it is not now the officers' long service, merit, and blood they have lost, but money and favour by which they can obtain justice in their preferments. So that it is evident the safety of his majesty's person, and independency of his kingdoms, call loudly for immediate relief and defence.

"The consideration of these unhappy circumstances, with the due regard we have to common justice, the peace and quiet of us and our posterity, and our duty to his majesty, and his commands, are the powerful motives which have engaged us in our present undertaking, which we are firmly and heartily resolved to push to the utmost, and stand by one another to the last extremity, as the only solid and effectual means for putting an end to so dreadful a prospect, as by our present situation we have before our eyes, and with faithful hearts true to our rightful king, our country and our neighbours, we earnestly beseech and expect, as his majesty commands, the assistance of all our true fellow subjects to second our attempt; declaring hereby our sincere intentions that we will promote and concur in all lawful means for settling a lasting peace to these lands, under the auspicious government of our native-born rightful sovereign, the direction of our own domestic councils, and the protection of our native forces and troops. That we will in the same manner concur and endeavour to have our laws, liberties, and properties, secured by the parliaments of both kingdoms; that by the wisdom of such parliaments we will endeavour to have

such laws enacted as shall give absolute security to us, and future ages, for the protestant religion, against all efforts of arbitrary power, popery, and all its other enemies.

"Nor have we any reason to be distrustful of the goodness of God, the truth and purity of our holy religion, or the known excellency of his majesty's judgment, as not to hope, that in due time, good examples and conversation with our learned divines, will remove those prejudices, which we know his education in a Popish country has not rivetted in his royal discerning mind; and we assure, as justice is a virtue in all religions and professions, so the doing of it to him will not lessen his good opinion of ours. That as the king is willing to give his royal indemnity for all that is past, so he will cheerfully concur in passing general acts of oblivion, that our fellow subjects, who have been misled, may have a fair opportunity of living with us in the same friendly manner that we design to live with them. That we will use our endeavours for redressing the bad usage of our troops abroad, and bringing the troops at home on the same footing and establishment of pay, as those of England. That we will sincerely and heartily go into such measures as shall maintain effectually, and establish, a right, firm, and lasting union betwixt his majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, and our good neighbours and fellow subjects of the kingdom of England.

"The peace of these nations being thus settled and we freed from foreign dangers, we will use our endeavours to have the army reduced to the usual number of guards and garrisons; and will concur in such laws and methods, as shall relieve us of the heavy taxes and debts now lying upon us, and at the same time, will support the public credit in all its parts. And we hereby faithfully promise and engage that every officer who joins with us in our king and country's cause shall not only enjoy the same post he now does, but shall be advanced and preferred according to his rank and station and the number of men he brings off with him to us. And each foot soldier so joining us shall have twenty shillings sterling, and each trooper or dragoon, who brings horse and accoutrements along with him, £12 sterling gratuity, besides their pay; and in general we shall concur with all our fellow subjects in such measures as shall make us flourish at home, and be formidable abroad, under our rightful sovereign, and the peaceable harmony of our ancient fundamental constitution, undisturbed by a pretender's interests and councils from abroad, or a restless faction at home. In so honourable, so good, and just a cause, we do not doubt of the assistance, direction, and blessing of Almighty God, who has so often succoured the royal family of Stuarts, and our country from sinking under oppression."

A document better calculated to arouse the national feeling could not have been penned. Every topic which could excite a spirit of disaffection against the government then existing is artfully introduced, and

enforced with an energy of diction and a strength of reasoning admirably fitted for exciting the spirit of a people living, as they imagined, in a state of national degradation. But this manifesto which, a few years before, would have set the whole of Scotland in a flame, produced little or no effect in those quarters where alone it was necessary to make such an appeal.

CHAPTER XIII.

Active measures of the government to suppress the insurrection—Ineffectual attempt to surprise the castle of Edinburgh—Duke of Argyle appointed to the command of the government forces—Expeditions of General Gordon and Campbell of Glenlyon into Argyle—Armistice between Glenlyon and the Campbells—Chevalier proclaimed at Moulinearn by Mar—Capture of Perth by the rebels—Seize a vessel with arms at Burntisland—Insurrection in Northumberland—Capture of Holy Island—Preparations for the defence of Newcastle—Affair at Keith—Insurrection in the south of Scotland under Viscount Kenmure—Expedition of Brigadier Mackintosh—Crosses the Frith of Forth—Lands at North Berwick and other places in the neighbourhood—March of Mackintosh towards Edinburgh—Enters Leith—March of the duke of Argyle to Leith—Retires—Retreat of Mackintosh—Reaches Kelso and joins the forces under Forster—Disputes among the Insurgents—Secession of five hundred Highlanders—March of the rebels through Cumberland and Westmoreland—Battle of Preston.

While the earl of Mar was thus busily engaged exciting a rebellion in the north, the government was no less active in making preparations to meet it. Apprehensive of a general rising in England, particularly in the west, where a spirit of disaffection had often displayed itself, and to which the insurrection in Scotland was, it was believed, intended as a diversion; the government, instead of despatching troops to Scotland, posted the whole disposable force in the disaffected districts, at convenient distances, by which disposition, considerable bodies could be assembled together to assist each other in case of need. The wisdom of this plan soon became apparent, as there can be no doubt, that had an army been sent into Scotland to suppress the rebellion in the north, an insurrection would have broken out in England, which might have been fatal to the government.*

To strengthen, however, the military force in Scotland, the regiments of Forfar, Orrery, and Hill, were recalled from Ireland. These arrived at Edinburgh about the twenty-fourth of August, and were soon thereafter despatched along with other troops to the west, under Major-General Wightman, for the purpose of securing the fords of the Forth, and the pass of Stirling. These troops being upon the reduced establishment, did not exceed sixteen hundred men in whole, a force totally inadequate for the protection of such an important post. Orders were, therefore, sent to the earl of Stair's regiment of dragoons and two foot regiments, which lay in the north of England, to march to the camp in the park of Stirling with all expedition, and at same time, Evans's regiment of

* Annals of 2d year of George I. p. 30.

dragoons, and Clyton's and Wightman's regiments of foot were recalled from Ireland.*

During the time the camp was forming at Stirling, the friends of the Chevalier at Edinburgh formed the daring project of seizing the castle of Edinburgh, the possession of which would have been of vast importance to the Jacobite cause. Lord Drummond, a Catholic, was at the head of this party, which consisted of about ninety gentlemen selected for the purpose, about one half of whom were Highlanders. In the event of success, each of the adventurers was to receive £100 Sterling and a commission in the army. To facilitate their design, they employed one Arthur, who had formerly been an ensign in the Scotch guards, to corrupt some of the soldiers in the garrison, and who by money and promises of preferment induced a sergeant, a corporal, and two sentinels to enter into the views of the conspirators. These engaged to attend at a certain place upon the wall, on the north, near the Sally-port, in order to assist the conspirators in their ascent. The latter had prepared a scaling ladder made of ropes, capable of holding several men abreast, and had so contrived it, that it could be drawn up through means of pulleys, by a small rope which the soldiers were to fasten behind the wall. Having completed their arrangements, they fixed on the ninth of September for the attempt, being the day after the last detachment of the government troops quartered in camp in St Anne's Yards, near Edinburgh, had set off for Stirling. But the projectors of this well concerted enterprise were doomed to lament its failure when almost on the eve of completion.

Arthur, the officer who had bribed the soldiers, having engaged his brother, a physician in Edinburgh, in the Jacobite interest, let him into the secret of the design upon the castle. Dr Arthur, who appears to have been a man of a timorous disposition, grew alarmed at this intelligence, and so deep had been the impression made upon his mind while contemplating the probable consequences of such a step, that on the day before the attempt his spirits became so depressed as to attract the notice of his wife, who importuned him to inform her of the cause. He complied, and his wife, without acquainting him, sent an anonymous letter, by a servant, to Sir Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, lord-justice-clerk, acquainting him of the conspiracy. Cockburn received this letter at ten o'clock at night, and sent it off with a letter from himself to Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, the deputy-governor of the castle, who received the communication shortly before eleven. Stuart lost no time in ordering the officers to double their guards and make diligent rounds; but probably supposing that no attempt would be made that night he went to bed after issuing these instructions. In the meantime, the conspirators had assembled at a tavern preparatory to their attempt, but unfortunately for its success they lingered among their cups far beyond the time they had fixed

* Annals of 2d year of George I. p. 36—7.

upon for putting their project into execution. In fact, they did not assemble at the bottom of the wall till after the deputy-governor had issued his orders, but ignorant of what had passed within the castle, they proceeded to tie the rope, which had been let down by the soldiers, to the ladder. Unhappily for the whole party, the hour for changing the sentinels had arrived, and while the traitorous soldiers were in the act of drawing up the ladder, one Lieutenant Lindsay, at the head of a party of fresh sentinels, came upon them on his way to the Sally-port. The soldiers, alarmed at the approach of Lindsay's party, immediately slipt the rope, and the ladder fell to the ground. The noise which this occurrence produced alarmed one of the sentinels, who instantly discharged his piece, upon which the conspirators, perceiving that they were discovered, fled and dispersed. A party of the town-guard which the lord provost, at the request of the lord-justice-clerk, had sent to patrole about the castle, attracted by the firing, immediately rushed from the West-Port, and repaired to the spot, but all the conspirators, with the exception of four whom they secured, had escaped. These were one Captain Maclean, an officer who had fought under Dundee at Killiecrankie, whom they found lying on the ground much injured by a fall from the ladder or from a precipice; Alexander Ramsay and George Boswell, writers in Edinburgh; and one Lesly, who had been in the service of the same dutchess of Gordon who had distinguished herself in the affair of the medal. This party picked up the ladder and a quantity of muskets and carbines which the conspirators had thrown away in their flight.*

Such was the result of an enterprise which had been matured with great judgment, and which would probably have succeeded, but for the trifling circumstance before mentioned. The capture of such an important fortress as the castle of Edinburgh, at such a time, would have been of vast importance to the Jacobites, inasmuch as it would not only have afforded them an abundant supply of military stores, with which it was then well provided, and put them in possession of a considerable sum of money, but would also have served as a rallying point to the disaffected living to the south of the Forth, who only waited a favourable opportunity to declare themselves. Besides giving them the command of the city, the possession of the castle by a Jacobite force would have compelled the commander of the government forces to withdraw the greater part of his troops from Stirling, and to leave that highly important post exposed to the northern insurgents. Had the attempt succeeded, Lord Drummond, the contriver of the design, was to have been made governor of the castle, and notice of its capture was to have been announced to some of the Jacobite partizans on the opposite coast of Fife, by firing three rounds of cannon from its battlements. On hearing the report of the guns, these men were

* Patten, p. 159, 160. Annals of George I. p. 39, 40. Rae, p. 199, 200.

instantly to have communicated the intelligence to the earl of Mar, who was to hasten south with all his forces.*

As the appointment of a person of rank, influence, and talent, to the command of the army, destined to oppose the earl of Mar, was of great importance, the duke of Argyle, who had served with distinction abroad, and who had formerly acted as commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, was pitched upon as generalissimo of the army encamped at Stirling. Having received instructions from his majesty, at an audience on the eighth of September, he departed for Scotland the following day, accompanied by some of the Scottish nobility, and other persons of distinction, and arrived at Edinburgh on the fourteenth. About the same time, the earl of Sutherland, who had offered his services to raise the clans in the northern highlands, in support of the government, was sent down from London to Leith in a ship of war with orders to obtain a supply of arms and ammunition from the governor of the castle of Edinburgh. He arrived on the twenty-first of September, and after giving instructions for the shipment of these supplies, departed for the north.

When the duke of Argyle reached Edinburgh, he found that Mar had made considerable progress in the insurrection, and that the regular forces at Stirling were far inferior in point of numbers to those of the Jacobite commander. He, therefore, on the day he arrived in the capital, addressed a letter to the magistrates of Glasgow, (who, on the first appearance of the insurrection, had offered, in a letter to Lord Townshend, one of the secretaries of state, to raise six hundred men, in support of the government, at the expense of the city,) requesting them to send forthwith five or six hundred men to Stirling, under the command of such officers as they should think fit to appoint, to join the forces stationed there. In compliance with this demand, three battalions, amounting to between six and seven hundred men, under the command of the Lord Provost of the city, were successively despatched to Stirling on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth of September. On the arrival of the first battalion, the duke addressed a second letter from Stirling to the magistrates of Glasgow, thanking them for their promptitude, and requesting them to send intimation, with the greatest despatch, to all the friends of the government in the west, to assemble all the fencible forces at Glasgow, and to hold them in readiness to march when required. In connexion with these instructions, the duke, at the same time, wrote letters of a similar import to the magistrates of all the well affected burghs, and to private individuals who were known to be favourably disposed. The most active measures were accordingly adopted in the south and west by the friends of the government, and in a short time a sufficient force was raised to keep the disaffected in these districts in check.†

Meanwhile, the earl of Mar and his friends were no less active in

* Annals of second year of George I., p. 40.—Patten, p. 160.
† Rae.

preparing for the campaign. Pursuant to an arrangement with the Jacobite chiefs, General Gordon, an officer of great bravery and experience, was despatched into the Highlands to raise the north-western clans, with instructions either to join Mar with such forces as he could collect at the fords of the Forth, or to march upon Glasgow by Dumbarton. Having collected a body of between four and five thousand men, chiefly Macdonalds, Macleans, and Camerons, Gordon attempted to surprise Fort-William, and succeeded so far as to carry by surprise some of the outworks, sword in hand, in which were a lieutenant, sergeant, and twenty-five men; but the garrison being timeously alarmed, he withdrew his men, and marched towards Inverary. This route, it is said, was taken at the suggestion of Campbell of Glendarnel, who, at the first meeting of the Jacobites had assured Mar and his friends that if the more northern clans would take Argyleshire in their way to the south, their numbers would be greatly increased by the Macleans, Macdonalds, Macdougalls, Macneills, and the other Macs of that shire, together with a great number of Campbells, of the family and followers of the earl of Breadalbane, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, and Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, all of whom, he said, would join in the insurrection, when they saw the other clans in that country at hand to protect them against those in the interest of the duke of Argyle.*

When the earl of Islay, brother to the duke of Argyle, heard of General Gordon's movements, he assembled about two thousand five hundred men to prevent a rising of the clans in the shire of Argyle, and of the disaffected branches of the name of Campbell. On arriving before Inverary, General Gordon found the place protected by entrenchments which the earl had thrown up. He did not venture on an attack, but contented himself with encamping at the north-east side of the town, at nearly the distance of a mile, where he continued some days without any hostile attempt being made on either side. It was evidently contrary to Gordon's plan to hazard an action, his sole design in entering Argyleshire being to give an opportunity to the Jacobite population of that district to join his standard, which the keeping such a large body of men locked up in Inverary, would greatly assist.

During the continuance of the "Black Camp," before Inverary, as General Gordon's party was denominated by the Campbells, the earl of Islay and his men were kept in a state of continual alarm from the most trifling causes. On one occasion, an amusing incident occurred, which excited the fears of the Campbells, and showed how greatly they dreaded an attack. Sometime before this occurrence, a small body of horse from Kintyre, had joined the earl: the men were quartered in the town, but the horses were put out to graze on the east side of the small river that runs past Inverary. The horses disliking their quarters,

* Rae, p. 223.—Life of John, duke of Argyle. London. 1745. p. 178, 179.

took their departure one night in search of better pasture. They sought their way along the shore for the purpose of crossing the river at the lower end of the town. The trampling of their hoofs on the gravel being heard at some distance by the garrison, the earl's men were thrown into the utmost consternation, as they had no doubt that the enemy was advancing to attack them. As the horses were on full gallop, and advancing nearer every moment, the noise increasing as they approached, nothing but terror was to be seen in every face. With trembling hands they seized their arms and put themselves in a defensive posture to repel the attack, but they were fortunately soon relieved from the panic they had been thrown into by some of the horses which had passed the river approaching without riders; so that "at last (says the narrator of this anecdote) the whole was found only to be a plot among the Kintyre horse to desert not to the enemy, but to their own country; for 'tis to be supposed the horses, as well as their owners, were of very loyal principles."*

Shortly after this event, another occurrence took place, which terminated not quite so ridiculously as the other. One night the sergeant on duty, when going his rounds at the quarter of the town opposite to the place where the clans lay, happened to make some mistake in the watchword. The sentinel on duty supposing the sergeant and his party to be enemies, discharged his piece at them. The earl alarmed at the firing, immediately ordered the drums to beat to arms, and in a short time the whole of his men were assembled on the castle-green, where they were drawn up in battalia in regular order by torch or candle light, the night being extremely dark. As soon as they were marshalled, the earl gave them orders to fire in platoons towards the quarter whence they supposed the enemy was approaching, and, accordingly, they opened a brisk fire, which was kept up for a considerable time, by which several of their own sentinels in returning from their posts were wounded. Whilst the Campbells were thus employed upon the castle green, several gentlemen, some say general officers, who liked to fight "under covert," retired to the square tower or castle of Inverary, from the windows of which they issued their orders. When the earl found that he had no enemy to contend with, he ordered his men to cease firing, and to continue all night under arms. This humorous incident, however, was attended with good consequences to the terrified Campbells, as it had the effect of relieving them from the presence of the enemy. General Gordon, who had not the most distant intention of entering the town, on hearing the close and regular firing from the garrison, concluded that some regular forces had entered the town, to celebrate whose arrival the firing had taken place, and alarmed for his own safety, sounded a retreat towards Perthshire before day-light.†

No sooner, however, had the clans left Inverary, than a detachment

* Life of John Duke of Argyle, p. 180. † Ibid. p. 181.

of the earl of Breadalbane's men, to the number of about five hundred, entered the shire under the command of Campbell of Glenlyon. To expel them, the earl of Islay sent a select body of about seven hundred men, in the direction of Lorn, under the command of Colonel Campbell of Fanab, an old experienced officer, who came up with Glenlyon's detachment at Glenscheluch, a small village at the end of the lake, called Lochnell, in the mid division of Lorn, about twenty miles distant from Inverary. Both sides immediately prepared for battle, and to lighten themselves as much as possible, the men threw off their plaids and other incumbrances. Whilst both parties were standing gazing on each other with fury in their looks, waiting for the signal to commence battle, a parley was proposed, in consequence of which, a conference was held half-way between the lines between the commanders. The result was, that the Breadalbane men, to spare the effusion of the Campbell blood, agreed to lay down their arms on condition of being allowed to march out of the country without disturbance. These terms being communicated to both detachments, were approved of by a loud shout of joy, and hostages were immediately exchanged on both sides for the due performance of the articles, which were, thereupon, proclaimed in the centre between the two armies. The earl of Islay, on coming up with the remainder of his forces, was dissatisfied with the terms of the capitulation, as he considered that he had it in his power to have cut off Glenlyon's party, but he was persuaded to accede to the articles, which were accordingly honourably observed on both sides.*

In the meantime, the earl of Mar had collected a considerable force with which he marched, about the middle of September, to Moulinearn, a small village in Athole, where he proclaimed the Chevalier. On entering Athole, he was joined by five hundred Athole-men, under the marquis of Tullibardine, and by the party of the earl of Breadalbane's men, under Campbell of Glenlyon and Campbell of Glendarnel. He was afterwards joined by the old earl himself, who, although he had, the day preceding his arrival, procured an affidavit from a physician in Perth, and the minister of the parish of Kenmore, of which he was patron, certifying his total inability, from age, and a complication of diseases, to implement a mandate of the government requiring him to attend at Edinburgh; yet, nevertheless, found himself able enough to take the field in support of the Chevalier.† Having received intelligence that the earl of Rothes, and some of the gentlemen of Fife, were advancing with five hundred of the militia of that county to seize Perth, he sent Colonel John Hay, brother to the earl of Kinnoul, with a detachment of two hundred horse to take possession of that town, who accordingly entered it on the fourteenth of September,

* Life of the Duke of Argyle, p. 184.

† Collection of original Letters and Authentic Papers relating to the Rebellion, 1715. p. 20.

without opposition, and there proclaimed the Chevalier. The provost made indeed a demonstration of opposition by collecting between three and four hundred men in the market place; but Colonel Hay having been joined by a party of one hundred and fifty men which had been sent into the town a few days before by the duke of Athole, the provost dismissed them. When the earl of Rothes, who was advancing upon Perth with a body of five hundred men, heard of the capture of Perth, he retired to Leslie, and sent notice of the event to the duke of Argyle. The possession of Perth was of importance to Mar in a double point of view, as it not only gave him the command of the whole of Fife, in addition to the country north of the Tay, but also inspired his friends with confidence.* Accordingly, the Chevalier was proclaimed at Aberdeen by the earl marischal, at Castle Gordon, by the marquis of Huntly, at Brechin, by the earl of Panmure, at Montrose, by the earl of Southesk, and at Dundee, by Graham of Duntroon, who was afterwards created Viscount Dundee, by the Chevalier.†

As Mar had no intention of descending into the Lowlands himself without a considerable force, he remained several days at Moulinearn waiting for the clans who had promised to join him, and in the mean time directed Colonel Hay, whom on the eighteenth of September, he appointed governor of Perth, to retain possession of that town at all hazards, and to defend it to the last extremity should the duke of Argyle attempt to drive him out. He also directed him to tender to the inhabitants the oath of allegiance to the Chevalier, and to expel from the town all persons who refused to take the oath. After this purgation had been effected, Governor Hay was ordered to appoint a free election of magistrates by poll, to open all letters passing through the post office, and to appoint a new post-master in whom he could have confidence. To support Governor Hay in case of an attack, Mar sent down a party of Robertsons, on the twenty-second, under the command of Alexander Robertson of Struan, their chief. "You must take care (says Mar in a letter which he wrote to Hay the same day) to please the elector of Strowan, as they call him. He is an old colonel; but, as he says himself, understands not much of the trade. So he'll be ready to be advised by Colonel Balfour and Urquhart. As for money, I am not so rife of it as I hope to be soon; but I have sent some of the little I have, fifty guineas, by the bearer."‡

At this time, Mar's forces did not probably exceed three thousand men, but their number having been increased to upwards of five thousand within a few days thereafter, he marched down upon Perth, which he entered on the twenty-eighth of September, on which day the Honourable James Murray, second son of the Viscount Stormont, arrived at Perth with letters from the Chevalier to the earl, giving him as-

* Annals of 2d year of George I. p. 41. Patten, p. 5—155—220.
† Rae, p. 191. ‡ Original Letter in possession of the Earl of Kinnoul.

surances of speedy and powerful succour, and promises from the Chevalier, as was reported, of appearing personally in Scotland in a short time. This gentleman had gone over to France in the month of April preceding, to meet the Chevalier, who had appointed him principal secretary for Scotland, and had lately landed at Dover, whence he had travelled *incognito* over land to Edinburgh, where, although well known, he escaped detection. After spending a few days in Edinburgh, during which time he attended, it is said, several private meetings of the friends of the Chevalier, he crossed the Frith in an open boat at Newhaven, and landed at Burntisland, whence he proceeded to Perth.*

The first operations of the insurgents were marked by vigour and intrepidity. The seizure of Perth, though by no means a brilliant affair, was almost as important as a victory would have been at such a crisis, and another dashing exploit which a party of the earl's army performed a few days after his arrival at Perth, was calculated to make an impression equally favourable to the Jacobite cause. The account of this affair stands thus. Before the earl of Sutherland took his departure from Leith for Dunrobin castle, to raise a force in the north, he arranged with the government for a supply of arms, ammunition and military stores, which was to be furnished by the governor of Edinburgh castle, and sent down to the north with as little delay as possible. Accordingly, about the end of September, a vessel belonging to Burntisland, was freighted for that purpose, on board of which were put between three and four hundred stands of arms, and a considerable quantity of ammunition and military stores. The vessel anchored in Leith roads, but was prevented from passing down the Frith by a strong north-easterly wind, which, continuing to blow very hard, induced the captain for security's sake to weigh anchor and stand over to Burntisland roads, on the opposite coast of Fife, under the protection of the weather shore. The captain went on shore at Burntisland, to visit his wife and family who resided in the town, and the destination of the vessel, and the nature of her cargo being made known to some persons in the Jacobite interest, information thereof was immediately communicated by them to the earl of Mar, who at once resolved to send a detachment to Burntisland to seize the vessel. Accordingly, he despatched on the evening of the second of October, a party of four hundred horse, and five hundred foot, from Perth to Burntisland, with instructions so to order their march as not to enter the latter place till about midnight. To draw off the attention of the duke of Argyle from this expedition, Mar made a movement as if he intended to march with all his forces upon Alva, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, in consequence of which Argyle, who had received intelligence of Mar's supposed design, kept his men under arms the whole day in expectation of an attack. Meanwhile, the party having reached their destination, the foot entered Burntisland unperceived, and

* Annals of 2d year of George I. p. 42.

while the horse surrounded the town to prevent any person from carrying the intelligence of their arrival out of it, the foot seized all the boats in the harbour and along the shore, to cut off all communication by sea. About one hundred and twenty men were, thereupon, sent off in some boats to board the ship, which they secured without opposition. They at first attempted to bring the vessel into the harbour, but were prevented by the state of the tide. They, however, lost no time in discharging her cargo, and having pressed a number of carts and horses from the neighbourhood into their service, the detachment set off undisturbed for Perth with their booty, early next morning, where they arrived without molestation. Besides the arms and other warlike materials which they found in the vessel, the detachment carried off a hundred stands of arms from the town, and between thirty and forty more which they found in another ship. Emboldened by the success of this enterprise, parties of the insurgents spread themselves over Fife, took possession of all the towns on the north of the Frith of Forth, from Burntisland to Fifeness, and prohibited all communication between them and the opposite coast. The earl of Rothes, who, since the capture had quartered at Leslie, was now obliged for fear of being cut off, to retire to Stirling under the protection of a detachment of horse and foot, which had been sent from Stirling to support him, under the command of the earl of Forfar, and Colonel Ker.*

Mar had not yet been joined by any of the northern clans, nor by those under General Gordon; but on the fifth of October, about five hundred of the Mackintoshes arrived under the command of the laird of Borlum, better known by the name of Brigadier Mackintosh, an old and experienced soldier, who, as uncle of the chief, had placed himself at the head of that clan in consequence of his nephew's minority. This clan had formerly sided with the revolution party; but, influenced by the Borlum, who was a zealous Jacobite, they were among the first to espouse the cause of the Chevalier, and had seized upon Inverness before some of the other clans had taken the field.† On the following day the earl was also

* Annals of George I. p. 43, 44. Patten, p. 156. Rae, p. 234.

† The following letter was written by the young chief at the commencement of the insurrection.

"To the Honourable My Ladie Cullodin yor. at Cullodin.

MADAM,

You can'nt be a stranger to the circumstances I have put myself in at the tyme, and the great need I have of my own Men and followers wherever they may be found. Wherefor I thought fitt, seeing Cullodin is not at home, by this line to entreat you to put no stopp in the way of these Men that are and have been my followers upon your ground.

Madam, your compliance in this will very much oblige,

Your most humble Servant,

L. MACKINTOSHE.

14th September, 1715.

P. S. Madam, if what I demand will not be granted I hope I'll be excused to be in my duty.

Culloden Papers, p. 38, No. XLIX.

joined by the marquis of Huntly at the head of five hundred horse, and two thousand foot, chiefly Gordons; and on the tenth by the Earl Marischal with three hundred horse, among whom were many gentlemen, and five hundred foot. These different accessions increased Mar's army to upwards of eight thousand men.

Mar ought now to have instantly opened the campaign by advancing upon Stirling, and attacking the duke of Argyle, whose forces did not, at this time, amount to two thousand men. In his rear he had nothing to dread, as the earl of Seaforth, who was advancing to join him with a body of three thousand foot and six hundred horse, had left a division of two thousand of his men behind him to keep the earl of Sutherland, and the other friends of the government in the northern highlands, in check. As the whole of the towns on the eastern coast from Burntisland to Inverness were in possession of his detachments, and as there was not a single hostile party along the whole of that extensive stretch, no obstacle could have occurred, had he marched south, to prevent him from obtaining a regular supply of provisions for his army and such warlike stores as might reach any of these ports from France. One French vessel had already safely landed a supply of arms and ammunition in a northern port, and another during Mar's stay at Perth boldly sailed up the Frith of Forth, in presence of some English ships of war, and entered the harbour of Burntisland with a fresh supply. But though personally brave, Mar was deficient in military genius, and was altogether devoid of that decisive promptitude of action by which Montrose and Dundee were distinguished. Instead, therefore, of attempting at once to strike a decisive blow at Argyle, the insurgent general lingered at Perth upwards of a month. This error, however, might have been repaired had he not committed a more fatal one by detaching a considerable part of his army, including the Macintoshes, who were the best armed of his forces, at the solicitation of a few English Jacobites, who, having taken up arms in the north of England, craved his support.

About the period of Mar's departure for Scotland, the government nad obtained information of a dangerous conspiracy in England in favour of the Chevalier, in consequence of which the titular duke of Powis was committed to the Tower, and Lords Lansdown and Duplin were arrested, as implicated in the conspiracy, and a warrant was issued for the apprehension of the earl of Jersey. At the same time, a message from the king was sent to the house of commons, informing them that his majesty had given orders for the apprehension of Sir William Wyndham, Mr Thomas Forster, junior, member for the county of Northumberland, and other members of the lower house, as being engaged in a design to support an invasion of the kingdom. Sir William Wyndham was accordingly apprehended, and committed to the Tower, but Mr Forster having been apprised of the arrival of a messenger at Durham with the warrant for his apprehension, avoided him, and joined

the earl of Derwentwater, a young Catholic nobleman, against whom a similar warrant had been issued. Tired of shifting from place to place, they convened a meeting of their friends in Northumberland to consult as to the course they should pursue, at which it was resolved immediately to take up arms in support of the Chevalier. In pursuance of a resolution entered into, about sixty horsemen, mostly gentlemen, and some attendants, met on Thursday the sixth of October, at a place called Greenrig, whence, after some consultation, they marched to Plainfield, a place on the river Coquet, where they were joined by a few adherents. From Plainfield they departed for Rothbury, a small market town, where they took up their quarters for the night.

Next morning, their numbers still increasing, they advanced to Warkworth, where they were joined by Lord Widdrington, with thirty horse, on the following day. Mr Forster was now appointed to the command of this force, not on account of his military abilities, for he had none, but because he was a Protestant, and therefore less objectionable to the high-church party than the earl of Derwentwater, who, in the absence of a regularly bred commander, should, on account of his rank, have been named to the chief command. On Sunday morning, Mr Forster sent Mr Buxton, a clergyman of Derbyshire, who acted as chaplain to the insurgent party, to the parson of Warkworth, with orders to pray for the Chevalier by name as king, and to introduce into the Litany the name of Mary, the queen-mother, and all the dutiful branches of the royal family, and omit the names of king George, and the prince and princess. The minister of the parish wisely declined to obey these orders, and for his own safety retired to Newcastle. The parishioners, however, were not deprived of divine service, as Mr Buxton, on the refusal of the parson to officiate as directed, entered the church, and performed in his stead with considerable effect.*

On Monday the tenth of October, Mr Forster was joined by forty horse from the Scottish border, on which day he openly proclaimed the Chevalier with sound of trumpet, and such other formalities as circumstances would admit of. This small party remained at Warkworth till the fourteenth, when they proceeded to Alnwick, where they were joined by many of their friends, and thence marched to Morpeth. At Felton bridge they were reinforced by another party of Scottish horse to the number of seventy, chiefly gentlemen from the border, so that on entering Morpeth their force amounted to three hundred horse. In the course of his march Forster had numerous offers of service from the country people, which, however, he was obliged to decline from the want of arms; but he promised to avail himself of them as soon as he

* "Buxton's sermon gave mighty encouragement to the hearers, being full of exhortations, flourishing arguments, and cunning insinuations, to be hearty and zealous in the cause; for he was a man of a very comely personage, and could humour his discourse to induce his hearers to believe what he preached, having very good natural parts, and being pretty well read."—*Patten*, p. 29.

had provided himself with arms and ammunition, which he expected to find in Newcastle, whither he intended to proceed.

In connexion with these movements, Launcelot Errington, a Newcastle shipmaster, undertook to surprise Holy Island, which was guarded by a few soldiers, exchanged weekly from the garrison of Berwick. In a military point of view, the possession of such an insignificant post was of little importance, but it was considered by the Jacobites as useful for making signals to such French vessels as might appear off the Northumberland coast with supplies for the insurgents. Errington, it appears, was known to the garrison, as he had been in the habit of visiting the island on business; and having arrived off the island on the tenth of October, he was allowed to enter the port, no suspicions being entertained of his design. Pursuant to the plan he had formed for surprising the castle, he invited the greater part of the garrison to visit his vessel, and having got them on board, he and the party which accompanied him left the vessel, and took possession of the castle without opposition. Errington endeavoured to apprise his friends at Warkworth of his success by signals, but these were not observed, and the place was retaken the following day by a detachment of thirty men from the garrison of Berwick, and a party of fifty of the inhabitants of the town, who, crossing the sands at low water, entered the island, and carried the fort sword in hand. Errington, in attempting to escape, received a shot in the thigh, and being captured, was carried prisoner to Berwick; whence he had the good fortune to make his escape in disguise.*

The possession of Newcastle, where the Jacobite interest was very powerful, was the first object of the Northumberland insurgents; but they were frustrated in their design by the vigilance of the magistrates. Having first secured all suspected persons, they walled up all the gates with stone and lime, except the Brampton gate on which they placed two pieces of cannon. An association of the well-affected inhabitants was formed for the defence of the town, and the churchmen and dissenters, laying aside their antipathies for a time, enrolled themselves as volunteers. Seven hundred of these were immediately armed by the magistrates. The keelmen also, who were chiefly dissenters, offered to furnish a similar number of men to defend that town; but their services were not required, as two successive reinforcements of regular troops from Yorkshire entered the town on the ninth and twelfth of October. When the insurgents received intelligence of the state of affairs at Newcastle, they retired to Hexham, having a few days before sent an express to the earl of Mar for a reinforcement of foot.

The news of the rising under Mr Forster, having been communicated to the marquis of Tweeddale, Lord Lieutenant of East Lothian or Haddingtonshire, in letters from Berwick, his lordship called a meeting of his deputy lieutenants at Haddington early in October, and at the same

* Patten, p. 31, 32.—Annals of George I., p. 74, 75.—Rae, p. 241, 242.

time issued instructions to them to put the laws in execution against "papists" and other suspected persons, by binding them over to keep the peace, and by seizing their arms and horses in terms of a late act of parliament. In pursuance of this order, Mr Hepburn of Humbie, and Doctor Sinclair of Hermandston, two of the deputy lieutenants, resolved to go the morning after the instructions were issued, to the house of Mr Hepburn of Keith, a zealous Jacobite, against whom they appear to have entertained hostile feelings. Dr Sinclair accordingly appeared next morning with a party of armed men at the place where Hepburn of Humbie had agreed to meet him; but as the latter did not appear at the appointed hour, the doctor proceeded towards Keith with his attendants. On their way to Keith, Hepburn enjoined his party, in case of resistance, not to fire till they should be first fired at by Mr Hepburn of Keith or his party; and on arriving near the house he reiterated these instructions. When the arrival of Sinclair and his party was announced to Mr Hepburn of Keith, the latter at once suspecting the cause, immediately demanded inspection of the doctor's orders. Sinclair, thereupon, sent forward a servant with the marquis of Tweeddale's commission, who, finding the gates shut, offered to show the commission to Hepburn at the dining room window. On being informed of the nature of the commission, Hepburn signified the utmost contempt at it, and furiously exclaiming, "God damn the doctor and the marquis both," disappeared. The servant thinking that Mr Hepburn had retired for a time to consult with his friends before inspecting the commission, remained before the inner gate waiting for his return. But instead of coming back to receive the commission, Hepburn and his friends immediately mounted their horses, and whilst his daughters, who seem to have partaken of the Jacobite fervour of their father, were calling out to one another that they should soon see very fine sport, old Keith, after ordering the gates to be thrown open, sallied out with his company, and instantly discharging a pistol at the servant, which wounded him in two places, he rode up to the doctor who was standing near the outer gate, and after firing another pistol at him, attacked him sword in hand and wounded him in the head. Sinclair's party, in terms of their instructions, immediately returned the fire, and Mr Hepburn's younger son was unfortunately killed on the spot. Hepburn and his party, disconcerted by this event, instantly galloped off towards the Borders and joined the Jacobite standard. The death of young Hepburn, who was the first person who fell in the insurrection of seventeen hundred and fifteen, highly incensed the Jacobites, who longed for an opportunity, which was soon afforded them, of punishing its author, Dr Sinclair.*

Whilst Mr Forster was thus employed in Northumberland, the earl of Kenmure, who had received a commission from the earl of Mar to

* Rae, p. 243—245.

raise the Jacobites in the south of Scotland, was assembling his friends on the Scottish border. Early in October he had held private meetings with some of them, at which it had been resolved to make an attempt upon Dumfries, which they expected to surprise before the friends of the government there should be aware of their design; but the magistrates were put on their guard on the eighth of October by a letter from Locherbridge Hill, on which day also Cockburn, the lord-justice-clerk, sent an express to the provost of the town with similar intelligence. Lord Kenmure first appeared in arms, at the head of one hundred and fifty horse, on the eleventh of October at Moffat, where he proclaimed the Chevalier, on the evening of which day he was joined by the earl of Wintoun and fourteen attendants. Next day he proceeded to Lochmaben, where he also proclaimed "the Pretender." Alarmed at his approach, the magistrates of Dumfries ordered the drums to beat to arms, and for several days the town exhibited a scene of activity and military bustle perfectly ludicrous, when the trifling force with which it was threatened is considered. Kenmure advanced within two miles of the town, but being informed of the preparations which had been made to receive him, he returned to Lochmaben. He thereupon marched to Ecclefechan, where he was joined by Sir Patrick Maxwell of Springkell, with fourteen horsemen, and thence to Langholm, and afterwards to Hawick, where he proclaimed the Chevalier. On the seventeenth of October, Kenmure marched to Jedburgh, with the intention of proceeding to Kelso, and there also proclaimed the prince; but learning that Kelso was protected by a party under the command of Sir William Bennet of Grubbet, he crossed the Border with the design of forming a junction with Forster.*

We must now direct attention to the measures taken by the earl of Mar in compliance with the request of Mr Forster and his friends to send them a body of foot. As Mar had not resolution to attempt the passage of the Forth, which, with the forces under his command, he could have easily effected, he had no other way of reinforcing the English Jacobites, than by attempting to transport a part of his army across the Frith of Forth. As there were several English men-of-war in the Frith, the idea of sending a body of two thousand men across such an extensive arm of the sea appeared chimerical; yet, nevertheless, Mar resolved upon this bold and hazardous attempt.

To command this adventurous expedition, the Jacobite general pitched upon Old Borlum, as Brigadier Mackintosh was familiarly called, who readily undertook, with the assistance of the earl of Panmure, and other able officers, to perform a task which few men, even of experience, would have undertaken without a grudge. For this hazardous service, a picked body of two thousand men were selected, consisting of the whole of the Mackintoshes, and the greater part of Mar's own regi-

* Rae. Faithful Register of the late Rebellion. London, 1718.

ment, and of the regiments of the earl of Strathmore, Lord Nairne, Lord Charles Murray, and Drummond of Logie-Drummond. To avoid the men-of-war, which were stationed between Leith and Burntisland, it was arranged that the expedition should embark at Crail, Pittenweem, and Ely, three small towns near the mouth of the Frith, whither the troops were to proceed with the utmost secrecy and expedition by the most unfrequented ways through the interior of Fife. At same time, to amuse the ships of war, it was concerted that another select body of five hundred men should openly march across the country to Burntisland, seize upon the boats in the harbour, and make preparations as if they intended to cross the Frith. With remarkable foresight, Mar gave orders that the expedition should embark with the flowing of the tide, that in case of detection, the ships of war should be obstructed by it in their pursuit down the Frith.

Accordingly, on the ninth or tenth of October, both detachments, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, left Perth escorted by a body of horse under the command of Sir John Areskine of Alva, the master of Sinclair, and Sir James Sharp, grandson of Archbishop Sharp of St Andrews, and whilst the main body proceeded in a south-easterly direction, through the district of Fife bordering upon the Tay, so as to pass unobserved by the men-of-war, the other division marched directly across the country down to Burntisland, where they made a feint as if preparing to embark in presence of the ships of war, which then lay at anchor in Leith Roads. When the commanders of these vessels observed the motions of the insurgents, they manned their boats and despatched them across to attack them should they venture out to sea, and slipping their cables they stood over with their vessels to the Fife shore to support their boats. As the boats and ships approached, the insurgents, who had already partly embarked, returned on shore; and those on land proceeded to erect a battery, as if for the purpose of covering the embarkation. An interchange of shots then took place without damage on either side, till night put an end to hostilities. In the meantime, Brigadier Mackintosh had arrived at the different stations fixed for his embarkation, at the distance of nearly twenty miles from the ships of war, and was actively engaged in shipping his men in boats which had been previously secured for their reception by his friends in these quarters. The first division crossed the same night, being Wednesday the twelfth of October, and the second followed next morning. When almost half across the channel, which, between the place of embarkation and the opposite coast, is about sixteen or seventeen miles broad, the fleet of boats was descried from the topmasts of the men-of-war, and the commanders then perceived, for the first time, the deception which had been so successfully practised upon them by the detachment at Burntisland. Unfortunately, at the time they made this discovery, both wind and tide were against them; but they sent out their boats fully manned, which succeeded,

however, in capturing only two boats with forty men, who were carried into Leith, and committed to jail. As soon as the tide changed, the men-of-war proceeded down the Frith, in pursuit, but they came too late, and the whole boats, with the exception of eight, (which being far behind, took refuge in the isle of May, to avoid capture,) reached the opposite coast in perfect safety, and disembarked their men at Gullan, North Berwick, Aberlady, and places adjacent. The number carried over amounted to about sixteen hundred. Those who were driven into the isle of May, amounting to two hundred, after remaining therein a day or two, regained the Fife coast, and returned to the camp at Perth.*

The news of Mackintosh's landing occasioned a dreadful consternation at Edinburgh, where the friends of the government, astonished at the boldness of the enterprise, and the extraordinary success which had attended it, at once conjectured that the brigadier would march directly upon the capital, where he had many friends, and from which he was only sixteen miles distant. As the city was at this time wholly unprovided with the means of defence, Campbell, the provost, a warm partizan of the government, adopted the most active measures for putting it in a defensive state. The well affected among the citizens formed themselves into a body for its defence, under the name of the Associate Volunteers, and these, with the city guards and trained bands, had different posts assigned them, which they guarded with great care and vigilance. Even the ministers of the city, to show an example to the lay citizens, joined the ranks of the armed volunteers. The provost, at same time, sent an express to the duke of Argyle, requesting him to send, without delay, a detachment of regular troops to support the citizens.

After the brigadier had mustered his men on landing, he marched to Haddington, in which he took up his quarters for the night to refresh his troops, and wait for the remainder of his detachment, which he expected would follow. According to Mackintosh's instructions, he should have marched directly for England, to join the insurgents in Northumberland, but having received intelligence of the consternation which prevailed at Edinburgh, and urged, it is believed, by pressing solicitations from some of the Jacobite inhabitants to advance upon the capital, he, lured by the eclat which its capture would confer upon his arms, and the obvious advantages which would thence ensue, marched rapidly towards Edinburgh the following morning. He arrived in the evening of the same day, Friday, fourteenth of October, at Jock's Lodge, about a mile from the city, where, being informed of the measures which had been taken to defend it, and that the duke of Argyle was hourly expected from Stirling with a reinforcement, he immediately halted, and called a council of war. After a short consultation, they resolved, in the meantime, to take possession of Leith: Mackintosh, accordingly, turning off his men to the

* Annals of George I. p. 84-91. Patten, p. 8, 9.

right, marched into the town without opposition. He immediately released from jail the forty men who had been taken prisoners by the boats of the men-of-war, and seized a considerable quantity of brandy and provisions, which he found in the custom-house. Thereafter, crossing over the bridge into North Leith, he quartered his men for the night in the citadel which had been built by Oliver Cromwell. This fort, which was of a square form, with four demi-bastions, and surrounded by a large dry ditch, was now in a very dismantled state, though all the outworks, with the exception of the gates, were entire. Within the walls were several houses, built for the convenience of sea-bathing, and which served the new occupants in lieu of barracks. To supply the want of gates, Mackintosh formed barricades of beams, planks, and of carts filled with earth and stone and other materials, and seizing six or eight pieces of cannon which he found in some vessels in the harbour, he planted two of them at the north end of the draw-bridge, and the remainder upon the ramparts of the citadel. Within a few hours, therefore, after he had entered Leith, Mackintosh was fully prepared to withstand a siege, should the duke of Argyle venture to attack him.

Whilst Mackintosh was in full march upon the capital from the east, the duke of Argyle was advancing upon it with greater rapidity from the west, at the head of four hundred dragoons and two hundred foot, mounted, for the sake of greater expedition, upon farm-horses. He entered the city by the west port about ten o'clock at night, and was joined by the horse militia of Lothian and the Merse with a good many volunteers, both horse and foot, who, with the marquis of Tweeddale, the Lord Belhaven, and others, had retired into Edinburgh on the approach of the insurgents. These, with the addition of the city guard and volunteers, increased his force to nearly twelve hundred men. With this body the duke marched down towards Leith next morning, Saturday, fifteenth of October; but before he reached the town many of the "brave gentlemen volunteers,"* whose courage had waxed cold while contemplating the probable consequences of encountering in deadly strife the determined band to which they were to be opposed, slunk out of the ranks and retired to their homes. On arriving near the citadel, Argyle posted the dragoons and foot on opposite sides, and along with Generals Evans and Wightman, proceeded to reconnoitre the fort on the sea side. Thereafter, he sent in a summons to the citadel requiring the rebels to surrender under the pain of high treason, and declaring that if they obliged him to employ cannon to force them, and killed any of his men in resisting him, he would give them no quarter. To this message the laird of Kynnachin, a gentleman of Athole, returned this resolute answer, that as to surrendering they did not understand the word, which could therefore only excite laughter—that if his grace thought he was able to make an assault, he might try, but he would find that they were

* Rae.

fully prepared to meet it; and as to quarter they were resolved, in case of attack, neither to take nor to give any.

This answer was followed by a discharge from the cannon on the ramparts, the balls from which grazing among the horses' feet, made Argyle soon perceive the mistake he had committed in advancing without cannon, of which he had not taken down with him a single piece. Had his force been equal and even numerically superior to that of Mackintosh, he could not have ventured without almost certain destruction, to have carried the citadel sword in hand, as he found that before his men could reach the foot of the wall or the barricaded positions, they would probably have been exposed to five fires from the besieged, which, at a moderate computation, would have cut off one half of his men. His cavalry, besides, on account of the nature of the ground, could have been of little use in an assault; and as, under such circumstances, an attack was considered impracticable, the duke retired to Edinburgh in the evening to make the necessary preparations for a siege. While deliberating on the expediency of making an attack, some of the volunteers appeared to be very zealous for it, but on being informed that it belonged to them as volunteers to lead the way, they became extremely pacific, and heartily approved of the duke's proposal to defer the attempt till a more seasonable opportunity.*

Had the earl of Mar been apprized in due time of Mackintosh's advance upon Edinburgh, and of the duke of Argyle's departure from Stirling, he would probably have marched towards Stirling, and might have crossed the Forth above the bridge of Stirling, without any very serious opposition from the small force stationed in the neighbourhood; but he received the intelligence of the brigadier's movement too late to make it available, had he been inclined; and it appears that he had resolved not to cross the Forth till joined by General Gordon's detachment.† The earl considered the march from Haddington to Leith "an unlucky mistake;"‡ but he had really no cause to complain.

On returning to Edinburgh, the duke of Argyle gave orders for the removal of some pieces of cannon from the castle to Leith, with the intention of making an assault upon the citadel the following morning with the whole of his force, including the dragoons, which he had resolved to dismount for the occasion. But he was saved the necessity of such a hazardous attempt by the insurgents evacuating the place the same night. Old Borlum, seeing no chance of obtaining possession of Edinburgh, and considering that the occupation of the citadel, even it tenable, was not of sufficient importance to employ such a large body of men in its defence, had resolved, shortly after the departure of the duke, to abandon the place, and to retrace his steps without delay, and with all the secrecy in his power. Two hours before his departure, he

* Rae, p. 263. † Letter to Mr Forster, 21st October, 1715. ‡ Letter from Mar to Viscount Kenmure, dated from the camp at Perth, October 21, 1715.

sent a boat across the Frith with despatches to the earl of Mar, giving him a detail of his proceedings since his landing, and informing him of his intention to retire. To deceive the men-of-war which lay at anchor in the Roads, he caused several shots to be fired at the boat which carried the despatches after her departure from the harbour, which had the desired effect, as the officers in command of the ships, thinking the boat had some friends of the government on board, allowed her to pursue her course without obstruction.

At nine o'clock at night, every thing being in readiness, Mackintosh, favoured by the darkness of the night and low water, left the citadel secretly, and pursuing his course along the beach, crossed, without observation, the small rivulet, which runs through the harbour at low water, and which was then about knee deep, and passing the point of the pier, pursued his route south-eastward along the sands of Leith. At his departure, Mackintosh was obliged to leave about forty men behind him, who having made too free with the brandy which had been found in the custom-house, were not in a condition to march. These, with some stragglers who lagged behind, were afterwards taken prisoners by a detachment of Argyle's forces, which also captured some baggage and ammunition.

On arriving near Musselburgh, the insurgents were fired upon by some persons on horseback from the adjoining end of the town, but without receiving any injury. This circumstance, as it made the Highlanders look upon every horseman as an enemy, was productive of a melancholy accident, which befel Alexander Malloch of Mutrieshill, who had just joined the rebels. This gentleman, while riding on horseback, was challenged by a Highlander in Gaelic, and being unable to answer him, was instantly shot dead upon the spot by the interrogator. Mackintosh, who could not fail to feel grieved at this unfortunate accident, was in too great haste to spend time in the rites of sepulture, and thinking probably that the money about the person of the deceased was in better keeping with him than with any friend of the government, he appropriated about sixty guineas, which he found in the pockets of the deceased, and left the corpse behind. A similar accident occurred after they had advanced a mile from Musselburgh, where, alarmed by some firing in front, a rear party fired upon the front and killed a sergeant belonging to Mar's regiment, and a common soldier.

The Highlanders continued their march during the night, and arrived at two o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the sixteenth of October, at Seaton-House, the seat of the earl of Wintoun, who had already joined the Viscount Kenmure, where, during the day, they were joined by a small party of their friends, who had crossed the Frith some time after the body which marched to Leith had landed, and who, from having disembarked farther to the eastward, had not been able to reach their companions before their departure for the capital. As soon as the duke of Argyle heard of Mackintosh's retreat, and that he had taken up a

position in Seaton-House, which was encompassed by a very strong and high stone wall, he resolved to follow him and besiege him in his new quarters. To work some cannon and mortars which he intended to remove from the castle of Edinburgh, he sent an express to Stirling for some gunners and bombardiers, and, in the meantime, despatched a detachment of dragoons, and a body of volunteer horse to reconnoitre the enemy and watch their motions. But the duke of Argyle was prevented from carrying his design against Seaton-house into execution, by receiving intelligence that Mar was advancing upon Stirling with the intention of crossing the Forth.

Being apprized, by the receipt of Mackintosh's despatch from Leith, of the Brigadier's design to march to the south, Mar had resolved, with the view principally of facilitating his retreat from Leith, to make a movement upon Stirling, and thereby induce the duke of Argyle to return to the camp in the Park with the troops which he had carried to Edinburgh. Mar, accordingly, left Perth on Monday the seventeenth of October, and General Whitham, the commander of the royalist forces at Stirling in Argyle's absence, having on the previous day received notice of Mar's intention, immediately sent an express to the duke begging him to return to Stirling immediately, and bring back the forces he had taken with him to Edinburgh. The express reached Edinburgh at an early hour on Monday morning, and the duke, abandoning his design upon Seaton-house, left Edinburgh for Stirling about noon on Monday, leaving behind him only a hundred dragoons and one hundred and fifty foot under General Wightman. The duke arrived at Stirling about eight o'clock at night, and was informed that Mar was to be at Dunblane next morning with his whole army, amounting to nearly ten thousand men.*

The arrival of his Grace was most opportune, for Mar had in fact advanced the same evening, with all his horse, to Dunblane, little more than six miles from Stirling, and his foot were only a short way off from the latter place. Whether Mar would have really attempted the passage of the Forth but for the intelligence he received next morning, is very problematical; but having been informed early on Tuesday of the duke's return, and of the arrival of Evans's regiment of dragoons from Ireland, he resolved to return to Perth. In a letter which he wrote to Mr Forster from Perth on the twenty-first of October, after alluding to the information he had received, he gives as an additional reason for this determination, that he had left Perth before provisions could be got ready for his army, and that he found all the country about Stirling, where he meant to pass the Forth, so entirely exhausted by the enemy that he could find nothing to subsist upon. Besides, from a letter he had received from General Gordon, he found the latter could not possibly join him that week, and he could not think

* Annals of George I. p. 98. Patten, p. 18. Rae, p. 265.

of passing the Forth, under the circumstances detailed, till joined by him. Under these difficulties, and having accomplished one of the objects of his march, by withdrawing the duke of Argyle from the pursuit of his friends in Lothian, he had thought fit, he observes, to march back from Dunblane to Auchterarder, and thence back to Perth, there to wait for Gordon and the earl of Seaforth, where he had accordingly arrived on the preceding night.

Mackintosh, in expectation probably of an answer to his despatch from Leith, appeared to be in no hurry to leave Seaton-house, where his men fared sumptuously upon the best which the neighbourhood could afford. As all communication was cut off between him and the capital by the hundred dragoons which Argyle had left behind, and a party of three hundred gentlemen-volunteers under the command of the earl of Rothes, who patrolled in the neighbourhood of Seaton-house, Mackintosh was in complete ignorance of Argyle's departure from the capital, and of Mar's march. This was fortunate, as it seems probable that had the Brigadier been aware of these circumstances, he would have again advanced upon the capital and might have captured it. During the three days that Mackintosh lay in Seaton-house, no attempt was, of course, made to dislodge him from his position, but he was subjected to some petty annoyances by the volunteers and dragoons, between whom and the Highlanders some occasional shots were interchanged without damage on either side. Having deviated from the line of instructions, Mackintosh appears to have been anxious, before proceeding south, to receive from Mar such new or additional directions as a change of circumstances might require. Mar lost no time in replying to Borlum's communication, and on Tuesday the eighteenth of October a boat was descried from Seaton-house making its way across the Frith from the Fife coast. This boat had attracted the notice of the commanders of the men-of-war, who rightly suspecting its destination, kept up a fire at her, but by keeping far to windward, she escaped and arrived safe at the small harbour of Port-Seaton. This boat, the same that carried over Mackintosh's despatch, brought an answer from Mar, desiring him to march immediately towards England and form a junction near the borders with the English Jacobite forces under Mr Forster, and those of the south of Scotland under Lord Kenmure. On the same day, Mackintosh received a despatch from Mr Forster, requesting him to meet him without delay at Kelso or Coldstream.*

To give effect to these instructions, Mackintosh left Seaton-house next morning, and proceeded across the country towards Longformachus, which he reached that night. Doctor Sinclair, the proprietor of Hermandston-house, had incurred the Brigadier's displeasure by his treatment of the laird of Keith, to revenge which he threatened to burn

* Patten, p. 20.

Sinclair's mansion in passing it on his way south, but he was prevented from carrying his threat into execution by the entreaties of Mr Miller of Mugdrum, major of his regiment, and Mr Menzies of Woodend. He, however, ordered his soldiers to plunder the house, a mandate which they obeyed with the utmost alacrity. When Major-General Wightman heard of Mackintosh's departure, he marched from Edinburgh with some dragoons, militia and volunteers, and took possession of Seaton-house. After demolishing the wall which surrounded it, he returned to Edinburgh in the evening, carrying along with him some Highlanders who had lagged behind or deserted from Mackintosh on his march.*

Mackintosh took up his quarters at Longformachus during the night, and continued his march next morning to Dunse, where he arrived during the day and proclaimed the Chevalier. Here Mackintosh halted two days, and on the morning of Saturday, the twenty-second of October, set out on his march to Kelso, the appointed place of rendezvous, whither the Northumbrian forces under Forster were marching the same day. Sir William Bennet of Grubbet and his friends hearing of the approach of these two bodies, left the town the preceding night, and, after dismissing their followers, retired to Edinburgh. The united forces of Forster and Kenmure entered Kelso about one o'clock on Saturday. The Highlanders had not then arrived, but hearing that they were not far off, the Scottish cavalry, to mark their respect for the bravery the Highlanders had shown in crossing the Frith, marched out as far as Ednam bridge to meet them, and accompanied them into the town about three o'clock in the afternoon, amidst the martial sounds of bagpipes. The forces under Mackintosh now amounted to fourteen hundred foot and six hundred horse; but a third of the latter consisted of menial servants.

The following day, being Sunday, was entirely devoted by the Jacobites to religious duties. Patten the historian of the insurrection, an episcopal minister and one of their chaplains, in terms of instructions from Lord Kenmure, who had the command of the troops while in Scotland, preached in the morning in the Great church of Kelso, formerly the abbey of David the First, to a mixed congregation of catholics, presbyterians and episcopalians, from Deuteronomy xxi. 17. "The right of the first-born is his."† The prayers on this occasion were read by Mr Buxton, formerly alluded to. In the afternoon Mr William Irvine, an old Scottish episcopalian minister, chaplain to the earl of Carnwath, read prayers and delivered a sermon full of exhortations to his hearers to be zealous and steady in the cause of the Cheva-

* Patten, p. 20. Annals of George I. p. 101.

† "All the lords that were protestants, with a vast multitude of people, attended: It was very agreeable to see how decently and reverently the very common Highlanders behaved, and answered the responses according to the Rubrick, to the shame of many that pretend to more polite breeding."—*Patten*, p. 40.

lier. This discourse, he afterwards told his colleague, Mr Patten, he had formerly preached in the Highlands about twenty six years before in presence of Lord Viscount Dundee and his army.

Next morning the Highlanders were drawn up in the church-yard, and thence marched to the market-cross with colours flying, drums beating, and bagpipes playing. They there formed a circle round the lords and gentlemen. Within this circle another was formed of the gentlemen volunteers. Silence being enjoined, and a trumpet sounded, Seaton of Barnes, who claimed the vacant title of earl of Dunfermline, read a proclamation, declaring the Chevalier, as James VIII. lawful king over Scotland, England, and Ireland. After finishing the proclamation, he read the manifesto quoted in the conclusion of last chapter, at the end of which the people with loud acclamations shouted, "No union! no malt-tax! no salt-tax." When this ceremony was over, the Highlanders returned to their quarters.*

The insurgents remained three days in Kelso, which were chiefly occupied in searching for arms and plundering the houses of some of the loyalists in the neighbourhood. They took possession of some pieces of cannon which had been brought by Sir William Bennet from Hume Castle for the defence of the town, and which had formerly been employed to protect that ancient strong-hold against the attacks of the English. They also seized some broad swords which they found in the church, and a small quantity of gunpowder. Whilst at Kelso, Mackintosh seized the public revenue, as was his uniform custom in every town through which he passed.

During their stay at Kelso, the insurgents seem to have come to no determination as to future operations; but the arrival of General Carpenter with three regiments of dragoons, and a regiment of foot, at Wooler, forced them to resolve upon something decisive. Lord Kenmure, thereupon, called a council of war to deliberate upon the course to be pursued. According to the opinions of the principal officers, there were three ways of proceeding. The first, which was strongly urged by the earl of Wintoun, was to march into the west of Scotland, to reduce Dumfries and Glasgow, and thereafter to form a junction with the western clans, under General Gordon, to open a communication with the earl of Mar, and threaten the duke of Argyle's rear. The second was to give battle immediately to General Carpenter, who had scarcely a thousand men under him, the greater part of whom consisted of newly raised levies, who had never seen any service. This plan was supported by Mackintosh, who was so intent upon it, that, sticking his pike in the ground, he declared that he would not stir, but would wait for General Carpenter and fight him, as he was sure there would be no difficulty in beating him. The last plan, which was that of the Northumberland gentlemen, was to march directly

* Patten, p. 49.

through Cumberland and Westmoreland into Lancashire, where the Jacobite interest was very powerful, and where they expected to be joined by great numbers of the people. Old Borlum was strongly opposed to this view, and pointed out the risk which they would run, if met by an opposing force, which they might calculate upon, while General Carpenter was left in their rear. He contended, that if they succeeded in defeating Carpenter, they would soon be able to fight any other troops,—that if Carpenter should beat them, they had already advanced far enough, and that they would be better able, in the event of a reverse, to shift for themselves in Scotland than in England.*

Either of the two first-mentioned plans was far preferable to the last, even had the troops been disposed to adopt it; but the aversion of the Highlanders, from different considerations, to a campaign in England, was almost insuperable; and nothing could mark more strongly the fatuity of the Northumberland Jacobites, than to insist, under these circumstances, upon marching into England. But they pertinaciously adhered to their opinion, and, by doing so, may be truly said to have ruined the cause which they had combined to support. As the comparatively small body of troops under Argyle was the only force in Scotland from which the insurgents had any thing to dread, their whole attention should have been directed in the first place to that body, which could not have withstood the combined attacks of the forces which the rebels had in the field, which amounted to about sixteen thousand men. The duke of Argyle must have been compelled, had the three divisions of the insurgent army made a simultaneous movement upon Stirling, to have hazarded a battle, and the result would very probably have been disastrous to his arms. Had such an event occurred, the insurgents would have immediately become masters of the whole of Scotland, and would soon have been in a condition to have carried the war into England with every hope of success.

Amidst the confusion and perplexity occasioned by these differences of opinion, a sort of medium course was in the mean time resolved upon, till the chiefs of the army should reconcile their divisions. The plan agreed upon was, that they should, to avoid an immediate rencounter with General Carpenter, decamp from Kelso, and proceed along the border in a south-westerly direction towards Jedburgh; and, accordingly, on Thursday the twenty-seventh day of October, the insurgents proceeded on their march. The disagreement which had taken place had cooled their military fervour, and a feeling of dread, at the idea of being attacked by Carpenter's force, soon began to display itself. Twice, on the march to Jedburgh, were they thrown into a state of alarm, by mistaking a party of their own men for the troops of General Carpenter. The mistake being soon discovered, in the first instance, little

* Annals of 24 year of George I. p. 128. Patten, p. 53, 64, 65.

disorder ensued; but the last created much confusion, and strikingly exhibited the effects of fear, even upon resolute minds, when labouring under a temporary depression. The horse preceded the foot, and arrived at Jedburgh when the latter were yet distant two miles from the town. A party of the foot, which had been sent up Tweedside, was observed by their main body, when on the high road between Kelso and Jedburgh, crossing a moor on their right, which being again taken for Carpenter's troops, they sent an express to Jedburgh, requiring the support of the horse. Lord Kenmure, Brigadier Mackintosh, and the other principal officers, were standing together when this message was delivered; but being uttered very indistinctly by the messenger, a gentleman present conceiving that Lord Lumley, who commanded the light horse of Northumberland, had attacked the Highlanders, instantly mounted his horse and galloped through the streets, shouting aloud, "Mount, gentlemen, mount! Lumley is upon the foot cutting them to pieces!" This announcement produced the utmost consternation among the horse, some of whom, from an apprehension of being made prisoners, tore the cockades from their hats, while others absconded and concealed themselves in the most secret places in the town. The greater part, however, mounted their horses, and went out to join the foot; but so alarmed were many even of these, at the idea of encountering the government forces, that, according to one writer,* they wept like children.† If this statement be well founded, these men fully redeemed their character by the gallant defence they afterwards made at Preston.

Instead of advancing upon Jedburgh, as they supposed Carpenter would have done, the insurgents ascertained that he had taken a different direction in entering Scotland, and that from their relative positions, they were considerably in advance of him in the proposed route into England. The English officers thereupon again urged their views in council, and insisted upon them with such earnestness, that Old Borlum was induced, though with great reluctance, and not till after very high words had been exchanged, to yield. Preparatory to crossing the Borders, they despatched one Captain Hunter (who, from following the profession of a horse-stealer on the Borders, was well acquainted with the neighbouring country,) across the hills, to provide quarters for the army in North Tynedale; but he had not proceeded far, when an order was sent after him countermanding his march, in consequence of a mutiny among the Highlanders, who refused to march into England. The English horse, after expostulating with them, threatened to surround

* Rae.

† It is singular that Patten, who was an eye witness, is silent as to this matter. He says, that although the horse were put into the "utmost consternation," they, nevertheless, "not being discouraged so as to abandon their fellows, they all mounted their horses and marched out to relieve their friends." He adds, that on the mistake being discovered, they returned to their quarters "worse frighted than hurt."

them and compel them to march; but Mackintosh informed them that he would not allow his men to be so treated, and the Highlanders themselves despising the threat, gave them to understand that they would resist the attempt.*

The determination, on the part of the Highlanders, not to march into England, staggered the English gentlemen; but as they saw no hopes of inducing their northern allies to enter into their views, they consented to waive their resolution in the meantime, and by mutual consent the army left Jedburgh on the twenty-ninth of October for Hawick, a town on the Scottish side of the border, lying about ten miles south-west from Jedburgh. During their stay at the latter place, the Highlanders were provided with a supply of oatmeal, levied upon the inhabitants, according to their respective abilities, under the inspection of the magistrates. While on the march to Hawick, a fresh mutiny broke out among the Highlanders, who, suspecting that the march to England was still resolved upon, separated themselves from the rest of the army, and going up to the top of a rising ground on Hawick-moor, grounded their arms, declaring, at same time, that although they were determined not to march into England, they were ready to fight the enemy on Scottish ground. Should the chiefs of the army decline to lead them against Carpenter's forces, they proposed, agreeably to the earl of Wintoun's advice, either to march through the west of Scotland and join the clans under General Gordon, by crossing the Forth above Stirling, or to co-operate with the earl of Mar, by falling upon the duke of Argyle's rear, while Mar himself should assail him in front. But the English officers would listen to none of these propositions, and again threatened to surround them with the horse and force them to march. The Highlanders, exasperated at this menace, cocked their pistols, and told their imprudent colleagues that if they were to be made a sacrifice, they would prefer being destroyed in their own country. By the interposition of the earl of Wintoun a reconciliation was effected, and the insurgents resumed their march to Hawick, on the understanding that the Highlanders should not be again required to march into England.†

The insurgents passed the night at Hawick, during which the courage of the Highlanders was put to the test, by the appearance of a party of horse, which was observed patroling in their front by their advanced posts. On the alarm being given, the Highlanders immediately flew to arms, and forming themselves in very good order by moonlight, waited with firmness the expected attack; but the affair turned out a false alarm, purposely got up, it is believed, by the English commanders, to try how the Highlanders would conduct themselves, should an enemy appear.‡ At Hawick a quantity of cockades, consisting of blue and

* Annals of the 2d year of George I. p. 128. † Patten, p. 67, 68. Rae, p. 271, 272.
‡ Patten, p. 69.

white ribbons, was made for the Scotch, to distinguish them from the English insurgents, who wore red and white cockades.* Next morning, being Sunday, the thirtieth of October, the rebels marched from Hawick to Langholm, about which time General Carpenter entered Jedburgh. They arrived at Langholm in the evening, and with the view, it is supposed, of attacking Dumfries, they sent forward to Ecclefechan, during the night, a detachment of four hundred horse, under the earl of Carnwath, for the purpose of blocking up Dumfries till the foot should come up. This detachment arrived at Ecclefechan before day-light, and, after a short halt, proceeded in the direction of Dumfries; but they had not advanced far, when they were met by an express from some of their friends at Dumfries, informing them that great preparations had been made for the defence of the town. The earl of Carnwath immediately forwarded the express to Langholm, and, in the mean time, halted his men on Blacket-ridge, a moor in the neighbourhood of Ecclefechan, till further orders. The express was met by the main body of the army about two miles west from Langholm, on its march to Dumfries.

The intelligence thus conveyed, immediately created another schism in the army. The English, who had been prevailed upon, from the advantages held out to the Jacobite cause by the capture of such an important post as Dumfries, to accede to the proposal for attacking it, now resumed their original intention of marching into England. The Highlanders, on the other hand, insisted upon marching instantly upon Dumfries, which they alleged might be easily taken, as there were no regular forces in it. It was in vain that the advocates of this plan urged upon the English the advantages to be derived from the possession of a place so convenient as Dumfries was, for receiving succours from France and Ireland, and for keeping up a communication with England and their friends in the west of Scotland. It was to no purpose they were assured, that there were a great many arms and a good supply of powder in the town, which they might secure, and that the duke of Argyle, whom they appeared to dread, was in no condition to injure them, as he had scarcely two thousand men under him, and was in daily expectation of being attacked by the earl of Mar, whose forces were then thrice as numerous;—these and similar arguments were entirely thrown away upon men who had already determined at all hazards to adhere to their resolution of carrying the war into England. To induce the Scottish commanders to concur in their views, they pretended that they had received letters from their friends in Lancashire inviting them thither, and assuring them that on their arrival a general insurrection would take place, and that they would be immediately joined by twenty thousand men, and would have money and provisions in abundance. The advantages of a speedy march into England being urged with extreme earnestness by the English officers, all their Scottish associates, with the exception

* Faithful Register of the late Rebellion, p. 127.

of the earl of Wintoun, at last consented to try the chances of war on the soil of England. Even Old Borlum, (who, at the time the parties were discussing the point in dispute, was busily engaged at a distance from the place where the main body had halted restraining a party of the Highlanders from deserting,) yielded to the entreaties of the English officers, and exerted all his influence to induce his men to follow his example. By the aid of great promises and money, the greater part of the Highlanders were prevailed upon to follow the fortunes of their commander, but about five hundred of them marched off in a body to the north. Before they reached Clydesdale, however, they were almost all made prisoners by the country people, and lodged in jail. The earl of Wintoun, who was quite opposed to the measures resolved upon, also went off with his adherents, but being overtaken by a messenger who was despatched after him to remonstrate with him for abandoning his friends, he consented to return, and immediately rejoined the army. When overtaken, he drew up his horse, and, after a momentary pause, as if reflecting on the judgment which posterity would form of his conduct, observed with chivalrous feeling, that history should not have to relate of him that he deserted King James's interest or his country's good, but with a deep presentiment of the danger of the course his associates were about to pursue, he added, "You," addressing the messenger, "or any man shall have liberty to cut these (laying hold of his own ears as he spoke) out of my head, if we do not all repent it."

The insurgents, after spiking two pieces of cannon which they had brought from Kelso, immediately proceeded on their march for England, and entered Longtown in Cumberland the same night, where they were joined by the detachment which had been sent to Ecclefechan the previous night. On the following day, first of November, they marched to Brampton, a small market town in Cumberland, where they proclaimed the Chevalier, and levied the excise duties on malt and ale. Mr Forster now opened a commission which he had lately received from the earl of Mar, appointing him general of the Jacobite forces in England. As the men were greatly fatigued by forced marches, having marched about one hundred miles in five successive days, they took up their quarters at Brampton for the night to refresh themselves. When General Carpenter heard that the insurgents had entered England, he left Jedburgh, and recrossing the hills into Northumberland, threw himself between them and Newcastle, the seizure of which, he erroneously supposed, was the object of their movement.

Next day the insurgents marched towards Penrith, on approaching which they received intelligence that the *posse comitatus* of Cumberland, amounting to nearly fourteen thousand men, headed by the sheriff of the county, and attended by Lord Lonsdale and the bishop of Carlisle, had assembled near Penrith on the line of their march to oppose their advance. Mr, now General Forster, sent forward a party to reconnoitre, but he experienced no trouble from this immense rustic force, which

broke up and dispersed in the utmost confusion on hearing of the approach of the reconnoitering party. Patten, the historian of the rebellion, who had formerly been curate of Penrith, attempted, at the head of a party of horse, to intercept his superior, the bishop of Carlisle, but his lordship escaped. The insurgents captured some horses and a large quantity of arms, and also took several prisoners, who being soon released, expressed their gratitude by shouting, "God save King James and prosper his merciful army."* To impress the inhabitants of Penrith with a favourable idea of their strength and discipline, the insurgents halted upon a moor in the neighbourhood, where they formed themselves in order of battle, and thereafter entered the town in regular marching order. The principal inhabitants, from an apprehension of being plundered, showed great attention to them, in return for which, and the comfortable entertainment which they received, they abstained from doing any act which could give offence. They however raised, according to custom, the excise and other public duties.

Next day the insurgents marched to Appleby, where, as at Penrith, they proclaimed the Chevalier and seized the public revenue. After halting two days at this town, they resumed their march on the fifth of November, and arrived at Kendal, where they took up their quarters for the night. Next morning, being Sunday, they decamped from Kendal, and after a short march reached Kirby Lonsdale, where, after proclaiming the Chevalier, they went to the church in the afternoon, where, in absence of the parson, who had absconded, Mr Patten read prayers. This author relates a singular instance of Jacobite zeal on the part of a gentleman of the name of Guin, or Gwyn, who entered the churches which lay in the route of the army and scratching out the name of King George from the prayer books, substituted that of the Chevalier in its stead, in a manner so closely resembling the print that the alteration could scarcely be perceived.

The insurgents had now marched through two populous counties, but they had obtained the accession of only two gentlemen to their ranks. They would probably have received some additions in Cumberland and Westmoreland, had not precautions been taken by the sheriffs of these counties beforehand to secure the principal Catholics and lodge them in the castle of Carlisle. Despairing of obtaining any considerable accession of force, seventeen gentlemen of Teviotdale had left the army at Appleby, and the Highlanders, who had borne the fatigues of the march with great fortitude, now began to manifest signs of impatience at the disappointment they felt in not being joined by large bodies of men as they were led to expect. Their prospects, however, began to brighten by the arrival of some Lancashire Catholic gentlemen and their servants at Kirby Lonsdale, and by the receipt of intelligence the following day,

* Letter about the Occurrences on the way to, and at Preston. By an Eye Witness, p. 4.

when on their march to Lancaster, that the Jacobites of Lancashire were ready to join them, and that the Chevalier had been proclaimed at Manchester. The Highlanders expressed their joy at this intelligence by giving three cheers.*

The insurgents entered Lancaster without opposition, and instantly marched to the market place, and proclaimed the Chevalier by sound of trumpet, the whole body being drawn up round the cross. After remaining two days at Lancaster, where the Highlanders regaled themselves with claret and brandy found in the custom-house, they took the road to Preston on Wednesday the ninth of November, with the intention of possessing themselves of Warrington bridge and securing Manchester, as preliminary to a descent upon Liverpool. The horse reached Preston at night, two troops of Stanhope's dragoons and part of a militia regiment under Sir Henry Houghton, which were quartered in the town, retiring to Wigan on their approach; but owing to the badness of the road from a heavy rain which had fallen during the day, the foot did not arrive till the following day, when the Chevalier was proclaimed at the cross with the usual formalities. On the march from Lancaster to Preston, and after their arrival there, the insurgents were joined by different parties of gentlemen, chiefly Catholics, with their tenants and servants, to the number of about fifteen hundred in all, by which additions Forster's army was increased to nearly four thousand men.

Forster, who had kept a strict watch upon Carpenter, and of whose movements he received regular accounts daily, was, however, utterly ignorant of the proceedings of a more formidable antagonist, who, he was made to understand by his Lancashire friends, was at too great a distance to prove dangerous. This was General Wills, who had the command in Cheshire, and who was now busily employed in concentrating his forces for the purpose of attacking the rebels. Unfortunately for them, the government had been induced, by the tumults and violences of the high-church party in the west of England during the preceding year, to quarter bodies of troops to keep the disaffected districts in check, which being disposed at Shrewsbury, Chester, Birmingham, Stafford, Wolverhampton, Manchester, and other adjacent places, could be easily assembled together on a short notice. On information being communicated to the government of the invasion of England, General Wills had been directed to collect all the forces he could and to march upon Warrington bridge and Preston, to prevent the advance of the insurgents upon Manchester.

General Wills had, accordingly, made great exertions to fulfil, without delay, the instructions he had received, and hearing that General Carpenter was at Durham, had sent an express to him to march westward; but he was unable to save Preston. When the insurgents entered this

* Patten, p. 89.

town Wills was at Manchester, waiting for the arrival of two regiments of foot and a regiment of dragoons which were within a few days' march of him; but alarmed lest by delaying his march they might make themselves masters of Warrington bridge and Manchester, by the possession of which they would increase their force and secure many other advantages, he resolved instantly to march upon Preston with such troops as he had. He left Manchester accordingly on Friday the eleventh of November, for Wigan, with four regiments of dragoons, one of horse, and Preston's regiment of foot, formerly known as the Cameronian regiment. He arrived at Wigan in the evening, where he met Stanhope's dragoons and Houghton's militia, who had retired from Preston on the evening of the ninth. In the meantime, the inhabitants of Liverpool anticipating a visit from the insurgents, were actively employed in preparations for its defence. Within three days they threw up a breastwork round that part of the town approachable from the land side, on which they mounted seventy pieces of cannon, and, to prevent the ships in the harbour from falling into the hands of the enemy, they anchored them in the offing.

It was the intention of Forster to have left Preston on the morning of Saturday the twelfth; but the unexpected arrival of Wills at Wigan, of which he received intelligence on the preceding night, made him alter his design. Forster had been so elated by the addition which his forces had received at Preston, that he affected to believe that Wills would never venture to face him; but old Mackintosh advised him not to be too confident, as they might soon find it necessary to defend themselves. Forster treated this advice very lightly, but Mackintosh added, "No matter, I tell you man, he (Wills) will attack, and beat us all, if we do not look about us." Thereupon, observing from a window where they stood, a party of the new recruits passing by, the veteran warrior thus contemptuously addressed the inexperienced chief, "Look ye there, Forster, are yon fellows the men ye intend to fight Wills with. Good faith, Sir, an' ye had ten thousand of them, I'd fight them all with a thousand of his dragoons." In fact, a more uncouth and unsoldier-like body had never before appeared in the field, than these Lancashire rustics; some with rusty swords without muskets, others with muskets without swords, some with fowling-pieces, others with pitchforks, while others were wholly unprovided with weapons of any sort.* Forster now altered his tone; and if the report of a writer, who says he was an eye-witness, be true, the news of Wills's advance quite unnerved him. Undetermined how to act, he sent the letter conveying the intelligence to Lord Kenmure, and retired to rest. His lordship, with a few of his officers, repaired to Forster's lodgings to consult him, and to their surprise found him in bed, though the night was not far advanced. The council, after some deliberation, resolved to send out a party of

* Annals of 2d year of George I., p. 136.

horse towards Wigan, to watch the motions of the enemy, to secure the pass into the town by Ribble bridge, and to prepare the army for battle.*

About day-break of the twelfth, General Wills commenced his march from Wigan in the following order :—The van consisted of Preston's regiment of foot, and was preceded by an advanced guard of fifty musketeers, and fifty dragoons on foot. The dragoon regiments of Honeywood, Dormer, and Munden, followed in succession. The baggage was placed in the rear under the protection of a party of fifty dragoons. As soon as it was known that Wills was advancing upon Preston, a select body of one hundred well-armed Highlanders, under the command of Farquharson of Invercauld, was posted at Ribble bridge, and Forster himself at the head of a party of horse, crossed the bridge, and advanced to reconnoitre.

The approach to Ribble bridge, which is about half a mile from Preston, is by a deep path between two high banks, and so narrow in some places that scarcely two men can ride abreast. Here it was that Cromwell, in an action with the royalists, was nearly killed by a large fragment of a rock thrown from above, and only escaped by forcing his horse into a quicksand. The possession, therefore, of this pass, was of the utmost importance to the insurgents, as Wills was not in a condition to have forced it, being wholly unprovided with cannon. Nor could he have been more successful in any attempt to pass the river, which was fordable only at a considerable distance above and below the bridge, and might have been rendered impassable in different ways. But the Jacobite general was grossly ignorant of every thing appertaining to the art of war, and in an evil hour ordered the party at the bridge to abandon it, and retire into the town.

General Wills arrived opposite Ribble bridge about one o'clock in the afternoon, and was surprised to find it undefended. Suspecting an ambuscade, he advanced through the way leading to the bridge with great caution, and having cleared the bridge, he marched towards the town. He, at first, supposed that the insurgents had abandoned the town with the intention of returning to Scotland ; but he soon ascertained that they still maintained their ground, and were resolved to meet him. Halting, therefore, his men upon a small rising ground near the town, he rode forward with a strong party of horse to take a survey of the position of the insurgents.

During the morning they had been busily employed in raising barricades in the principal streets, and making other preparations for a vigorous defence. The earl of Derwentwater displayed extraordinary activity and zeal on this occasion. He distributed money among the troops, exhorted them to stand firm to their posts, and set them an example by throwing off his coat, and assisting them in raising intrench-

* Letter, &c., by an eye-witness, p. 6.

ments. There were four main barriers erected across the leading streets near the centre of the town, at each of which, with one exception, were planted two pieces of cannon, which had been carried by the insurgents from Lancaster, and beyond these barriers, towards the extremities of the town, others were raised of an inferior description. Behind the barricades bodies of men were posted, as well as in the houses outside the barricades, particularly in those which commanded the entrances into the principal streets. The recent instances of Paris and Brussels have demonstrated how successfully, even an unfortified town may be defended against the assaults of an army, and certainly after the abandonment of Ribble bridge, a more judicious plan of defence could not have been devised by the ablest tactician for meeting the coming exigency; but unfortunately for the insurgents, the future conduct of their leaders did not correspond with these skilful dispositions.

One of the main barriers, of which Brigadier Mackintosh had the command, was a little below the church, the task of supporting whom was devolved upon the gentlemen volunteers, who were drawn up in the churchyard under the command of Viscount Kenmure and the earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, and Wintoun. A body of Highlanders, under Lord Charles Murray, third son of the duke of Athole, was posted at another barrier at the end of a lane leading to the fields. Colonel Mackintosh, at the head of the Mackintoshes, was posted at a third barricade called the Windmill barrier, from its adjoining such a structure on the road to Lancaster. At the remaining barrier, which was in the street leading to the Liverpool road, were placed some of the gentlemen volunteers, and a part of the earl of Strathmore's regiment under the command of Major Miller and Mr Douglas.

When the government general had made himself acquainted with the plan of defence adopted by the insurgents, he returned to his main body, and made preparations for an immediate attack. As he had not sufficient forces to make a simultaneous assault upon all the barriers, he resolved to confine himself at first to two only, those commanded by Old Borlum and Colonel Mackintosh, in the streets leading to Wigan and Lancaster respectively, at both ends of the town. For this purpose he divided his troops into three bodies;—the first consisted of Preston's regiment of foot, and two hundred and fifty dismounted dragoons taken in equal proportions from the five dragoon regiments. This division was commanded by Brigadier Honeywood, and was supported by his own regiment of dragoons. The second body consisted of the regiments of Wynn and Dormer, and a squadron of Stanhope's regiment, all of which were dismounted;—the last division, consisting of Pitt's horse and the remainder of Stanhope's regiment, was kept as a reserve for supporting the other divisions as occasion should require, and to prevent the insurgents from escaping over the Ribble.

The action was begun by the division of Honeywood, which, after driving a party of the insurgents from a small barricade at the ex-

tremity of one of the leading streets, entered the town, and attacked the barrier near the church, defended by Brigadier Mackintosh; but Honeywood's men were unable to make any impression, and after sustaining a galling and destructive fire from the barrier and from the houses on both sides of the street, they were forced to retreat from the street with considerable loss. In this affair Brigadier Honeywood received a contusion in his arm. Some of the officers of Preston's regiment being informed whilst engaged in the street, that the street leading to Wigan was not barricaded, and that the houses on that side were not possessed by the insurgents, Lord Forrester, the lieutenant-colonel, resolved, after Honeywood's division had failed to establish itself in the neighbourhood of the church, to attempt an entrance in that direction. He accordingly drew off his men by a narrow back passage or lane which led into the street in the direction of Wigan, and ordering them to halt till he should personally survey the position of the insurgents, this intrepid officer deliberately rode into the street with his drawn sword in his hand, and amidst a shower of bullets, coolly examined the barrier, and returned to his troops. He then sallied into the street at the head of his men, and whilst with one party he attacked the barrier, another under his direction crossed the street, and took possession of a very high house belonging to Sir Henry Houghton, which overlooked the whole town. In this enterprize many of the assailants fell by the fire of the insurgents who were posted in the adjoining houses. At same time, Forrester's men possessed themselves of another house opposite, which was unoccupied by the insurgents. The possession of these houses was of immense advantage to the government troops, as it was from the firing kept up from them that the insurgents chiefly suffered. A party of fifty Highlanders, under Captain Innes, had been posted in Houghton's house, and another body in the opposite one; but Brigadier Mackintosh had unfortunately withdrawn both parties contrary to their own wishes, to less important stations.

Forrester's men maintained the struggle with great bravery, but were unsuccessful in every attempt to force the barrier. As the insurgents, from their position in the houses and behind the barricade, were enabled to take deliberate aim, many of their shots took deadly effect, and the gallant Lord Forrester received several wounds; but although Preston's foot kept up a smart fire, they did little execution among the insurgents, who were protected by the barricade and the houses. Captain Peter Farquharson was the only Jacobite officer who fell in this attack. He received a shot in the leg, and being taken to the White Bull inn, where the wounded were carried, he called for a glass of brandy, and thus addressed his comrades:—"Come lads, here is our master's health; though I can do no more, I wish you good success." Amputation being deemed necessary, this brave man expired, almost immediately, from the unskilfulness of the operator.

Whilst this struggle was going on near the church, a contest equally

warm was raging in another quarter of the town between Dormer's division and the party under Lord Charles Murray. In approaching the barrier commanded by this young nobleman, Dormer's men were exposed to a well-directed and murderous fire from the houses, yet, though newly-raised troops, they stood firm, and reached the barricade, from which, however, they were vigorously repulsed. Lord Charles Murray conducted himself with great bravery in repelling this attack, and anticipating a second attempt upon the barrier, he applied for and obtained a reinforcement of fifty gentlemen volunteers from the church-yard. Dormer's troops returned to the assault, but although they displayed great courage and resolution, they were again beaten back with loss. An attack made on the Windmill barricade, which was defended by Colonel Mackintosh, met with a similar fate.

Thus repulsed in all their attacks, and as in their approaches to the barriers the government troops had been incessantly exposed to a regular and well directed fire from the houses, General Wills issued orders to set the houses at both ends of the town on fire, for the purpose of dislodging the insurgents from such annoying positions, and cooping them up in the centre of the town. Many houses and barns were in consequence consumed, and almost the entire range of houses as far as Lord Charles Murray's barrier was burnt. As the assailants advanced under cover of the smoke of the conflagration, many of the insurgents, in attempting to escape from the flames, were cut down on the spot. The rebels in their turn attempted to dislodge the government troops from the houses of which they had obtained possession, by setting them on fire. Fortunately there was no wind at the time, otherwise the whole town would have been reduced to ashes.

Night came on, yet an irregular platooning was, notwithstanding, kept up till next day by both parties. To distinguish the houses possessed by the government forces, General Wills ordered them to be illuminated, a circumstance which gave the besieged a decided advantage, as the light from the windows enabled them to direct their fire with better effect. Wills soon perceived the error he had committed, and sent persons round to order the lights to be extinguished, which order being promulgated aloud in the streets, was so strangely misunderstood by those within, that, to the amusement of both parties, they set up additional lights. During the night a considerable number of the insurgents left the town.

Before day-break, General Wills visited the different posts, and gave directions for opening a communication between both divisions of the army to support each other, should necessity require. During the morning, which was that of Sunday the thirteenth day of November, he was occupied in making arrangements for renewing the attack. Meantime General Carpenter arrived about ten o'clock with Churchill's and Molesworth's dragoons, accompanied by the earl of Carlisle, Lord Lumley, and others. This event was as exhilarating to the royalists, as it was disheartening to the besieged, who, notwithstanding the defection of

their more timorous associates during the preceding night, were, before the accession of Carpenter, fully a match for their assailants. Wills, after explaining to Carpenter the state of matters, and the dispositions he had made, offered to resign the command to him, as his superior officer, but being satisfied with Wills's conduct, Carpenter declined to accept it, remarking, that as he had begun the affair so well, he ought to have the glory of finishing it. On examining matters himself, however, Carpenter found that the town was not sufficiently invested, particularly at the end of Fishergate street, which led to a meadow by which the insurgents could easily have escaped. He therefore posted Pitt's horse along the meadow, and lest the whole body of the besieged should attempt to force a retreat that way, he caused a communication to be opened through the enclosures on that side, that the other divisions of the army might the more readily hasten thither to intercept them.

Thus invested on all sides, and pent up within a narrow compass by the gradual encroachments of the royalists, the Jacobite General grew alarmed, and began to think of a surrender. The Highlanders were fully aware of their critical situation, but the idea of surrendering had never once entered their minds, and they had been restrained only by the most urgent entreaties, from sallying out upon the royalists, and cutting their way through their ranks, or dying, as they remarked, like men of honour, with their swords in their hands. Neither Forster nor any other officer durst, therefore, venture to make such a proposal to them, and Patten asserts, that had they known that Colonel Oxburgh had been sent on the mission he undertook, he would have never seen Tyburn, but would have been shot by common consent before he had passed the barrier. This gentleman, who had great influence over Forster (and who, in the opinion of the last named author, was better calculated, from the strictness with which he performed his religious duties, to be a priest than a field officer,) in conjunction with Lord Widdrington and others, prevailed upon him to make an offer of capitulation, thinking that they would obtain favourable terms from the government general. This resolution was adopted without the knowledge of the rest of the officers, and Oxburgh, who had volunteered to negotiate, went off about two o'clock in the afternoon to Wills's head-quarters. To prevent suspicion of his real errand, the soldiers were informed that General Wills had sent to offer them honourable terms, if they would lay down their arms.

The reception of Oxburgh by General Wills, was very different from what he and his friends had anticipated. Wills, in fact, absolutely refused to hear of any terms, and upon Oxburgh making an offer that the insurgents should lay down their arms, provided he would recommend them to the mercy of the king, he informed him that he would not treat with rebels, who had killed several of his majesty's subjects, and who consequently must expect to undergo the same fate. The Colonel,

thereupon, with great earnestness, begged the General, as an officer and a man of honour, to show mercy to people who were willing to submit. The royalist commander, somewhat softened, replied, that all he would promise was, that if the insurgents would lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners at discretion, he would prevent the soldiers from cutting them to pieces till further orders; and that he would allow them an hour for the consideration of his offer. The result of this interview was immediately reported by Oxburgh to his friends, but nothing has transpired to throw any light upon their deliberations. Before the hour had elapsed, Mr Dalzell, brother to the earl of Carnwath, appeared at Wills's head quarters, and requested to know what terms he would grant separately to the Scots; Wills answered that he would not treat with rebels, nor grant any other terms than those already offered.

To bring matters to an immediate issue, General Wills sent Colonel Cotton into the town about three o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by a dragoon, and a drummer beating a chamade. Cotton alighted at the sign of the mitre, where the principal insurgent officers were assembled, and required an immediate answer to Wills's proposal. He was told, however, that differences existed between the English and Scottish officers upon the subject, but they requested that the General would allow them till seven o'clock next morning to settle their differences, and to consult upon the best method of delivering themselves up. This proposal being reported to Wills, he agreed to grant the Jacobite commanders the time required, provided they would bind themselves to throw up no new entrenchments in the streets, nor allow any of their men to escape; for the performance of which stipulations he required the delivery of approved hostages.—Cotton having returned to the town, the earl of Derwentwater and Brigadier Mackintosh were pitched upon as hostages for the observance of these stipulations, and sent to the royalist head-quarters.

As soon as the Highlanders perceived that a capitulation was resolved upon, their fury knew no bounds. They declared that sooner than surrender, they would die fighting, and that when they could no longer defend their posts, they would attempt to cut their way through their assailants, and make a retreat. During the night they paraded the streets, threatening destruction to every person who should even allude to a surrender. During these disturbances, several persons were killed, and many wounded, and Mr Forster, who was openly denounced as the originator of the capitulation, would certainly have been cut to pieces by the infuriated soldiers, had he appeared in the streets. He made a narrow escape even in his own chamber, a gentleman of the name of Murray having fired a pistol at him, the ball from which would have taken effect had not Mr Patten, the Jacobite chaplain, struck up the pistol with his hand, and thus diverted the course of the bullet, which penetrated the wainscot in the wall of the room.

At seven o'clock next morning, Forster notified to General Wills that

the insurgents were willing to surrender at discretion as he had required. Old Borlum being present when this message was delivered, observed that he would not be answerable for the Scots surrendering without terms, as they were people of desperate fortunes; and that he who had been a soldier himself, knew what it was to be a prisoner at discretion. "Go back to your people again," answered Wills, "and I will attack the town, and the consequence will be I will not spare one man of you.' After this challenge, Mackintosh could not with a good grace remain, and returned to his friends; but he came back immediately, and informed Wills that Lord Kenmure and the rest of the Scots noblemen, as well as his brother, would surrender on the same conditions as the English.

Colonel Cotton was thereupon despatched with a detachment of two hundred men to take possession of the town, and the rest of the government forces thereafter entered it in two grand divisions, amid the sound of trumpets and beating of drums, and met in the market place, where the Highlanders were drawn up under arms ready to surrender. The number of prisoners taken on this occasion was fourteen hundred and sixty-eight, of whom about four hundred and sixty-three were English, including seventy-five noblemen and gentlemen—the Scots amounted to one thousand and five, of whom one hundred and forty-three were noblemen and gentlemen. The noblemen and gentlemen were placed under guards in the inns of the town, and the privates were confined in the church. On the part of the insurgents there were only seventeen killed and twenty-five wounded in the different attacks, but the loss on the part of the royalists was very considerable, amounting, it is believed, to five times the number of the former. From the small number of prisoners taken, it would appear that few of the country people who had joined the insurgents when they entered Lancashire, had remained in Preston. They probably left the town during the nights of Saturday and Sunday.*

* Patten, p. 97, et seq. Annals of 2d year of George I. p. 125, et seq. Rae, 316, et seq. Faithful Register of the late Rebellion, pp. 162, 163. 164.

CHAPTER XIV.

Mar issues an order of assessment—Detachment of his army surprised at castle Campbell —Preparations for opening the campaign—Departure from Perth—Junction of the western clans—Advance of Argyle from Stirling—Enters Dunblane—Preparations for battle—Battle of Sheriffmuir—Return of Mar to Perth, and of Argyle to Stirling —Capture of Inverness—Arrival of the Chevalier—Met by Mar at Fetteresso—His reception by the non-jurant clergy—Issues a variety of proclamations—Preparations of the duke of Argyle—Retreat of the Jacobite army from Perth—Departure of the Chevalier for France—Conclusion of the Insurrection.

HAVING, for the sake of continuity, brought the narrative of the English branch of the insurrection to a close, in the preceding chapter, we now proceed to detail the operations of the royalist and Jacobite armies under Argyle and Mar respectively, and the other transactions in the north which preceded its total suppression.

When the Jacobite general took the field he was so unprovided with money, that after Colonel Hay entered Perth he could spare him only fifty guineas for the use of his detachment, and so exhausted had his little treasury become shortly after he took up his quarters there, that he was reduced to the necessity of laying the surrounding country, and the shires of Fife, Kinross, and Clackmannan under contribution. By an order dated from the camp at Perth, on the fourth of October, he commanded and required every landed proprietor, feuar, landed mortgagee, and all life-renters attending the standard of the Chevalier, to proportion and raise amongst their tenants and possessors, the sum of twenty shillings sterling on every hundred pounds scots of valued rent, and he ordered such landed proprietors as did not immediately or before the twelfth of October, attend his standard, to proportion and raise an assessment of double that amount. This order appears to have had little effect, as it was renewed on the twenty-first of October, when it was rigorously enforced, and the penalty of military execution threatened against those who should refuse to implement it.

To compel compliance, parties of horse and foot were despatched through the adjoining country. One of these, consisting of two hundred foot and one hundred horse, being sent towards the town of Dunfermline,

information of their march was brought to the duke of Argyle on Sunday, the twenty-third of October. His grace immediately despatched Colonel Cathcart with a detachment of dragoons to intercept them, who, receiving intelligence that the insurgents had passed Castle-Campbell, and had taken up their quarters for the night in a village on the road to Dunfermline, continued his march during the whole night, and coming upon the village unperceived at five o'clock in the morning, surprised the party, some of whom were taken while in bed. Among these were eleven gentlemen, including Gordon of Craig, Gordon of the Mill of Kincardine, Gordon younger of Aberlour, Hamilton of Gibstoun in Stirlingshire, Mr Murray brother to the laird of Abercairney, and Mr Hay son of Hay of Parbroath.*

After this affair, and for want of more stirring excitements, a sort of paper war was carried on between the two generals, which, if attended with little practical effect on either side, served at least to keep up in a more marked manner the distinction between the adherents of the government and the partizans of the Jacobite interest. When informed of the earl of Mar's order for an assessment, the duke of Argyle issued a counter one, on the twenty-fifth of October, prohibiting and discharging all persons from giving or furnishing the insurgents with money or provisions, under the pains of high treason, and for greater publicity he directed the same to be intimated at each parish church door after divine service, and before the dismissal of the congregation. This mandate was followed two days thereafter by another from the duke, requiring all well-affected noblemen, gentlemen, justices of the peace, magistrates and ministers, "to persuade and encourage all able-bodied and well-affected men," in their respective parishes, in town and country, to enlist in the regular army, and promising a bounty of forty shillings sterling in hand, and a discharge from the service if required at the end of three months after the suppression of the insurrection. This order was answered by a proclamation from the earl of Mar, dated first November, prohibiting and discharging all persons whatever, under the highest penalties, from giving obedience to it; and whereas, he had promised his protection, as he observes, to all ministers who behaved themselves dutifully, and did not acknowledge "the Elector of Brunswick as king, by praying for him as such in their churches and congregations;" yet as several of them continued the practice, and might thus "involve and mislead innocent and ignorant people, into traitorous and seditious practices;" he expressly prohibited "all ministers, as well in churches as in meeting houses, to acknowledge the Elector of Brunswick as king, and that upon their highest peril." And he ordered all officers, civil and military, to shut up the church doors of such ministers as should act in contempt of the order, to apprehend their persons and bring them prisoners to his camp. Many ministers, to avoid compliance

* Rae, p. 294.

with this order, absented themselves from their charges, but others who ventured openly to brave it, were apprehended and treated with severity. Mar, however, found a more pliant body in the non-jurant episcopal clergy, some of whom attached themselves to his camp, and harangued his troops from time to time on the duties they owed to their lawful sovereign, "King James the eighth."*

Although the earl seems to have calculated greatly upon the assistance of France, yet his stay at Perth appears to have been prolonged rather by the tardiness of the earl of Seaforth, in reaching the insurgent camp, than by any intention of waiting for supplies from France, or the expected invasion of England by the duke of Ormond; for no sooner did Seaforth arrive with the northern clans, about the beginning of November, than Mar began to concert measures with his officers for opening the campaign. The march of the earl of Seaforth had been retarded by the earl of Sutherland, at the head of a considerable number of his own men, and of the Mackays, Rosses, Monroes and others, but having compelled them to disperse, he proceeded on his march with about three thousand foot and eight hundred horse, leaving a sufficient force behind to protect his own country, and keep the royalist clans in check.

Hitherto the Jacobite commander, from the procrastinating system he had pursued, and from jealousies which had arisen in his camp among his officers, had experienced considerable difficulty in keeping his forces together. Of all men, the Highlanders were the most unlikely to relish the inactive duties of a camp, and as the duration of their services lay entirely with themselves, it was evident that the longer Mar delayed bringing them into action, the risk of their abandoning him was proportionably increased. It was not therefore without reason that one of the leaders remarked that he was afraid the Highlanders would desert their colours in three cases. 1. If they were long without being brought to action, they would tire and go home. 2. If they fought and were victorious, they would plunder and go home. 3. If they fought and were beaten, they would run away and go home.†

To counteract the injurious effect which a state of inaction might produce upon the minds of his men, Mar buoyed up their hopes by issuing from time to time, by means of a printing press brought from Aberdeen, and superintended by Freebairn of Edinburgh, a variety of fabricated accounts, highly favourable to their cause, respecting the progress of the rebellion in the south, and the great exertions making by the Chevalier's friends in France, all of which were swallowed with the utmost credulity by his unsuspecting adherents.

About the time the earl of Seaforth arrived at Perth, General Gordon had advanced as far as Castle Drummond with the western clans

* Wodrow's Letters, vol. 10. MS. Advocates' Library.
† MS. in the possession of Lord Rosslyn.

on his way to Perth; and as Mar had now resolved to attempt the passage of the Forth, he despatched an express to Gordon, to join him on his march. At a council of war, which was held on the ninth of November, the Jacobite chiefs came to the determination of leaving Perth the following day for Dunblane. On obtaining possession of this town, Mar's design was to detach three different bodies, of a thousand men each, to Stirling bridge, and the two adjacent fords above, for the purpose of amusing Argyle, while he himself with the main body of his army, consisting of nearly eight thousand men, should attempt to cross the river at a ford a little way above those selected for the intended *ruse*. In the event of success, the three detached bodies were to be directed to form a junction and follow the main body without delay, but in case the duke of Argyle abandoned Stirling to oppose the passage of the main body, they were to enter the town and fall upon his rear.

Accordingly, on the morning of Thursday, the tenth of November, Mar departed from Perth, leaving a garrison behind under Colonel Balfour, besides a scattered force of about three thousand men quartered in different parts of Fife. The earl not calculating upon a return to Perth, took all his baggage along with him and provisions sufficient to support his army for twelve days. The insurgents took up their quarters for the night at Auchterarder, where they were reviewed by the earl, and on the following day were joined by the western clans under General Gordon. The army rested the whole of the eleventh. On the morning of the twelfth, Mar ordered General Gordon to march forward with three thousand of the clans, and eight squadrons of horse under Brigadier Ogilvy, and the master of Sinclair, and take possession of Dunblane. After ordering the rest of the army to parade on the muir of Tullibardine, he departed for Drummond castle to hold an interview with the earl of Breadalbane, having previously directed General Hamilton to follow Gordon with the main body.

As early as the morning of Thursday the tenth of November, the duke of Argyle had received intelligence from some of his spies at Perth, of Mar's intended march, and of his plan for effecting the passage of the Forth. Fortunately for Argyle, his little army had been lately almost doubled by reinforcements from Ireland, and it now amounted to two thousand three hundred foot, and twelve hundred cavalry, all in the best order and condition, but though formidable from its composition when united, it was too weak to divide into detachments for resisting at different points the passage of an army thrice as numerous, in an attempt to cross the Forth. As Argyle, therefore, saw he could no longer retain his position on the banks of the river, which, from its now beginning to freeze, would soon be rendered more passable than before, he determined to cross the river and offer the insurgents battle before they should reach its northern bank. Though he exposed himself by this bold step to the disadvantage of fighting with a

river in his rear, he considered that the risk would be sufficiently counterbalanced by the advantage which his cavalry would have by engaging the enemy on level ground.

Having called in several small detachments which were quartered at Glasgow, Kilsyth, and Falkirk, Argyle crossed Stirling bridge on the morning of the twelfth of November, for Dunblane, much about the same time that Mar's forces had begun to advance upon that town in an opposite direction from Auchterarder. In a short time after their setting out, Argyle's advanced guard took possession of Dunblane, of which circumstance General Gordon was apprized on his march. Having halted his division, Gordon sent an express, announcing the intelligence to General Hamilton, who despatched it to the earl of Mar, and in a short time he forwarded a second express confirming the previous news, and adding that the enemy were in great force. Hamilton, upon receipt of this last despatch, halted his men on the ground adjoining the Roman camp at Ardoch, about five miles from Dunblane, till he should receive instructions from the earl. Mar soon thereafter returned from Drummond castle, and being desirous of obtaining additional intelligence from the general in advance, ordered Hamilton to remain in his position, and to hold his men in readiness to march on a moment's notice. This order had however been scarcely issued, when a fresh despatch arrived from General Gordon, announcing that the duke of Argyle was in Dunblane with his whole army. Mar thereupon sent an express to Gordon, desiring him to remain where he was till the main body of the army should come up, and having ordered three guns to be fired, the signal agreed upon to be given Hamilton for putting his men in marching order, the latter immediately formed his division and put it in motion. After a junction between the two divisions of the army had been formed, the insurgents marched to the bridge of Kinbuck, about four miles from Dunblane, where they passed the night under arms without any covering or tent. The duke of Argyle, who had the most exact intelligence brought to him of the motions of the insurgents, left Dunblane and formed his army in order of battle in the evening, on a rising ground above the house of Kippenross, about two miles north-east from the town. His army was drawn up in one extended line. In the centre were eight battalions of foot under the command of Major General Wightman. The right wing consisted of five squadrons of dragoons, under Lieutenant General Evans, and a similar number, at the head of whom was Lieutenant General Whitham, composed the left wing. After thus drawing up his men, his grace issued orders that no tent should be pitched during the night either by officer or private soldier; that all the officers without distinction should remain at their posts; and that the troops should rest on their arms in the exact order in which they had been formed. The severest penalties were threatened those who should infringe these orders. Though the night was extremely cold, the troops prostrated themselves upon the bare ground, and snatched a few hours repose.

The duke himself retired to a sheep-cote at the foot of a hill on the right of the army, where he passed the night sitting on a bundle of straw. Intelligence having been brought him at midnight of the near position of the enemy, he ordered six rounds of ammunition to be distributed to each man in addition to twenty-four which they had already received. This order was carried into effect before two o'clock in the morning.*

Although the two armies had bivouacked during the night within three miles of each other, and were only separated by the Sheriffmuir, an elevated and uneven waste, skirted on the west by the high road from Stirling to Perth, near the river Allan, yet so ignorant was Mar of the movements of Argyle, that so far from supposing him to be within such a short distance of his camp, he imagined that he still remained at Dunblane; and it was not until he observed a reconnoitring party of Argyle's cavalry on the adjoining heights of the Sheriffmuir next morning that he became aware of his immediate proximity. This party was headed by the duke himself, who had aroused his army by break of day, and who, after issuing instructions to his men to prepare for battle, had ascended at an early hour the hill where his advanced guard was posted to survey the position of the insurgents.

The earl of Mar had also put his men under arms shortly after break of day, and when Argyle's party of observation was first noticed, he was busily engaged ranging his men in marching order, preparatory to advancing upon Dunblane. Conceiving that Argyle meant to offer him battle immediately, he instantly assembled all the chiefs in front of his horse and after addressing them in an eloquent speech, in which he painted in glowing colours the wrongs of their prince and their country, and congratulated them that the day had at length arrived when they could revenge their injuries in open battle, he desired to know if they were willing to engage. The marquis of Huntly alone raised some objections, and some few were heard in an under-tone to advise a return to Perth till the spring; but the voices of Huntly and his supporters were drowned by loud shouts of "fight, fight!" from the rest, who at once galloped off to their different posts.†

The earl of Mar, thereupon, resumed the marshalling of his army, which formed into two lines with a rapidity and decision, which would have done honour to veteran troops, but by accident, three squadrons of horse posted on the left, misled by a cry from the Highlanders, of "horse to the right," left their position and took ground on the right, an unfortunate mistake for the insurgents, as it contributed to the defeat of their left wing. The centre of the first line was composed of ten battalions of foot, consisting of about four thousand men under the

* Rae, p. 302.

† MS. in the possession of Lord Rosslyn, referred to in Lord John Russell's History of Europe, p. 345. Jacobite Official Account of the battle, printed at Perth, 1715.

command of the captain of Clanranald, Glengary, Sir John Maclean, the laird of Glenbucket, Brigadier Ogilvy, and the two brothers of Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat. General Gordon, who had long served in the army of the Czar of Muscovy, was at the head of these battalions. On the right of this line were placed two of the Marquis of Huntly's squadrons of horse, and another called the Stirling squadron, which carried the Chevalier's standard. This squadron, which consisted wholly of gentlemen, also bore the title of "the Restoration regiment of horse." The Perthshire squadron formed the left wing. The centre of the second line consisted of eight battalions of foot, viz. three of the earl of Seaforth's foot, two of the marquis of Huntly's, the earl of Panmure's battalion, and those of the marquis of Tullibardine of Drummond, commanded by the viscount of Strathallan, and of Logie-Almond, and Robertson of Struan. On the right of this second line were posted two squadrons of horse under the Earl Marischal. The Angus squadron was on the left. The whole of the force thus formed for action may be estimated at eight thousand, besides which there was a *corps de reserve* of four hundred horse posted considerably in the rear.

While this formation was going on, the duke of Argyle observed for several hours with great attention the various evolutions of the insurgents; but from the nature of the ground occupied by them he could not obtain a full view of their line which extended through a hollow way, the view of which was obstructed by the brow of a hill which was occupied by a party of Mar's troops. From Mar's advanced guards looking towards Dunblane, the duke conjectured that the insurgents intended to march in that direction; but he was undeceived in this idea by a movement on the part of a mass of the insurgents towards his right as if they intended to cross the moor and fall upon the flank of his army. As a large morass lay in the way of the insurgents, Argyle, in advancing from Dunblane, had conceived himself free from danger on that side; but it had now been rendered quite passable for foot as well as horse by a keen frost during the preceding night. As soon as Argyle saw this large body advance up the face of the moor, which, from the right wing of the insurgents being concealed from his view by a rising ground, he supposed was the main body of Mar's army, he requested the advice of the officers who surrounded him as to how he should act. It was the general opinion, an opinion in which the duke himself concurred, that there would be less risk in engaging the insurgents on the high grounds than in waiting for them in the position occupied by the duke's army; but although most of the officers thought that there would not be sufficient time to bring forward the troops and to change the order of battle, a change which was absolutely necessary, the duke resolved to draw out his troops upon the moor.*

Having come to this determination, the duke returned quickly to the

* Wodrow's Letters, MS. vol. 10.

army, and ordered the drums to beat the *General*. This order was given about eleven o'clock; but although the drums instantly beat to arms, an hour elapsed before the troops were ready to march. The new order of battle was as follows. The duke's first line consisted of six battalions of foot, all old troops, amounting scarcely to eighteen hundred men. On the right were posted three squadrons of dragoons being the best in the army, namely Evans's, the Scots Greys, and the earl of Stairs. On the left there were placed three squadrons of dragoons, namely, Carpenter's, Ker's, and a squadron of Stairs. The second line was composed of only two battalions of foot, with a squadron of dragoons on each wing. The right wing of the army was commanded by the duke himself, the centre by General Wightman, and the left by General Whitham. Behind Evans's dragoons, on the right wing, a body of about sixty horse, noblemen and gentlemen volunteers, took up a station.

The body which Argyle had observed coming up the face of the moor, was a squadron of the Earl Marischal's horse and Sir Donald Macdonald's battalion, under their respective commanders. These had been despatched by the earl of Mar, to drive away the reconnoitring party under the duke of Argyle from the height; but on its disappearing, they returned and reported the circumstance to the earl. On receiving this intelligence, Mar gave orders to his troops to march up the hill in four columns. The whole army was accordingly put in motion, but they had not proceeded far when the Earl Marischal, who was in advance, observed Argyle forming his lines on the southern summit of the hill, at a short distance from him. He immediately notified the circumstance to Mar, who instantly gave orders to his men to quicken their pace up the hill. In the hurry of their ascent, the second line pressed so closely upon the first as to occasion some confusion on the left when again getting into line, and it was in consequence of this disorder that the squadrons of horse forsook their position on the left, and took ground on the right.

Before the insurgents reached the summit of the moor, Argyle's right wing was fully formed, but the greater part of his centre and left, who were moving up the ascent by a gradual progression from right to left, had not yet reached their ground. Argyle's right now found itself within pistol-shot of Mar's left, but from the greater extent of Mar's line, it considerably outflanked Argyle's left.

As soon as the earl of Mar perceived that Argyle's line was only partially formed, he resolved instantly to attack him before he should be able to complete his arrangements; and having sent orders to his right and left to fall simultaneously upon the enemy, Mar placed himself at the head of the clans, and being apprized by a firing on his left that the action had commenced, he pulled off his hat, which he waved, and with a huzza led forward his men upon the half-formed battalions which composed the left wing of the enemy. Arrived within pistol-shot, the Highlanders, according to custom, poured in a volley upon the English

infantry. The fire was instantly returned, and, to the dismay of the Highlanders, Alan Muidartach, the captain of Clanranald, was mortally wounded. He was instantly carried off the field, and, as his men clustered around him, he encouraged them to stand firm to their posts, and expressed a hope that the result of the struggle in which they were engaged would be favourable to the cause of his sovereign. The loss of a chief, who, from the stately magnificence with which he upheld his feudal rank, and the urbanity of his disposition, had acquired an ascendency over the minds of his people, could not fail to depress their spirits, and make them almost overlook the danger of their situation. While absorbed in grief, they were in a moment roused from their dejection by Glengary, who, observing their conduct at this juncture, sprung forward, and throwing his bonnet into the air, cried aloud, in the expressive language of his country, "Revenge! Revenge! Revenge to-day and mourning to-morrow!" No sooner had this brave chieftain pronounced these words, than the Highlanders rushed forward, sword in hand, with the utmost fury, upon the royalist battalions. The government troops attempted to stem the impetuosity of the attack, by opposing the Highlanders with fixed bayonets, but the latter pushed them aside with their targets, and rushing in with their broad swords among the enemy, spread death and terror around them. The three battalions on Argyle's left, which had never been properly formed, unable to rally, instantly gave way, and falling back upon some squadrons of horse in their rear, created such confusion, that within seven or eight minutes after the assault, the form of a battalion or squadron was no longer discernible. A complete route ensued; and there seems no doubt that the whole of Argyle's left would have been completely destroyed, had not General Whitham, at the head of the squadrons which were upon the left of the battalions, checked the advance of Mar's horse by a charge, in which he succeeded in capturing a standard. Afraid of being outflanked by Argyle's left wing, which extended far beyond his position, and being ignorant of what was passing on the right wing of the royalists, the view of which was concealed by the unevenness of the ground, Whitham retired in the direction of Dunblane. The earl of Mar pursued the disordered mass to the distance of only half a mile, and having ordered his foot to halt till he should put them in order, resolved to follow the enemy and complete the victory; but receiving intelligence that his left wing and second line had given way, and that his artillery had been taken, he retraced his steps, and took up a position on the top of the stony hill of Kippendavie, till he should receive further information respecting the fate of his left wing.

This wing, which was the first to begin the attack, opened a fire upon Argyle's right wing when almost within pistol shot. The Highlanders thereafter steadily advanced, and pouring a second volley among the enemy, with a precision and effect not to be surpassed by the best disciplined troops, rushed up, sword in hand, to the very muzzles

of their muskets. Though the fire was destructive, and made Evans's dragoons reel for a time, the English troops maintained their ground, and the foot kept up a platooning, which checked the fury of their assailants. The struggle continued for some time without any decided advantage on either side; but as Argyle began to perceive that he could make no impression in front upon the numerous masses of the insurgents, and that he might be out-flanked by them, he resolved to attack them on their flank with part of his cavalry, while his foot should gall them with their fire in front. He therefore ordered Colonel Cathcart to move along the morass to the right with a strong body of cavalry, and to fall upon the flank of Mar's left wing, a movement which he executed with great skill. Cathcart, after receiving a fire from the insurgent horse, immediately charged them, but they sustained the assault with great firmness. Borne down by the superior weight of the English dragoons, whose horses were much larger than those of the insurgents, the Scottish horse, after nearly half-an-hour's contest, were compelled to give way. The foot of Argyle's right having made a simultaneous attack upon Mar's first line of foot, the latter also were forced to fall back, and Mar's horse and foot coming into contact with his second line, they mixed indiscriminately, and a general route in consequence ensued.

After receding a short distance, the insurgent horse, which consisted principally of the Jacobite gentry of Perthshire and Angus, attempted to rally, and even to charge Argyle's cavalry in their turn, but they were again forced to retire by the pressure of the English dragoons, who kept advancing in regular order upon the receding masses of the insurgents. Determined, however, not to yield one inch of ground without the utmost necessity, the cavalier horse made repeated efforts to drive the enemy back, and, in the course of their retreat, made ten or twelve attempts at different places to rally and charge the advancing foe; but unable to resist the overwhelming pressure of the English cavalry, they were, after three hours' hard fighting, driven across the river Allan by Argyle's dragoons. Some idea may be formed of the obstinacy of the contest, when it is considered that the distance from the field of battle to the river is scarcely three miles. To the gallant stand made by the horse may be ascribed the safety of the foot, who would have been probably all cut to pieces by the dragoons, if the attention of the latter had not been chiefly occupied by the horse. The foot, however, suffered considerably in the retreat, notwithstanding the humanity of the duke of Argyle, who endeavoured to restrain the carnage. Besides offering quarter to such of the Jacobite gentlemen as were personally known to him, he displayed his anxiety for the preservation of his countrymen so far, that on observing a party of his dragoons cutting down a body of foot, into which they had thrown themselves, he exclaimed with a feeling of deep emotion, "Oh, spare the poor Blue-bonnets!"

As Mar's right wing had been concealed from the view of Argyle, the latter conceived that the numerous body he was driving before him

formed the entire of the insurgent army. He, therefore, resolved to continue the pursuit till dark, and to support him, he ordered General Wightman, who commanded his foot upon the right, to follow him with his battalions as quickly as possible. Wightman accordingly proceeded to follow the duke with a force of rather more than three regiments; but he had not marched far, when he heard a firing on his left, to ascertain the cause of which, he sent his aid-de-camp in the direction whence the firing proceeded. This officer returned in a short time, and reported that the half of Argyle's foot, and the squadrons on the left, had all been cut off by the right of the insurgents, which was superior in point of numbers to Argyle's left. Wightman thereupon slackened his pace, and despatched a messenger to inform the duke of the fate of his left wing. Afraid of being attacked in his rear by Mar's right wing, he kept his men in perfect order, but no demonstration was made to follow him. When informed of the defeat of his left wing, Argyle gave over the pursuit, and joining Wightman with five squadrons of dragoons, put his men in order of battle and marched boldly to the bottom of the hill, on the top of which the enemy, amounting to four thousand men, were advantageously posted. Argyle had now scarcely a thousand men under him, and as these were already greatly exhausted, he judged it expedient to act on the defensive; and accordingly he posted his men behind some enclosures at the bottom of the hill, ready to repel any attack which the enemy might make. For better protection he posted two pieces of cannon on his right and left, to play upon the enemy should they approach; but the insurgents showed no disposition to engage, and both parties, as if by mutual consent, retired from their positions in different directions. The duke filed off his men to the right, in marching order, towards Dunblane; but as he still dreaded an attack, he formed his men several times on the march, wherever he found the ground convenient, and waited the approach of the enemy. Mar drew off his men toward Ardoch, where he passed the night, and Argyle's troops lay under arms during the night in the neighbourhood of Dunblane.

As might have been expected, on an occasion of such dubious success on either side, both parties claimed a victory, but impartiality will confer the palm on neither. Argyle, it is true, visited the field of battle the following morning, which Mar might also have done had he been inclined, and this circumstance, therefore, can afford no argument in support of his pretensions. Neither can the capture of standards and colours by Argyle be considered as a proof of success, for although he took fourteen colours and standards, including the royal standard called "the Restoration," besides six pieces of cannon and other trophies, Mar, according to the official Jacobite account, captured four stands of colours, several drums, and about fourteen or fifteen hundred stands of arms. Accounts the most contradictory have been given by both parties of the losses sustained by them. According to the rolls of Argyle's muster-master general, his loss amounted to two hundred and ninety

men killed, a hundred and eighty-seven wounded, and a hundred and thirty-three prisoners, making a grand total of six hundred and ten, while the Jacobite account makes the loss in killed and wounded on the side of Argyle amount to between seven and eight hundred, and states the number of killed on Mar's side as only one in fifteen to those of Argyle. On the other hand, the Jacobites state their loss in killed at only sixty, and that very few of their men were wounded, while the royalists say that they lost, in killed and wounded, about eight hundred men.* From these statements, it appears that the main discrepancy relates to the loss on the Jacobite side, which can neither be admitted to the extent of the royalist account, nor considered so low as that given by the Jacobites. But even supposing the royalist statement correct, the comparative loss of the insurgents scarcely exceeded one-third of that sustained by the government forces.

Several officers were killed on the royalist side. Among the wounded was the earl of Forfar, a brave officer who commanded Morison's regiment. He received a shot in the knee, and sixteen other wounds, of which he died at Stirling about three weeks after the battle. Several persons of distinction were killed on the side of the insurgents, among whom were the earl of Strathmore, and the captain of Clanranald. A considerable number of gentlemen were taken prisoners by Argyle, but many of them escaped, and he was only enabled to carry eighty-two of them to Stirling. Of this number were Lord Strathallan, Thomas Drummond his brother, Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, Drummond of Logie-Drummond, and Murray of Auchtertyre.

On whichsoever side success lay, the battle, in its consequences, was most important in many respects to the government, as it was immediately followed by the desertion of a considerable number of the clans. With the exception of the Macdonalds, who particularly distinguished themselves on the right, and the Perthshire and Angus horse who withstood the repeated shocks of Argyle's cavalry, the remainder of the insurgent army made little resistance. The Macphersons and Macgregors did not join in the contest at all, but looked on as if unconcerned about the result. Some of the clans, disgusted at the pusillanimity or indifference exhibited by their associates, and others dispirited by the firmness displayed by the government forces, returned to their homes, thus verifying the observation made by a Jacobite in reference to the clans, that whether victorious or beaten, they would run away and go home. The defection of these clans was a severe blow to Mar, and made him abandon the idea of crossing the Forth. He, therefore, returned to Perth with the remains of his army, and to encourage the friends of the Jacobite interest, circulated the most favourable accounts of his alleged success at Sheriffmuir, and of the state of the Chevalier's affairs, although he himself began to consider them desper-

* Colonel Harrison's account.

ate.* The duke of Argyle, on the other hand, retired to his original head-quarters at Stirling, intending to resume offensive operations as soon as some expected reinforcements should arrive.

The attempt of Mar to disguise the real state of matters was too gross to deceive his adherents, and there were not a few who already began to entertain thoughts of making their own terms with the government; but the Highland chiefs and the principal officers remained firm, and urged Mar to risk another battle even with his reduced forces. The earl, however, though personally brave, was not the man to comply with an advice so opposed to the rule he had laid down for himself, never to engage without a very superior force on his side. But had he been of a different opinion, an event of which he soon received intelligence would probably have precluded him from moving a second time upon Stirling. This was the capture of the important fort of Inverness, by a party of the Frasers, Grants, and others, headed by Simon Fraser of Beaufort, better known in history as Lord Lovat; who, to promote his own personal interest with the government, had taken a decided part against the Chevalier. The clannish principle that obedience to a chief is the first of duties, was fully exemplified on this occasion, by the defection of a large body of the Frasers, who had joined Mar's standard under Fraser of Fraserdale, in the absence of their chief. The earl of Seaforth, the greater part of whose men had returned home, was despatched to the north on receipt of this intelligence, for the purpose of collecting forces, and of attempting, in conjunction with the marquis of Huntly, who was also sent north with his horse, the reduction of Inverness.

It has been remarked as a singular circumstance in this history of Mar's insurrection, that the three important events which decided its fate should have occurred in regular daily succession. Inverness was captured on the twelfth of November, and on the same day Mackintosh's forces, cooped up in Preston, had to maintain a precarious struggle against the attacks of Wells' army. Next day witnessed the battle of Sheriffmuir, and at the very time the insurgents in Preston were offering terms of surrender, the right wings of Argyle's and Mar's armies were pursuing, with all the confidence of victory, the wings to which they were respectively opposed. And lastly, while on the fourteenth the insurgents in England were capitulating at Preston, the two rival armies in the north were retiring to their head quarters, each of them claiming a victory.

As the capture of Inverness by the royalists was an important occurrence in the history of this short-lived insurrection, some account of it and of some preliminary circumstances connected therewith may not be here out of place. So late as the thirteenth of September, only two months before the battle of Sheriffmuir, and the surrender at Preston, Brigadier Mackintosh, at the head of five hundred men, had

* Journal of Mar's proceedings, printed at Paris.

proclaimed the Chevalier in the capital of the Highlands. He had thereupon demanded possession of some arms and ammunition which were in Culloden-house, but the lady of Mr Forbes the proprietor, who was then in London, shut the gates, and refused to deliver up the keys. At her desire, Colonel Munro, son of Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, who had lately been appointed governor of Inverness, raised two hundred well-armed men, to protect the lands of Culloden; but on arriving at the water of Conon with his men, he was induced to retrace his steps, in consequence of a message from the earl of Seaforth, threatening to oppose his passage with a body of fifteen hundred men.

When Mackintosh marched south to join the earl of Mar, a detachment under Sir John Mackenzie of Coul, took possession of Inverness by desire of the earl of Seaforth. Meantime, Colonel Munro had formed a camp at Alness, where he had collected nearly six hundred of the Munroes and Rosses, and where he was joined on the sixth of October, by the earl of Sutherland, and the Lords Strathnaver and Reay, who brought about six hundred additional men along with them. The object of collecting this force was twofold,—first, to protect the territories of the great northern whigs from the incursions of a formidable body of eighteen hundred men, which lay encamped at Brahan, under the earl of Seaforth; and secondly, by threatening an inroad upon his own lands and those of his followers, to detain the earl in the north, and thus prevent his junction with the forces under Mar. By the junction of seven hundred Macdonalds, under Sir Donald Macdonald, and other minor accessions from the Mackinnons, Macraes, the Chisholms of Strathglass, and other clans, the earl's force was increased to three thousand men. Thus strengthened, Seaforth left his camp on the ninth of October, to attack the earl of Sutherland, but the latter, on account of the disparity of numbers, made a retreat to the Bonar, after which his men dispersed and returned to their homes. A body of about six hundred Grants, who had advanced as far as the water of Findhorn, for the purpose of entering Ross, and joining the camp at Alness, on hearing of the retreat of the earl of Sutherland, returned home. At Alness, where Seaforth took up his quarters, he collected a large quantity of booty from the lands of the Munroes, and after spending some days there, he marched to Inverness, whence he took his departure for the south.

About this time, Lord Lovat arrived in the north, and, in conjunction with some friends of the government, formed a plan for seizing Inverness. Having collected a body of the Frasers and Grants, he invested the town, and sent in a detachment under the command of Captain Arthur Ross, brother to the laird of Kilravock, to surprise it; but the detachment was repulsed, and the captain killed. A resolution was thereupon entered into by the besiegers, to surround the town and castle, preparatory to a general assault; but Sir John Mackenzie, the Jacobite governor, conceiving himself incapable of making an effec-

tual resistance, evacuated the castle, and crossing the Frith with his men in boats, allowed Lovat to enter the town without further opposition. In retaliation for the earl of Seaforth's conduct at Alness, the earl of Sutherland, after the capture of Inverness, made a journey with his own men, and parties of the Mackays, Rosses, and Munroes, through the country of the Mackenzies, and levied a contribution upon all the gentlemen of that name, whose tenants had joined Seaforth, equal to six weeks' provisions, for the number of men they were bound by law to have furnished the government.*

The arrival of the Chevalier had been long anxiously looked for by his friends in Scotland. He was now about to gratify their desire of beholding his person; but James had already missed the golden opportunity, which presented itself at an early stage of the insurrection, of recovering his father's crown. Had he, on arriving at St Malo, whither he proceeded from Lorraine at the breaking out of the insurrection, instantly taken shipping, he would not only have complied with the declared wishes of his adherents, but would have evinced at once a determination to maintain his claim. Instead of embarking, however, immediately, as he should have done, he spent so much time in the shipment of supplies, which he was desirous should precede his departure, that he was at last altogether prevented from sailing by some men-of-war, which appeared off the harbour of St Malo, and which had been sent by the British government to intercept him. That he might not disappoint the expectations of his partizans, he resolved to go to Dunkirk in quest of shipping, and having traversed the country in disguise, he embarked at that port, about the middle of December, on board a small French vessel of eight guns, which had formerly been a privateer. He was attended by five persons only, who, to prevent suspicion, were disguised as French officers. Among these were the marquis of Tynemouth, son of the duke of Berwick, and Lieutenant Allan Cameron, a son of Lochiel.

If, from the apparent pusillanimity of the prince's conduct at St Malo, there were persons who felt inclined to question his courage, they must have been undeceived by this bold and adventurous step. While at St Malo, he had, to avoid the risk of capture, formed the design of eschewing both channels, by shipping his course along the western coast of Ireland, and landing in the western Highlands. In this way he would have incurred little danger; but the case was very different in traversing the German ocean, which was beset by British men-of-war, which were constantly on the alert. Yet regardless of the evident risk which he ran, by attempting a descent upon the eastern coast of Scotland, he sailed from Dunkirk in the small vessel in which he had embarked, after leaving instructions to despatch after him two other vessels which lay in the harbour with his domestics, and some

* Rae, p. 328, et seq.

stores for the use of his army. It was the Chevalier's intention to have landed in the vicinity of the Frith of Tay, and accordingly, after steering in a northerly direction, he stood across for the coast of Angus, which was descried after a voyage of five days; but observing, at some distance, a sail, which he judged to be unfriendly, he altered his course to northward with the design of landing at Peterhead, of which the Earl Marischal was the feudal superior. The vessel which carried the Chevalier came, however, sufficiently near to land to intimate by signals to the friends of the prince in the neighbourhood that he was on board, which intelligence was immediately conveyed to the camp at Perth, where it was received with a feeling of intense delight.

The Chevalier arrived off Peterhead, on the twenty second of December, seven days from the date of his departure from Dunkirk, and immediately landed with his small retinue of five persons, all disguised as seamen. After despatching the vessel to France with the news of his arrival, he and his companions took up their abode in the town for the night. He passed the next night at Newburgh, a seat of the Earl Marischal, having previously sent Lieutenant Cameron to Perth with the intelligence of his landing. The Chevalier continued his journey towards Perth, and on the twenty fourth, passed *incognito* through Aberdeen, and arrived at Fetteresso, the principal seat of the Earl Marischal, where he remained several days. As soon as Lieutenant Cameron reached Perth, the earl of Mar, the Earl Marischal, General Hamilton, and about thirty other gentlemen, mounted their horses, and set off to meet the Chevalier. This cavalcade arrived at Fetteresso on the twenty seventh, and the persons composing it were introduced to "the king," and had the honour of kissing his hand. After the breaking up of the court, the Chevalier was proclaimed at the gates of the house, and printed copies of the declaration which he had issued in Lorraine were immediately dispersed.*

The Chevalier intended to have proceeded next day on his journey to Perth, but he was detained at Fetteresso till the second of January, by two successive fits of ague, which, however, did not prevent him from receiving addresses from the "Episcopal clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen," and from the magistrates, town council, and Jacobite inhabitants of the town. The address of the clergy, which was presented on the twenty ninth of December by the Rev. Drs James and George Garden, Dr Burnet, and the Rev. Messrs Dumbreck, Blair, and Maitland, was couched in very loyal terms, and as embodying the sentiments of a highly respectable party, deserves something more than a mere passing notice. Although, among all lovers of rational liberty, there can be little difference of opinion as to the expediency which dictated the expulsion of the unfortunate race of Stuart from the throne, still we cannot but admire the firm attachment displayed by the adherents of that family to their

* Annals of 2nd year of George I. p. 189.

cause, even in its most hopeless state. It was quite natural for the catholics to espouse the cause of the Chevalier and his son, as apart from their principles which tend to support hereditary succession, these princes were professed catholics; but no motives save those of the purest loyalty could have induced the non-jurant clergy and their flocks to enlist themselves under the banners of the descendants of a king who intended, as many believed, perhaps erroneously, to have established the catholic religion. The catholics had, no doubt, even when labouring under the most galling restrictions, shown them the example by their stern inflexibility to the two Charleses, but by comparing the relative situations of both parties at the period in question, the protestant Jacobites of the north may be considered entitled to the precedence in disinterestedness.

The address from the clergy, after expressing thanks to God for the Chevalier's "safe and happy arrival" in Scotland, where his presence had been so much longed for, thus proceeds:—"We hope and pray that God may open the eyes of such of your subjects, as malicious and self-designing men have industriously blinded with prejudices against your majesty, as if the recovery of your just rights would ruin our religious liberties and property, which by the overturning of these rights have been highly encroached upon; and we are persuaded that your majesty's justice and goodness will settle and secure those just privileges, to the conviction of your most malicious enemies.

"Almighty God has been pleased to train up your majesty from your infancy in the school of the cross, in which the divine grace inspires the mind with true wisdom and virtue, and guards it against those false blandishments by which prosperity corrupts the heart; and as this school has sent forth the most illustrious princes, as Moses, Joseph, and David, so we hope the same infinitely wise and good God designs to make your majesty, not only a blessing to your own kingdoms, and a true father of them, but also a great instrument of the general peace and good of mankind.

"Your princely virtues are such, that in the esteem of the best judges you are worthy to wear a crown, though you had not been born to it; which makes us confident that it will be your majesty's care to make your subjects a happy people, and so to secure them in their religious liberties and property as to leave no just ground of distrust, and to unite us all in true Christianity according to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the practice of the primitive Christians." After alluding to the proclamation issued by the government for securing the person of the Chevalier, which is designated as an encouragement to murder, the addressers assure him that as it had been so it should be their care to instil into the minds of the people true principles of loyalty to his "majesty." The Chevalier in answer stated, that he was sensible of the zeal and loyalty which they had expressed for him, and that he should be glad to have opportunities of giving them marks of his favour

and protection. A similar answer was returned to the address from Aberdeen.

While at Fetteresso the Chevalier exercised some of the functions of royalty, by conferring titles of dignity on some of his adherents. He raised the earl of Mar to a dukedom; and, according to report, conferred the honour of knighthood upon Bannerman, the Jacobite provost of Aberdeen, who presented the address from that city. Having recovered from his attack, the Chevalier left Fetteresso on the second of January, and went to Brechin, where he passed the night. Next day he moved forward to Kinnaird, and on the fourth he removed to Glammis Castle, the principal seat of the earl of Strathmore. At Glammis Mar drew up a letter, in which he gave a very flattering account of the Chevalier. As the object of this letter was to impress the people with a favourable opinion of the Chevalier, Mar ordered it to be printed and circulated as widely as possible. The letter is written with address, and may still be perused with interest:

"Glames, 5 Jan. 1716.

"I met the king at Fetteresso on Tuesday se'enight, where we staid till Friday; from thence we came to Brechin, then to Kinnaird, and yesterday here. The king designed to have gone to Dundee to-day, but there is such a fall of snow that he is forced to put it off till to-morrow, if it be practicable then; and from thence he designs to go to Scoon. There was no haste in his being there sooner, for nothing can be done this season, else he had not been so long by the way. People, everywhere, as we have come along, are excessively fond to see him, and express that duty they ought. Without any compliment to him, and to do him nothing but justice, set aside his being a prince, he is really the first gentleman I ever knew: He has a very good presence, and resembles King Charles a great deal. His presence, however, is not the best of him. He has fine parts, and despatches all his business himself with the greatest exactness. I never saw any body write so finely. He is affable to a great degree, without losing that majesty he ought to have, and has the sweetest temper in the world. In a word, he is every way fitted to make us a happy people, were his subjects worthy of him. To have him peaceably settled on his throne, is what these kingdoms do not deserve; but he deserves it so much that I hope there is a good fate attending him. I am sure there is nothing wanting to make the rest of his subjects as fond of him as we are, but their knowing him as we do; and it will be odd if his presence among us, after his running so many hazards to compass it, do not turn the hearts, even of the most obstinate. It is not fit to tell all the particulars, but I assure you he has left nothing undone, that well could be, to gain every body; and I hope God will touch their hearts.

"I have reason to hope we shall very quickly see a new face of affairs abroad in the king's favour, which is all I dare commit to paper.

"MAR."

On the morning of the sixth of January the Chevalier left Glammis for Dundee, which town he entered about eleven o'clock A.M. on horseback, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, the earl of Mar riding on his right hand, and the Earl Marischal on his left, and followed by a train of nearly three hundred adherents on horseback. To gratify the people who flocked round him eager to behold him and to kiss his hand, he, at the request of his friends, remained about an hour on horseback at the cross of the burgh, after which he rode out to the house of Stewart of Grandtully in the neighbourhood, where he dined and passed the night. On the following day he proceeded along the Carse of Gowrie to Castle Lyon, a seat of the earl of Strathmore, where he dined, and thence to Fingask, the seat of Sir David Threipland, where he spent the night. Next day, being Sunday, he took up his abode in the royal palace of Scoon, where he intended to stay till the ceremony of his coronation should be performed.

On Monday the Chevalier made his public entry into Perth. He met, however, with a cold reception, and he himself felt evidently disappointed at the appearance of the camp. He had heard much of the Highland chiefs and the clans, and being desirous to see "those little kings (the chiefs,) with their armies," as he expressed himself, a select body of Highlanders exhibited before him. Their appearance gave him great satisfaction, but when he ascertained the paucity of the number in the camp, he could not repress the chagrin and disappointment he felt. On the other hand, the friends of the Chevalier were equally disappointed. Neither his appearance nor demeanour on the present occasion tended in any shape to justify the exaggerated encomiums of Mar, and his lugubrious deportment while at Perth, tended more to alienate the affections of his adherents, and depress their spirits, than even the disappointment of supplies from France. The master of Sinclair, an eye-witness, thus describes the appearance of the Chevalier on his arrival at Perth, his behaviour while there, and their consequent effects upon his followers.

"His person was tall and thin, seeming to incline to be lean rather than to fill as he grows in years. His countenance was pale, but perhaps looked more so than usual, by reason he had three fits of ague which took him two days after his coming on shore. Yet he seems to be sanguine in his constitution, and there is something of a vivacity in his eye that perhaps would have been more visible if he had not been under dejected circumstances, and surrounded with discouragement, which it must be acknowledged were sufficient to alter the complexion even of his soul as well as of his body. His speech was grave, and not very clearly expressive of his thoughts, nor over much to the purpose; but his words were few, and his behaviour and temper seemed always composed. What he was in his diversions we know not: here was no room for such things. It was no time for mirth. Neither can I say I ever saw him smile. Those who speak so positively of his being like

King James VII. must excuse me for saying, that it seems to say they either never saw this person, or never saw King James VII; and yet I must not conceal that when we saw the man whom they called our king, we found ourselves not at all animated by his presence; and if he was disappointed in us, we were tenfold more so in him. We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. He never appeared with cheerfulness and vigour to animate us. Our men began to despise him; some asked if he could speak. His countenance looked extremely heavy. He cared not to come abroad amongst us soldiers, or to see us handle our arms or do our exercise. Some said the circumstances he found us in dejected him. I am sure the figure he made dejected us; and had he sent us but five thousand men of good troops, and never himself come among us, we had done other things than we have now done. At the approach of that crisis when he was to defend his pretensions, and either lose his life or gain a crown, I think, as his affairs were situated, no man can say that his appearing grave and composed was a token of his want of thought, but rather of a significant anxiety grounded upon the prospect of his inevitable ruin, which he could not be so void of sense as not to see plainly before him, at least when he came to see how inconsistent his measures were, how unsteady the resolution of his guides, and how impossible it was to make them agree with one another."*

The Chevalier returned to Scoon in the evening, and notwithstanding the ominous symptoms of the day, proceeded to form a council preparatory to exercising the functions of royalty. From Scoon he soon issued no less than six proclamations; one for a general thanksgiving for his safe arrival; another enjoining the ministers to pray for him in the churches; a third, establishing the currency of foreign coin; a fourth, ordering a meeting of the convention of estates; a fifth, commanding all fencible men from sixteen to sixty to repair to his standard; and a sixth, fixing the twenty-third day of January for his coronation at Scoon. These assumptions of sovereign authority were, however, of a very evanescent character, as they had scarcely been issued when the Chevalier and his principal friends resolved to abandon the contest as hopeless. Indeed, from the reduced state of the army, and its deficiency in arms and ammunition, a determination had been come to by his party, a month before he landed, to retire from Perth as soon as Argyle should march against it; but being ignorant of that resolution and believing that the insurgents intended to defend Perth, Argyle delayed his advance till he should be joined by large reinforcements from England and Holland.

Though continued in the command of the army, Argyle, for some reason or other, was not a favourite at court. Of his fidelity there could be no suspicion, and his conduct had lately shown that he wanted neither zeal nor ability to perform the task which had been assigned him. It has

* A true account of the proceedings at Perth, by a Rebel.

been conjectured that the leniency which he was disposed to show towards his unfortunate countrymen was the cause of that hidden displeasure which ended in the dismissal of himself and of his brother, the earl of Ilay, from all their employments. The rejection of an application which he made to the government for extended powers to treat with the insurgents after the battle of Sheriffmuir, goes far to support the supposition. But whatever were his views, he appeared to be in no hurry to pursue the insurgents, probably from an idea that they would disperse of their own accord. By the arrival of a body of six thousand Dutch auxiliaries, and other reinforcements from England, Argyle found himself, early in January, at the head of upwards of ten thousand men, besides a large train of artillery. Desirous of expelling the insurgents from Fife before advancing north, a detachment of Dutch and Scotch troops crossed the Frith of Forth by the duke's orders, and under cover of some men-of-war, landed at Burntisland, of which they took possession. On receiving this intelligence the insurgents immediately abandoned all the towns on the north side of the Frith, a circumstance which was attended with serious consequences to their friends at Perth, who were in consequence entirely cut off from their supplies of coals, at an unusually inclement season.

About the end of January, Argyle was in full condition to march north, but the snow, which had fallen to a great depth, appeared to him to offer a formidable obstruction to the march of an army unaccustomed to a winter's campaign; and which, from the insurgents having burnt and destroyed the villages on the road, would have to bivouack two or three nights in the open air, exposed to all the rigours of an hyperborean winter. For these reasons Argyle urged, at a council of war, which was held at Stirling, a postponement of the march; but General Cadogan,* who had been sent down to Scotland to hasten the duke's motions, insisting upon an immediate advance, and having openly accused Argyle of a want of zeal, his Grace made preparations for marching, and to facilitate the transport of his cannon and waggons, issued orders for assembling some thousands of the country people to clear away the snow.

Although the Jacobite leaders had come to the resolution of aban-

* This officer appears to have been very supicious of Argyle's motives, and did not hesitate to communicate his opinion to his superiors. In a letter to the duke of Marlborough, he says: "Argyle grows so intolerably uneasy, that it is almost impossible to live with him any longer; he is enraged at the success of the expedition, though he and his creatures attribute to themselves the honour of it. When I brought him the news of the rebels having ran from Perth, he seemed thunderstruck; and was so visibly concerned, that even the foreign officers that were in the room took notice of it. . . . Since the rebels quitting Perth, he (Argyle) has sent five or six hundred of his Argyleshire men, who go before the army a day's march, to take possession of the towns the enemy have abandoned, and to plunder and destroy the country, which enrages our soldiers, who are forbid under pain of death to take the value of a farthing, though out of the rebel's houses. Not one of these Argyle-men appeared whilst the rebels were in Perth, and when they might have been of some use."—Coxe's Marlborough, vol. iii. p. 612.

doning Perth as soon as the duke of Argyle should advance upon it, they nevertheless gave indications as if they really meant to hold out. Pursuant to an order of a council, which was held on the sixteenth of January, the most strenuous exertions were made to fortify the town, and both officers and men vied with one another in hastening the completion of the works. What the motives of the leaders may have been in thus practising a deception upon the army, it is impossible to conceive; perhaps the distant hope of being joined by the more remote clans, the chance of some fortunate, though unlooked for, occurrence in the chapter of accidents, or an idea that their men could not be otherwise kept together, may have been the inducing causes of these defensive preparations; but whatever their motives were, the apparent determination shown by the leading men to meet the enemy, had the most beneficial effect upon the army, which evinced a strong desire to engage. In this wish they thought they were to be gratified sooner than they expected, by the arrival of some country people at Perth who brought intelligence that Argyle was advancing with all his cavalry, and four thousand foot mounted on horses. This news was, however, premature, and had originated in the appearance of a reconnoitering party of two hundred dragoons, which Argyle had sent forward on the road to Perth, on the twenty-first of January, and which the fears of the people had magnified into an army.

All doubts, however, were removed in a few days, by the receipt of authentic intelligence at Perth, that Argyle having completed his arrangements, was to leave Stirling for Perth on the twenty-ninth of January, with his whole army. The councillors of the Chevalier were dismayed at this intelligence, but it had quite an opposite effect upon the mass of the army. Nothing was to be heard in the Jacobite camp but the voice of joy and rejoicing, and congratulations, on the supposed happy result of an encounter with the enemy, were exchanged on all sides—between the officers and gentlemen volunteers, and the common soldiers and clansmen. While the former were pledging each other in their cups and drinking to "the good day," so near at hand, as they thought, which was to crown the Chevalier's arms with victory, the latter, amid the din of the warlike bagpipe, were to be seen giving each other a cordial shake of the hand as if fully assured of success.

Whilst these congratulatory exhibitions were going on, the councillors of the Chevalier were deliberating upon the course they should pursue; but although they sat during the whole night they could come to no decided resolution. When the irresolution of the council became generally known, the men could not restrain their indignation, and a general opinion began to prevail among them, that they had been betrayed. Impressed with this feeling, they became mutinous, and carried their insubordination so far as to insult the officers, whom they supposed had betrayed them, in the streets, and to load them with reproachful epithets. The gentlemen volunteers also participated in the same sentiments; and

one of them from the higher parts of Aberdeenshire was heard to declare, before a group of malecontents assembled in the street, that the clans should take the person of the Chevalier out of the hands of the weak councillors who surrounded him, adding that he would find ten thousand gentlemen in Scotland who would hazard their lives for him, if he was equally ready as a prince to risk his own life in vindicating his right to the crown. A friend of the earl of Mar, after remonstrating with this party, asked what they wished their officers to do.—"Do," replied a Highlander, "what did you call us to take arms for? Was it to run away? What did the king come hither for? Was it to see his people butchered by hangmen, and not strike a stroke for their lives? Let us die like men and not like dogs." *

Amid the confusion and perplexity occasioned by such a state of things, Mar convened another meeting of the council on the evening of the twenty-ninth, at which a resolution to retreat was entered into chiefly at the suggestion of Mar. His reasons for advising an abandonment of the enterprise for the present, were, 1st, the failure of the duke of Ormond's attempt to invade England; 2dly, the great accession of force which Argyle had received from abroad; and, lastly, the reduced state of the Jacobite forces, which did not exceed four thousand men, and of whom only about two thousand five hundred were properly armed.† Besides these there were, according to the master of Sinclair, other reasons of a private nature which influenced Mar to give the advice he did, the chief of which, says the above-named authority, was that the earl of Seaforth, the marquis of Huntly, and other Jacobites who were in treaty with the government, had basely resolved to deliver up the Chevalier to the duke of Argyle, that they might procure better terms for themselves than they could otherwise expect. This odious charge, so improbable in itself, not being corroborated by any other writer, cannot be admitted.

Before communicating to the army the resolution to retreat, a general meeting of all the officers was held at Scone on the following day, when they were informed of the determination of the previous evening, and of the reasons which had led to it. It was then secretly resolved that the Chevalier and his principal officers should take shipping at Montrose for France, and that the army should be disbanded as soon as it reached the Highlands, or as soon as circumstances permitted; but to save appearances with the men, it was given out, that as Perth was untenable, it became necessary to retire to a stronger position, where they could not only defend themselves, but keep up a more secure and direct communication with their friends in the north. At this time there were three ships lying in the Tay off Dundee, which had lately arrived with supplies from France; and to secure these for the conveyance of the

* True Account of the Proceedings at Perth, by a rebel.
† Mar's Journal.

Chevalier and his followers, a French officer and clergyman were despatched to Dundee with orders to send them down the coast to Montrose, there to wait his arrival.*

On the return of the officers to the camp, they promulgated the order to retreat to their men, and, as might have been anticipated, it was received with scorn and contempt. Among the Jacobite inhabitants of the town who had shown themselves very zealous in the cause of the Chevalier, the intelligence caused nothing but dismay, as from the prominent and decided part they had taken, they had incurred the penalties of treason against the government. The morning of the thirty-first of January was fixed upon for the retreat, but a body of about eight hundred Highlanders, disliking the aspect of affairs, and displeased with the conduct of the principal officers, quitted Perth the preceding night for the Highlands by way of Dunkeld. Preparatory to his departure, the Chevalier went from Scone to Perth in the evening, and took up his residence in the house of Hay the provost, a staunch Jacobite, where he supped and passed the night. At ten o'clock next morning the rebels began their march across the Tay, which was covered with ice of extraordinary thickness. About noon the whole army had passed, and was on the march to Dundee along the Carse of Gowrie.

Meanwhile, the duke of Argyle was advancing upon Perth as fast as the nature of the difficulties he had to contend with would admit of. He had left Stirling on the twenty-ninth of January, and marched to Dunblane. Next day he advanced as far as Auchterarder, which had been entirely burnt by the rebels. Here they passed the night upon the snow without "any other covering than the fine canopy of heaven."† On the following day a detachment of two hundred dragoons and four hundred foot, which had been sent forward to protect the country people who were engaged in clearing away the snow, took possession of the castle of Tullibardine, the garrison of which had capitulated. The duke of Argyle had resolved to take up his quarters for the night in this fortress; but receiving intelligence that the rebels had retired from Perth that morning, he ordered a party of four hundred dragoons and a thousand foot to hasten forward to take possession of that town. The duke at the head of the dragoons, arrived at Perth about two o'clock in the morning of the first of February; but the foot, which were greatly fatigued, did not come up till ten o'clock. The remainder of the duke's army reached Perth that evening.

The distance from Stirling to Perth is only thirty-four miles, yet such was the obstruction that Argyle's army met with from the snow, that their march occupied three entire days. The difficulties of the march and the privations which his men had suffered by resting two nights on the snow, exposed to all the severities of the weather, had so exhausted

* True Account of the Proceedings at Perth.
† Annals of George I. vol. ii. p. 222.

his men, that it was not till the day after his arrival at Perth that the duke could muster a force sufficiently strong to pursue the enemy.

On the second of February Argyle left Perth at the head of six squadrons of dragoons, three battalions of foot, and eight hundred Highlanders. He stopt at Errol that night, and entered Dundee next day. Having learned that the Chevalier had left Dundee the preceding day on his way to Montrose, the duke sent forward a detachment towards Arbroath, and being joined by the remainder of his army on the fourth of February, he despatched on the same day three battalions of foot, five hundred of his own Highlanders, and fifty dragoons, towards Arbroath, and another detachment of three hundred foot, and fifty dragoons, in the direction of Brechin; but their march was retarded for some time by the snow. On the fifth the duke followed with the remainder of the army; and while he himself, at the head of the cavalry, took the high road to Brechin, General Cadogan with the infantry marched in the direction of Arbroath.

During the retreat to Montrose, suspicions began to be entertained in the Chevalier's army, that it was his intention to embark for France, notwithstanding the assurances of the principal officers to the contrary. The unusual route along the sea-coast gave credence to the rumour; but when they approached Montrose, and saw some French vessels lying at anchor off the shore, their suspicions were confirmed, and the men began to manifest symptoms of discontent. The insurgent army arrived at Montrose on the third of February, where it was intended they should pass the night; but the Chevalier's advisers, alarmed at the murmurings of the troops, ordered them to march the same night towards Aberdeen, where it was given out they meant to make a stand till succours should arrive from abroad. This assurance had the desired effect upon the troops, who accordingly began their march in the expectation that the Chevalier would follow them. To prevent suspicion his horses were ordered to be brought before the door of the house where he lodged at the hour appointed for the march, and his guards were ordered to mount, and to hold themselves in readiness to accompany him.

Meanwhile the Chevalier was busily employed in making the necessary preparations for his approaching departure. To relieve his memory from the imputation of having voluntarily abandoned the brave men who had taken up arms in his cause, it is due to him to state that he had been all along opposed to such a step, and it was not until he had been repeatedly and earnestly urged by his friends that he could be prevailed upon to give his consent to retire beyond seas. He said he was ready to suffer every hardship, and expose himself to every danger, rather than abandon those who had risked their all in his service; but being assured, in the opinion of his friends, that the course they advised might be ultimately beneficial to both, he reluctantly yielded to their entreaties. His principal motive for acceding to their wishes was the consid-

eration that, if relieved from his presence, the government might be disposed to give better terms to his followers than they would be otherwise disposed to grant.*

Before his departure he ordered a commission to be drawn up, by which he appointed General Gordon commander-in-chief, with all necessary powers, and particularly with authority to treat with the enemy. He wrote, at the same time, a paper containing his reasons for leaving the kingdom, and along with which he delivered to the general all the money in his possession, (excepting a small sum which he reserved for defraying the expenses of himself and suite,) with instructions, after paying the army, to apply the residue in indemnifying the inhabitants of the villages which had been burned, for the losses sustained by them. At the same time the Chevalier put the following letter to the duke of Argyle, which he had dictated to a secretary, into the hands of General Gordon, respecting the appropriation of the money so left. It is an interesting document, and exhibits the humanity of the prince in a favourable point of view:—

"For the Duke of Argil.

"*Monross, 4th February*, 1716.

"It was the view of delivering this my ancient kingdom from the hardship it lay under, and restoring it to its former happiness and independency, that brought me into this country; and all hopes of effectuating that at this time being taken from me, I have been reduced much against my inclination, but by a cruel necessity, to leave the kingdom with as many of my faithful subjects as were desirous to follow me, or I able to carry with me, that so at least I might secure them from the utter destruction that threatens them, since that was the only way left me to show them the regard I had for, and the sense I had of their unparalleled loyalty.

"Among the manifold mortifications I have had in this unfortunate expedition, that of being forced to burn several villages, &c. as the only expedient left me for the publick security, was not the smallest. It was indeed forced upon me by the violence with which my rebellious subjects acted against me, and what they, as the first authors of it, must be answerable for, not I: however, as I cannot think of leaving this country without making some provision to repair that loss, I have, therefore, consigned to the magistrates of ——— the sum of ——, desiring and requiring of you, if not as an obedient subject, at least as a lover of your country, to take care that it be employed to the designed use, that I may at least have the satisfaction of having been the destruction and ruin of none, at a time I came to free all. Whether you have

* Mar's Journal.

yet received my letter,* or what effect it hath had upon you, I am as yet ignorant of; but what will become of these unhappy nations is but too plaine. I have neglected nothing to render them a free and prosperous people; and I fear they will find yet more than I the smart of preferring a foreign yoak to that obedience they owe me; and what must those who have so obstinately resisted both my right and my clemency have to answer for? But however things turn, or Providence is pleased to dispose of me, I shall never abandon my just right, nor the pursuits of it, but with my life; and beseech God so to turn at last the hearts of my subjects, as that they may enjoy peace and happiness by submitting to what their interest and duty equally require of them. As for your own particular, you might, if you had pleased, joined interest and greatness in your own person; but, though you have refused to do that, I must earnestly request of you to do at least all in your power to save your country from utter ruin, and to be just at least to them, since you are it not to me.

" † I thought to write this in my own hand, but had not time.

" JAMES R.

This letter was accompanied by a note of the following letter to General Gordon, written in the Chevalier's own hand:—

* It is presumed this is the letter alluded to in a conversation between Lockhart of Carnwath, and Captain Dougall Campbell, who is represented by him as "a person of great worth and loyalty, and a bosome friend of Argyle's." "Being with me (says Lockhart) at my country house, he (Campbell) askt me if I heard Argyle blam'd for having received and given no answer to a letter writt to him by the king whilst he was at Perth. I told him I had, but could not agree with those who censured him, for I had such an abhorrence of breach of trust, that had I been the duke's adviser, it should have been to doe as he did; for tho there was nothing I so much desired as to see him engaged in the king's cause, I wisht it done in a way consistent with his honour. Captain Campbell smiled and told me, he was to acquaint me of a secret which he must previously have my solemn word I would communicate to none, which he had given when it was revealed to him, having however obtained liberty afterwards to speak of it to me. After giving him the assurance he demanded, he told me that the letter was not delivered to the duke, for in his late Highland progress, he saw it and another to Lord Isla in the hands of the person to whose care they were committed, (but who that person was he would not tell me), who receiving them unseal'd, did not, after perusal, think it for the king's service to deliver them, that to the duke being writt in a style by no means to be approved of; 'and, indeed,' added Campbell, 'when I read them, I was entirely of the same mind, and could not but think that Mar or some other person, with a view of rather widning than healing the breaches, had prevail'd with the king to write after that manner.' The letter to Isla was writt as to a man of business, insisting on the unhappy state of Scotland, and that nothing but a dissolution of the union by the king's restoration, could prevent the utter ruin of that country. That to the duke did invite him to return to his loyalty and duty, threatening him, if he neglected, with revenge and the utter extirpation of his family, for what he and his predecessors had done in this and the last century. I doe not pretend to narrate the precise words of this letter, nor did Campbell mention them as such to me; however, I have narrated what he said was the aim and purport of the letter."—Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 14, 15.

† What follows is in the Chevalier's own hand-writing. The original document is in the Fingask family; of course, it had never been delivered to the duke.

"General Gordon is hereby empowered, as soon as he has no other further occasion for the money left in his hands for the subsistence of the troops, to forward, if he thinks fitt, the enclosed letter to the duke of Argil, and to fill up the blanks of my letter with the name of the town where he shall leave the money, and the summ he shall leave.

"JAMES R."

It was not until the eve of his departure that James thought of selecting the persons he wished to accompany him in his flight, but the near approach of the enemy, of whose motions he had just received intelligence, and the murmurings and jealousies of his troops compelling him to hasten his departure, he was narrowed in his choice, as some of the friends, whose presence he desired, were at some distance from Montrose. The first individual he pitched upon was Mar; but the earl begged that he might be left behind with the army. The Chevalier, however, insisted that he should go; and on representing to him that reasons almost equally strong existed for Mar's departure as for his own, that his friends would make better terms with the government without him than with him, and that his services could be of no use in Scotland under existing circumstances, he gave his consent.

Matters being adjusted, the Chevalier left his lodgings privately about nine o'clock of the evening of the fourth of February, accompanied only by one of his domestics, and having met Mar at his lodgings, they both proceeded by a private way to the beach, where a boat was lying in readiness to receive them, and in which they were carried on board a small French vessel which lay at a little distance from the shore. The boat was immediately sent back, and returned in about a quarter of an hour with the earl of Melfort, Lord Drummond, and the remainder of the Chevalier's suite. Being favoured with a fresh breeze from the west-south-west, the vessel stood directly out to sea, and after a voyage of five days, arrived in safety at Waldam, near Gravelines in French Flanders.

The insurgents under General Gordon marched to Aberdeen, which they entered on the morning of the sixth of February. Here he communicated to his men the paper of instructions he had received from the Chevalier, and which he informed them he had received orders not to open till their arrival at Aberdeen. In this writing the prince complained of the disappointments he had met with, particularly from abroad, and informed the army of the necessity he was under, for his own preservation, to leave the country. He thanked them for having entered so cheerfully into his service, and imputed the failure of the enterprise to the apathy of others, who had not seconded their efforts as they had promised to do. He advised them to consult their own safety by keeping together in a body under General Gordon till he should order them to disperse, and concluded by encouraging them to hope for better times.

After reading this document, the General notified to his men that their pay would cease after that day.

General Cadogan arrived at Montrose in the afternoon of the fifth of February with three regiments of foot, and six hundred of Argyle's Highlanders, and the duke reached Brechin with the dragoons the same night. The whole royalist forces continued their march the following day towards Aberdeen, but they could not overtake the insurgents who were nearly two days' march in advance. The latter left Aberdeen on the seventh, and the duke of Argyle entered it the following day at the head of four hundred dragoons. The main body of the insurgents, chiefly foot, marched in the direction of Old Meldrum, but a party of about two hundred horse, among whom were many officers and gentlemen volunteers, took the route to Peterhead, where some vessels were lying to carry them to France. The duke of Argyle, without waiting for the coming up of the rest of his army, immediately sent two hundred dragoons, and a party of foot under Major-General Evans, to cut off the retreat of the latter, but he did not overtake them. Upwards of a hundred of the gentlemen composing this party escaped to France.

Meanwhile the insurgents continued their march westwards into Moray, and after marching through Strathspey, retired into Badenoch, where they quietly dispersed. During their retreat, however, many, whose houses lay contiguous to their route, gradually withdrew from the ranks, so that before their arrival in Badenoch a considerable reduction had taken place in their numbers. Though closely pursued by Argyle's troops, the insurgents did not lose a hundred men during the whole retreat, so well and orderly was it conducted by the Jacobite commander.

After the dispersion of the insurgents, about one hundred and sixty officers and gentlemen-volunteers who had followed the army into the Highlands, hearing that two French frigates, destined to receive on board such of the adherents of the Chevalier as might be inclined to retire abroad, had arrived off the Orkney coast, sallied from the hills on horseback, and crossing the low country of Moray embarked in boats at Burgh-head, and landed in Caithness. From Caithness they proceeded to the Orkney islands, where they had the good fortune to reach the French ships which carried them to Gottenburg. Among this party were Lord Duffus, who, being a seaman, entered into the naval service of the king of Sweden, Sir George Sinclair, Sir David Threipland of Fingask, and General Eckline. Most of these refugees entered into the Swedish army then about to invade Norway.

Thus ended an enterprise badly contrived, and conducted throughout without sufficient judgment or energy. Yet notwithstanding the disadvantages under which it was attempted, it might have succeeded, if the efforts of the Scottish Jacobites had been seconded by the Jacobites of England; but the latter, though decidedly hostile to the House of

Brunswick, were not inclined to risk their lives and fortunes in a doubtful contest, in support of the pretensions of a prince known to them only by name, and to whose religion many of them felt a deep-rooted repugnance.

CHAPTER XV.

Return of the Duke of Argyle to Edinburgh—Trial of Lord Charles Murray and others—Execution of Major Nairne, Captain Lockhart, and others—Impeachment and trial of the Jacobite Peers taken at Preston—Ineffectual applications for mercy—Proceedings in parliament—Address to the King in behalf of the condemned Lords by the House of Peers—Dismissal from office of Peers who supported the petition of the Jacobite Lords—Escape of the Earl of Nithsdale—Execution of the Earl of Derwentwater and Viscount Kenmure—Trial and condemnation of the Earl of Winton—Escapes to France— Bills of high treason against Brigadier Mackintosh and others—Escape of Mackintosh, Forster, and others—Executions in London and Lancashire—Reaction against the government—Septennial act—Proceedings of General Cadogan in the Highlands—Commission of Oyer and Terminer—Act of grace—Dismissal of the duke of Argyle from office—Continental affairs—Plan of an invasion by Russia and Sweden—Rupture with Spain—Intrigues of the Jacobites at Madrid—Spanish invasion threatened—Sailing and dispersion of the Spanish fleet—Landing and surrender of a body of Spaniards in the western Highlands.

After the flight and dispersion of the insurgents, the duke of Argyle returned to Edinburgh about the end of February, where he was magnificently entertained by the magistrates of the city, whence he set off for London on the first of March. He had left instructions with General Cadogan to keep up a communication with the Whig leaders in the north, and to distribute the troops in quarters contiguous to the adjoining Highlands, that they might be the more readily assembled to repress any fresh insurrection which might break out. To keep some of the disaffected districts in check, parties of Highlanders were placed by Lord Lovat and Brigadier Grant, in Brahan castle, and in Erchles and Borlum; the former the seat of the Chisholm, the latter that of Brigadier Mackintosh.

The fate of the prisoners taken at Preston remains now to be told. The first who were tried were Lord Charles Murray, Captain Dalziel, brother to the earl of Carnwath, Major Nairne, Captain Philip Lockhart,* brother to Lockhart of Carnwath, Captain Shaftoe, and Ensign

* Mr Lockhart, alluding to the fate of his brother, feelingly observes, "I lost a brother who, had he lived, had been a credit to his country, being a person of great worth and merit. And I may be indulged so far as to be allowed to do some little justice to his memory, by taking notice that he died like a saint and hero. For at his tryall he told his judges that he was no officer under ther king, for the half-pay which he received was only a recompence which the parliament thought fit to give him on account of his having faithfully served Queen Anne, and therefore he was not legally subject to a court-martiall.—When he was led out to the place of execution, the officers of the other side who were his old companions, owned he walked with the same lively genteel air as he used at the head of his company, and having told them he was never affraid of powder, and much less now in so good a cause, he declined tying a napkin over his face; and having with great devotion recommended himself to God, he cocked his hat, and calling on them to do ther last, he look'd death and his murderers in the face, and received the shots which put an end to his dayes in the twenty-fifth year of his age."—Memoirs, vol. i. p. 496-7.

Nairne. These six were tried before a court-martial at Preston, and all, with the exception of Captain Dalziel, having been proved to have been officers in the service of government, were condemned to be shot. Lord Charles Murray received a pardon through the interest of his friends. The remainder suffered on the second of December, seventeen hundred and fifteen.

The English parliament met on the ninth of January. Immediately on the return of the commons from the house of lords, where they had been hearing the speech from the throne, they agreed, on the motion of Mr Lechmere, to impeach Lords Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Wintoun, Carnwath, and Kenmure, of high treason. The articles of impeachment were carried up to the lords the same night, and on the next day these peers were brought to the bar of the house of lords to hear the articles of impeachment read. They were brought back from the Tower on the nineteenth, when they all pleaded guilty to the charge of high treason, except the earl of Wintoun, who petitioned for a longer time to give in his answers. The rest received sentence of death on the ninth of February, in Westminster-hall. The countess of Nithsdale and Lady Nairne surprised the king as he was passing through his apartments at St James's, and throwing themselves at his feet implored his mercy in behalf of their husbands; but he turned away from them with contemptuous indifference. The countess of Derwentwater was equally unsuccessful, though introduced by the dukes of Richmond and St Albans into the king's bed-chamber, and accompanied by the duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton.

This refusal on the part of the king, raised up a number of advocates in both houses of parliament, in behalf of the unfortunate noblemen. Availing themselves of this feeling, the ladies of the condemned lords, accompanied by about twenty others of equal rank, waited in the lobby of the house of peers, and at the door of the house of commons, and solicited the intercession of both houses. Next day they petitioned the houses. The commons rejected the application, and to get quit of further importunity adjourned for six or seven days, by a small majority; but the result was different in the house of lords. Petitions, craving the intercession of that house, were presented from the condemned peers, which being read, after considerable opposition, a motion was made to address his majesty to grant them a reprieve. This occasioned a warm debate; but before the vote was taken, an amendment was proposed to the effect, that his majesty should reprieve such of the peers as should seem to deserve his mercy. It was contended by the supporters of the original address, that the effect of this amendment would be to destroy the nature of the address, as from the nature of the sentence which had been passed, none of the condemned peers could *deserve* mercy; but the amendment was substituted, and on the vote being taken, whether the address should be presented, it was carried *present*, by a majority of five votes. It is said that on one of the peers afterwards

observing to the mover of the amendment, that it looked as if its object was to defeat the vote, and make it of no use to the persons for whose benefit it was intended, the proposer observed, that such was his intention in moving it.*

The king was evidently chagrined at the conduct of the house, and when the address was presented, he informed the deputation, that on this as on all other occasions he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of the crown, and the safety of his people. The earl of Nottingham, president of the council, who had supported the petitions of the condemned lords, together with Lord Aylesford, his brother, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, Lord Finch, his son, one of the lords of the treasury, and Lord Guernsey, master of the jewel office, were all removed from office; and to show the determination of the king, orders were issued on the same day the address was delivered, for executing the earls of Derwentwater and Nithsdale, and Viscount Kenmure the following day. The other three peers were reprieved to the seventh of March. The earl of Nithsdale made his escape the night before the execution, dressed in female attire, which his mother, and some other ladies who paid him a visit, had provided. When the king heard of his escape next morning, he observed, that "it was the best thing a man in his condition could have done."†

On the morning of the twenty-fourth of February the earl of Derwentwater and Viscount Kenmure were beheaded on Tower-hill. On ascending the scaffold, Derwentwater knelt down, and having spent some time in prayer, he got up, and drawing a paper out of his pocket, read aloud as follows:—

"Being in a few minutes to appear before the tribunal of God, where, though most unworthy, I hope to find mercy, which I have not found from men now in power: I have endeavoured to make my peace with his Divine Majesty, by most humbly begging pardon for all the sins of my life: And I doubt not of a merciful forgiveness through the merits of the passion and death of my Saviour, Jesus Christ; for which end I earnestly desire the prayers of all good Christians.

"After this I am to ask pardon of those whom I might have scandalized by pleading guilty at my trial. Such as were permitted to come to me, told me, that having been undeniably in arms, pleading guilty was but the consequence of having submitted to mercy; and many arguments were used to prove that there was nothing of moment in so doing; among others, the universal practice of signing leases, whereof the preambles run in the name of the person in possession.

"But I am sensible that in this I have made bold with my loyalty, having never any other but King James the Third for my rightful and lawful sovereign; him I had an inclination to serve from my infancy, and was moved thereto by a natural love I had to his person, knowing

* Annals of the 2d year of George I. p. 248.
† State Trials, vol. xv.

him to be capable of making his people happy: and though he had been of a different religion from mine, I should have done for him all that lay in my power, as my ancestors have done for his predecessors; being thereunto bound by the laws of God and man.

"Wherefore, if in this affair I have acted rashly, it ought not to affect the innocent. I intended to wrong no body, but to serve my king and country, and that without self-interest; hoping by the example I gave, to have induced others to their duty; and God, who sees the secrets of my heart, knows I speak truth. Some means have been proposed to me for saving my life, which I looked upon as inconsistent with honour and conscience, and therefore I rejected them; for with God's assistance I shall prefer any death to the doing a base unworthy action. I only wish now that the laying down my life might contribute to the service of my king and country, and the re-establishment of the ancient and fundamental constitution of these kingdoms, without which no lasting peace or true happiness can attend them; then I should indeed part with life even with pleasure: As it is, I can only pray that those blessings may be bestowed upon my dear country; and, since I can do no more, I beseech God to accept of my life as a small sacrifice towards it.

"I die a Roman Catholic: I am in perfect charity with all the world; I thank God for it, even with those of the present government, who are most instrumental in my death. I freely forgive such as ungenerously reported false things of me; and I hope to be forgiven the trespasses of my youth by the Father of infinite mercy, into whose hand I commend my soul.

"JA. DERWENTWATER.

"P.S. If that prince who now governs had given me my life, I should have thought myself obliged never more to have taken up arms against him."

After he had finished reading the paper, he delivered it to the sheriff in attendance, who had requested it, and then repeated several penitential portions of scripture. Turning to the executioner, who solicited his forgiveness, he told him that he forgave all his enemies, even the most malicious of them, with all his heart, and that he forgave him. He thereupon informed the executioner that he would find something he intended for him in his pocket, (two half broad pieces,) and that he would receive something additional from a gentleman who held the earl's hat and wig. He then viewed the block, and observing a rough place in it, he desired the executioner to chip it off. The extraordinary presence of mind which he displayed astonished the spectators. He knelt a second time and prayed, and on rising up pulled off his coat and waistcoat. After telling the executioner that the sign he should give was, "Lord Jesus receive my soul," and that on his repeating these words the third time he was to do his office, the earl laid his head upon the block, which, on the given signal, was severed from his body at one blow.

The executioner, lifting up the head, raised it with both his hands, and walking round the scaffold, cried with a loud voice, "Behold the head of a traitor; God save King George."*

Thus perished, in the flower of his age, James, earl of Derwentwater, a man of the most amiable disposition, "brave, open, generous, hospitable, and humane. His fate drew tears from the spectators, and was a great misfortune to the country in which he lived. He gave bread to multitudes of people whom he employed on his estate; the poor, the widow, and the orphan, rejoiced in his bounty."† It is almost impossible to contemplate, even at this distance of time, the unhappy fate of such a man without the deepest emotion. It was reported that the night before his execution he sent for an undertaker to arrange his funeral, whom he requested to put a silver plate on his coffin, with an inscription importing that he died a sacrifice for his lawful sovereign, but the undertaker refusing to execute the commission was thereupon dismissed.‡

As soon as the remains of the earl of Derwentwater were removed, the Viscount Kenmure was brought up to the scaffold. He was accompanied by several friends and two clergymen of the church of England, of which church he was a member. He also displayed great firmness and resolution, and spent some time in earnest prayer, in which his friends and the clergymen joined. He observed, that he had so little thoughts of dying so soon that he had not provided a black suit, that he was sorry for this, as he might have died with more decency. Like Derwentwater, he expressed his regret for pleading guilty to the charge of high treason, and prayed for "King James." At taking a last farewell of his friends he embraced them all most tenderly. He presented the executioner with eight guineas, and, after trying the block by laying down his head upon it, told him that he would not give him any sign, but when he laid down his head again he might execute his office as he saw fit. After praying a short time with uplifted hands, he advanced to the fatal block, and laying down his head, the executioner struck it off at two blows. He thereupon exposed it to the view of the spectators, using the same exclamation as before. Lord Kenmure brought no paper to the scaffold with him, but shortly after his death a letter which he had written to the Chevalier was published, wherein he declared that he died for his faithful services to him, but hoped the cause he died for would flourish after his death. In this letter he maintained the title of "the person called the Pretender, whom he believed to be the true son of James the Second." §

The earl of Wintoun, on various frivolous pretences, got his trial

* Annals of 2d year of George I. p. 250, *et. seq.* Faithful Register of the late Rebellion, p. 87, *et. seq.*

† Smollet's History of England, vol. ii. book ii. chap. i.

‡ Annals of 2d year of George I. p. 253.

§ State Trials, vol. xv.

postponed till the fifteenth day of March, when he was brought finally up for trial. The earl, after a trial which occupied two days, was found guilty, and received sentence of death; but his lordship afterwards made his escape from the Tower and fled to France.

On the seventh of April a commission for trying the other rebels met in the court of Common Pleas, Westminster, when bills of high treason were found against Mr Forster, Brigadier Mackintosh, Colonel Oxburgh, Mr Menzies of Culdares, and seven of their associates, and on the tenth bills were found against eleven more. Forster escaped from Newgate, and so well had his friends concerted matters, that he reached Calais in less than twenty-four hours. The trials of Brigadier Mackintosh and others were fixed for the fourth of May, but about eleven o'clock the preceding night, the brigadier and fifteen other prisoners broke out of Newgate, after knocking down the keepers and disarming the sentinels. Eight were retaken, but Mackintosh and seven others escaped. The trials of the prisoners who remained proceeded: many of them were found guilty; and five, among whom were Colonel Oxburgh and Mr Paul, a non-jurant clergyman of the church of England, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn. Twenty-two prisoners were executed in Lancashire. The remainder of the prisoners taken at Preston, amounting to upwards of seven hundred, submitted to the king's mercy, and having prayed for transportation, were sold as slaves to some West India merchants; a cruel proceeding, when it is considered that the greater part of these men were Highlanders, who had joined in the insurrection in obedience to the commands of their chiefs.

The severities exercised by the government, and the courage and fortitude displayed by the unfortunate sufferers, wrought an extraordinary change in the dispositions of the people, who began to manifest great dissatisfaction at proceedings so revolting to humanity. Though the rebellion was extinguished, the spirit which had animated it still remained; and the Tories longed for an opportunity of availing themselves of the universal dissatisfaction to secure a majority favourable to their views at the next general election. The Whigs, afraid of the result of an early election as destructive to themselves as a party and to the liberties of the country, had recourse to a bold measure, which nothing but the most urgent necessity could justify. This was no other than a plan to repeal the triennial act, and to prolong the duration of parliament. It is said that at first they intended to suspend the triennial act for one election only, but thinking that a temporary measure would appear a greater violation of constitutional law than a permanent one, they resolved to extend the duration of parliament to seven years. A bill was accordingly brought into the house of lords on the tenth of April by the duke of Devonshire, whose father had been one of the chief promoters of the triennial act.

The reasons on which the bill were grounded, were stated in the preamble of the bill. In the first place it was stated, that the triennial

act had proved "very grievous and burdensome, by occasioning much greater and more continued expenses, in order to elections of members to serve in parliament, and more violent and lasting heats and animosities among the subjects of this realm, than were ever known before the said clause was enacted;" and secondly, that if continued, it might probably "at this juncture, when a restless and Popish faction are designing and endeavouring to renew the rebellion within this kingdom, and an invasion from abroad, be destructive to the peace and security of the government."

The bill was supported by the earls of Dorset and Rockingham, the duke of Argyle, Lord Townshend, and others. On the second reading a long debate ensued, when the bill was opposed by the whole strength of the Tory party. On a division, the commitment was carried by ninety-six votes to sixty-one. So great was the interest excited by the debate, that the house of lords was crowded with strangers, among whom were the princess of Wales, a number of ladies of rank, many members of the house of commons, and several foreigners of distinction.

After the resolution to commit the bill had been adopted, a protest was entered, signed by thirty peers, to which protest they annexed their reasons. As the repeal of the septennial act may soon become a subject of discussion in the reformed parliament, it is thought that the grounds urged against its adoption will not be unacceptable to the general reader. These are as follow:

"1. Because we conceive that frequent and new parliaments are required by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and the practice thereof for many ages, (which manifestly appears by our records,) is a sufficient evidence and proof of this constitution.

"2. Because it is agreed that the house of commons must be chosen by the people, and when so chosen, they are truly the representatives of the people, which they cannot be so properly said to be when continued for a longer time than that for which they were chosen; for after that time they are chosen by the parliament and not by the people, who are thereby deprived of the only remedy which they have against those who either do not understand, or through corruption, do wilfully betray the trust reposed in them, which remedy is to choose better men in their places.

"3. Because the reasons given for this bill we conceive were not sufficient to induce us to pass it, in subversion of so essential a part of our constitution.

"1. For as to the argument that this will encourage the princes and states of Europe to enter into alliances with us, we have not heard any one minister assert that any one prince or state has asked, or so much as insinuated that they wished such an alteration.

"Nor is it reasonable to imagine it; for it cannot be expected that any prince or state can rely upon a people to defend their liberties and interests, who shall be thought to have given up so great a part of their

own; nor can it be prudent for them to wish such an experiment after the experience that Europe has had of the great things this nation has done for them, under the constitution which is to be altered by this bill.

"But on the other hand, they may be deterred from entering into measures with us, when they shall be informed, by the preamble of this bill, that the popish faction is so dangerous as that it may be destructive to the peace and security of the government; and may apprehend from this bill, that the government is so weak as to want so extraordinary a provision for its safety, which seems to imply that the gentlemen of Britain are not to be trusted or relied upon; and that the good affections of the people are restrained to so small a number, as that of which the present house of commons consists.

"2. We conceive this bill is so far from preventing expenses and corruptions, that it will rather increase them; for the longer a parliament is to last, the more valuable to be purchased is a station in it, and the greater also is the danger of corrupting the members of it; for if there should be a ministry who shall want a parliament to screen them from the just resentment of the people, or from a discovery of their ill practices to the king, who cannot otherwise, or so truly, be informed of them as by a free parliament. It is so much the interest of such a ministry to influence the elections, (which, by their authority and the disposal of the public money, they, of all others, have the best means of doing,) that it is to be feared they will be tempted, and not fail, to make use of them; and even when the members are chosen, they have a greater opportunity of inducing every man to comply with them than they could have, if not only the sessions of parliament, but the parliament itself, were reduced to the ancient and primitive constitution and practice of frequent and new parliaments; for as a good ministry will neither practise nor need corruption, so it cannot be any lord's intent to provide for the security of a bad one.

"3. We conceive, that whatever reasons may induce the lords to pass this bill, to continue this parliament for seven years, will be at least as strong, and may, by the conduct of the ministry, be made much stronger before the end of seven years for continuing it still longer, and even to perpetuate it, which would be an express and absolute subversion of the third estate of the realm."

On the sixteenth of April the bill was read a third time, and passed by a majority of sixty-nine votes to thirty-six. Twenty-four peers thereupon entered another protest. The bill was carried down to the house of commons by two of the judges on the nineteenth. Though favourable to the bill, Mr Lechmere opposed its introduction on the ground that it should have originated in the house of commons. He said he considered the bill as an imposition upon the commons, as the lords had taken upon them to direct the house in an affair which wholly belonged to the commons, who were the guardians of the rights and liberties of the people. The first reading was, however, carried in

a house of four hundred and thirty members by a majority of one hundred and twenty votes.

Before the second reading, petitions were presented against the measure from the boroughs of Marlborough, Midhurst, Abingdon, Newcastle-under-Line, from the town of Hastings, and the corporation of Cambridge. More would have been presented if time had been allowed. The apathy of the people at this crisis is astonishing. On a division on the second reading, there appeared two hundred and eighty-four for the bill, and one hundred and sixty-two against it. The bill was read a third time on the twenty-sixth of April, when some additional petitions were presented against it, and passed by a majority of one hundred and forty-three votes in a house of three hundred and eighty-five members. This bill received the royal assent on the seventh of May, on which day an act of attainder against the Earl Marischal, Seaforth, Southesk, Panmure, and others, also received his majesty's sanction. An act of attainder against the earl of Mar, the marquis of Tullibardine, the earl of Linlithgow, Lord Drummond, and other leaders of the insurrection, had received the royal assent on the seventeenth of February preceding. Besides these bills, three others were passed, one attainting Mr Forster and Brigadier Mackintosh; another for more effectually securing the peace of the Highlands; a third appointing commissioners to inquire into the estates of those persons who had been attainted or convicted.

While the parliament was thus engaged in devising measures for maintaining the public tranquillity, General Cadogan was employed in dispersing some hostile bands of the Clans which still continued to assemble with their chiefs in the remoter parts of the Highlands. Hearing that the earl of Seaforth had retired into the island of Lewis, where he had collected a considerable body of his men under the command of Brigadier Campbell of Ormundel, an officer who had just arrived from Muscovy, where he had served in the army of the Czar, he sent a detachment into the island under the command of Colonel Cholmondely to reduce it. The earl, on the appearance of this force, crossed into Ross-shire, whence he escaped to France; and Campbell being abandoned by his men after he had formed them in order of battle, was taken prisoner while standing in a charging posture. Another detachment under Colonel Clayton, was sent into the isle of Skye, where Sir Donald Macdonald was at the head of about a thousand men; but the chief made no resistance, and having no assurance of protection from the government in case of a surrender, retired into one of the Uists, where he remained till he obtained a ship which carried him to France. About this time three ships arrived among the western islands from France with military supplies for the use of the insurgents, but they came too late to be of any service. Two of them, after taking seventy gentlemen on board, immediately returned to France, and the third, which carried fifty chests of small arms, and fifteen barrels of

gunpowder, and other military stores, was captured while at anchor near Uist by an English ship of war.

In consequence of instructions from government, General Cadogan issued an order, which was intimated at the different parish churches in the north, requiring the rebels to surrender themselves and to deliver up their arms, assuring them, that such of them as complied should have liberty granted to return home in safety, but threatening to punish rigorously those who refused to comply. This order was generally obeyed by the common people in the Lowlands, who had been engaged in the insurrection; but few of the Highlanders seemed to regard it. To enforce compliance, he despatched different detachments through the Highlands, and took up his quarters at Blair Athol, where he could more easily communicate with the disaffected districts. He next removed to Ruthven in Badenoch, and afterwards proceeded to Inverness, where he received Glengary's submission. Lochiel, Keppoch, and Clanranald, had resolved to oppose by force the delivery of their arms; but on hearing that Clayton, who had returned from Skye, had resolved to march from Fortwilliam to Lochiel's house to disarm the Camerons, these chiefs retired, and their men delivered up their arms without resistance. Having succeeded in disarming the Highlands, the general left Inverness on the twenty-seventh of April, leaving General Sabine in command, and proceeded to London. The rebellion being now considered completely extinguished, the Dutch auxiliaries were withdrawn from Scotland, and in a short time thereafter were embarked for Holland.

To try the prisoners confined in the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Blackness, and other places in Scotland, a commission of oyer and terminer was appointed to sit at Carlisle in December, seventeen hundred and sixteen. There were nearly seventy arraigned. Of twenty-nine who were brought to trial, twenty-five pled guilty. Brigadier Campbell of Ormundel, Tulloch of Tannachie, Stewart of Foss, and Stewart of Glenbuckie, entered a plea of not guilty. The two last having satisfied the solicitor-general of their innocence, he allowed a writ of *noli prosequi* to be entered in their behalf, and Campbell having escaped from the castle of Carlisle, Tulloch alone stood his trial, but he was acquitted. Sentence of death was passed upon the twenty-five who had admitted their guilt, and thirty-six were discharged for want of evidence; but the sentence of death was never put into execution. It was wise in the government to pacify the national disaffection by showing mercy.

Following up the same humane view, an act of grace was passed in seventeen hundred and seventeen by the king and both houses of parliament, granting a free and general pardon to all persons who had committed any treasonable offences, before the sixth day of May of that year, with the exception of those who, having committed such offences, had gone beyond the seas, and who, before the said sixth day of May, had returned into Great Britain or Ireland without his majesty's license,

or who should on or after the said day return into either of the kingdoms without such license. All persons of the name and clan of Macgregor mentioned in the act of the first parliament of Charles the First, intituled, "Anent the Clan-Gregor," were also excepted, as well as all such persons as should, on the fifth day of May, seventeen hundred and seventeen, remain attainted for high treason. But all such persons so attainted, unless specially named, and who had not escaped out of prison, were freely pardoned and discharged. Under this act the earl of Carnwath, and Lords Widdrington and Nairne, were delivered from the Tower: seventeen persons confined in Newgate, the prisoners still remaining in the castles of Lancaster and Carlisle; and those in the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and other places in Scotland, including the Lords Strathallan and Rollo, were likewise released.

While the Chevalier was preparing to embark for Scotland, the earl of Stair, (the ambassador at the court of France,) had used every effort to prevent him. Duclos and others say that Stair not only applied to the duke of Orleans, the regent, to have the Chevalier arrested, but that finding the regent insincere in his promises of compliance, he sent persons to assassinate the Chevalier on the road when crossing France to embark for Scotland. That Stair made such an application, and that he employed spies to watch the progress of the prince, are circumstances highly probable; but both Marshal Berwick and the earl of Mar discredited the last part of the story, as they considered Stair incapable of ordering an action so atrocious as the assassination of the prince.*

On the return of the Chevalier, Stair, afraid that he and his partizans in France would intrigue with the court, presented a memorial to the regent in name of his Britannic majesty, in which, after notifying the flight of the Chevalier, and the dispersion of his forces, he requested of the regent that he would oblige the prince to quit France. He next insisted that "the authors and chiefs" of the rebellion who had retired to France should be ordered to depart forthwith from France, that they should never again be permitted to return to that country, and that the other persons who had been condemned and declared rebels should not at any time enter or reside therein. The earl also solicited his royal highness to join with his Britannic majesty, in an application to the duke of Lorraine to prohibit the Chevalier from returning into his territory. Finally, as the regent had made a declaration, that the officers in the service of France who should follow "the Pretender" in the invasion of Great Britain should be broke, the king of Great Britain persuaded himself that his royal highness, the regent, would not suffer the officers who had followed and assisted the prince ever to be employed again in the service of France. The removal of the Jacobite exiles from the French court was all that the earl could at that time obtain from the regent. By an agreement, however, which was shortly

* Mem. de Berwick, tome ii.

thereafter entered into between France and England, mutually guaranteeing the succession to the crown of France, and the Hanover succession according to the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht, it was stipulated that the Pretender should be sent beyond the Alps, and should never be allowed to return again to France or Lorraine on any pretence whatever, and that none of the rebellious subjects of Great Britain should be allowed to reside in France.

After the suppression of the insurrection, the leading supporters of government in Scotland repaired to London to congratulate George the First on the success of his arms, and to obtain the rewards they expected. The duke of Argyle, to whose exertions chiefly the king was indebted for his peaceable accession to the throne, and the extinction of the rebellion, was already so overloaded with favours that he could scarcely expect any addition to be made to them, and would probably have been contented with those he had obtained; but the squadron party which had been long endeavouring to ruin him, now made every exertion to get him disgraced; and being assisted by the Marlborough faction, and a party which espoused the interests of Cadogan, they succeeded with the king, who dismissed the duke and his brother, the earl of Ilay, from all their employments, which were conferred on others. General Carpenter, to whom the success at Preston was entirely ascribed, succeeded Argyle in the chief command of the forces in North Britain; and the duke of Montrose was appointed lord-register of Scotland in the room of the earl of Ilay.

The aspect of affairs in the north of Europe requiring the king's presence in his German dominions, an act was passed repealing the clause in the act for the further limitation of the crown, which restricted the sovereign from leaving his British dominions. He closed the session on the twenty-sixth of June, and embarked at Gravesend on the seventh of July for Holland, where he arrived on the ninth. He proceeded to Loo incognito, and from thence set out for Pyrmont. The object of this visit will appear from what follows.

Although Spain had been greatly exhausted by the war of the succession, Philip the Fifth, eager for glory, was desirous of engaging in a war with the emperor, who refused to resign the title of king of Spain, for the recovery of the Italian dominions of Spain; but his minister, Alberoni, was opposed to an immediate rupture, and pledged himself, that if Philip would maintain his kingdom in peace for five years,—a period required by Alberoni for reforming all the departments of the government, and rousing the nation from the apathy into which it had sunk, he would make him the most powerful monarch in Europe.* Philip, impatient of delay, refused to hearken to the advice of his minister. As Spain could not, with any reasonable prospect of success, carry on a war single handed, Alberoni looked round among the leading powers for an

* Letter of Alberoni to Cardinal Paolucci.

ally who would second the views of his royal master. With France he could not expect to form an alliance, as the interests of the regent and Philip were diametrically opposed, each aspiring to the throne of that kingdom. He therefore fixed his eyes upon England and Holland as the powers most likely to aid him. With England, it is true, some differences existed, but these the wily Alberoni resolved at once to remove by conceding every thing that England could reasonably desire. The commerce of England with Spain had been placed in a very unfavourable situation by some explanatory articles in the treaty of Utrecht, but on the offer of Alberoni, these were abrogated by a new treaty in December, seventeen hundred and fifteen, which restored England to the commercial advantages which she had enjoyed under the Austrian princes. This proceeding received the cordial sanction of Philip, who, on being remonstrated with by the Cardinal del Giudice for such a change of policy, remarked, "I consider the king of England as my brother, and am determined to live in friendship with him. Let me hear no more on this subject."* Philip even went so far as to sign a declaration, in which he stated his determination to give no support to the Chevalier de St George and his adherents.

Hitherto Alberoni had kept his object out of view, but an attack made by the emperor of Germany upon the republic of Genoa afforded him an opportunity of breaking the ice. Against the emperor's violation of the neutrality of Italy Alberoni made a warm appeal to the king of Great Britain as the guarantee of that neutrality, and in this appeal he was backed by the English minister at Madrid, who informed his cabinet, that, in his opinion, if the states of Parma and Tuscany were guaranteed to the queen of Spain by England, and an English fleet sent out to support the Spanish squadron in the Mediterranean, Spain would give the most ample guaranty for the Hanover succession, and would promote the commercial interests of England. George the First found himself placed in a singular but fortunate situation, by the offers of Spain. Equally courted by France and Spain, he had only to choose between them, and to form that connexion which might be most conducive to uphold the Protestant succession and to maintain the peace of Europe, with which the internal peace of Great Britain and the safety of the reigning family were intimately connected. The alliance of the emperor and of France being considered as more likely to secure these advantages than a connexion with Spain, the English minister at Madrid was instructed by the cabinet at home to decline the offers of Spain. "His majesty," said secretary Stanhope, in his letter to the minister, "is perfectly disposed to enter into a new treaty with the Catholic king, to renew and confirm the past; but the actual situation of affairs does not permit him to form other engagements, which, far from contributing to

* Coxe's Memoirs of Spain, c. 24.

preserve the neutrality of Italy, would give rise to jealousies tending to disturb it."*

To secure the support of the emperor, a treaty was entered into, by which he and the king of England reciprocally agreed to assist each other in the defence of their respective territories. This was followed by the agreement with France, to which allusion has been made, and in January, seventeen hundred and seventeen, a triple alliance was entered into between England, France, and Holland, by which the contracting parties mutually guaranteed to one another the possession of all places respectively held by them. The treaty also contained a guaranty of the Protestant succession on the throne of England, as well as that of the duke of Orleans to the crown of France.

The king of Spain was greatly exasperated when he first received intelligence of the treaty between the king of England and the emperor, but Alberoni still continued to court the good will of England, which he hoped one day to turn to good account. Anxious to preserve the peace of Europe, the parties to the triple alliance, immediately after its ratification, endeavoured to negotiate between Philip and the emperor, but their proposals not being relished by the former, he refused to acquiesce in them, and proceeded with his warlike preparations. Baffled in all his attempts to draw England into an alliance against the emperor, Alberoni looked to the north, where he hoped to find allies in the persons of the king of Sweden and the czar of Muscovy. Both Peter the Great and Charles the Twelfth were highly incensed against the elector of Hanover, the former for resisting the attempts of Russia to obtain a footing in the empire, the latter for having joined the confederacy formed against him during his captivity, and for having accepted from the king of Denmark the duchies of Bremen and Verden, Swedish possessions, which had been conquered by Denmark during the absence of Charles. Charles, to revenge himself, formed the design of restoring the Stuarts, and by his instructions, Goertz, his minister in England, began to cabal with the English Jacobites, to whom, in name of his master, he promised to grant assistance in any efforts they might make to rid themselves of the elector. It was whispered among the Scottish Jacobites, that "the king," as they termed the Chevalier, had some hopes of prevailing on Charles to espouse his cause, but the first notice on which they could place any reliance was a letter from the earl of Mar to one Captain Straiton, which he directed to be communicated to the bishop of Edinburgh, Lord Balmerino, and Mr Lockhart of Carnwath, and in which he suggested, that as there was a great scarcity in Sweden, the friends of the Chevalier should purchase and send five or six thousand bolls of meal to that country. Their poverty, however, and the impracticability of collecting and sending such a large quantity of food out of the kingdom, without exciting the suspicions of the government, prevented the plan from being carried

* Mr Stanhope to Mr Doddington, March 13th, 1716.

into execution.* Shortly thereafter, Straiton received another letter from Mar, in which, after stating that there was a design to attempt the restoration of the prince by the aid of a certain foreign sovereign, and that it would look strange if his friends at home did not put themselves in a condition to assist him, he suggested, that as the want of money had been hitherto a great impediment in the way of the Chevalier's success, the persons to whom this and his first letter were to be communicated, should persuade their friends to have in readiness such money as they could procure, to be employed when the proper opportunity offered. Mr Lockhart, who received a letter from the Chevalier at the same time, undertook the task of acquainting the Chevalier's friends in Scotland with Mar's wish, and obtained assurances from several persons of rank that they would attend to the prince's request. Lord Eglinton in particular made an offer of three thousand guineas, which he signified by letter to the Chevalier.†

The intrigues of Goertz, the Swedish minister, being discovered by the government, he was arrested and his papers seized at the desire of King George. This extraordinary proceeding, against which the foreign ministers resident at the British court remonstrated, roused the indignation of Charles to the highest pitch of fury, and being now more determined than ever for carrying his project into effect, he, at the instigation of Alberoni, reconciled himself to the czar, who, in resentment of an offer made by King George to Charles to join against Russia, if the latter would ratify the cession of Bremen and Verden, agreed to unite his forces with those of Sweden and Spain for placing "the pretender" on the throne of England. To strengthen the interest of the Chevalier in the north, Alberoni sent the duke of Ormond into Russia to negotiate a marriage between the son of the Chevalier, and Anne the daughter of Peter, but this project did not take effect. The Chevalier himself, in the meantime, contracted a marriage with the Princess Clementina Sobieski, but she was arrested at Inspruck by order of the imperial government, when on her journey to meet her betrothed husband, and sent to a convent.

King George returned to England towards the end of January, seventeen hundred and sixteen. The parliament met on the twentieth day of February, when he informed them of the projected invasion, and mentioned that he had given orders for laying copies of papers connected therewith before them. From these documents it appeared, that the plan of invasion was ripe for execution, but that it was not intended to attempt it till the Dutch auxiliaries should be sent back to Holland. Both houses presented addresses expressing their horror and indignation at the designs of those who had encouraged an invasion. Similar addresses were presented from the convocation, and from the university of Cambridge; but Oxford was not so pliant. That university had applied for and obtained

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 7. † Ibid. vol. ii. p.

from the king a dispensation from the ceremony of burning the devil, the pope, the pretender, the duke of Ormond, and the earl of Mar, in effigy, on the anniversary of his majesty's accession, for which mark of favour some of the heads of the university thought they could not do less than address the king on the suppression of the late rebellion and his safe return. But Dr Smalridge, bishop of Bristol, objected to the address, on the ground that the rebellion had been long suppressed—that there was no precedent for addressing a king upon his return from his German dominions, and that the favour they had received was counterbalanced by quartering a whole regiment upon them; and the university concurred in his views.

In consequence of the conduct of his Swedish majesty, parliament passed a bill prohibiting all intercourse with Sweden, and a fleet was despatched to the Baltic under the command of Sir George Byng, to observe the motions of the Swedes; but the death of Charles the Twelfth, who was killed by a cannon ball in the trenches before Frederickshal, dissolved the confederacy between Sweden and Russia.

The only remaining power George the First had now to dread was Spain. In August, seventeen hundred and eighteen, Sir George Byng, before any declaration of war was issued, captured or destroyed a large Spanish fleet in the Mediterranean; but the Spaniards carried on the war with vigour in Sicily, which they had invaded, and the court of Madrid sent orders to all the ports of Spain and of the West Indies, to fit out privateers against the English. The parliament met on the eleventh of November, on which day addresses of congratulation were moved in both houses on account of Admiral Byng's victory, but a strong opposition was made to the motion, on the ground that the houses were called upon to sanction proceedings, which, upon inquiry, might turn out to be contrary to the law of nations. The addresses were, however, carried by considerable majorities. War was declared against Spain in December; but a respectable minority in parliament, and the nation at large, were opposed to it, as hurtful to the commercial interests of Great Britain. France also followed the same course, and a French army of thirty thousand men, under Marshal Berwick, entered Spain and laid siege to Fuenterrabia, St Sebastian, and Urgel, which surrendered in succession. The marshal next laid siege to Roses, but he was obliged to abandon the enterprize from the badness of the weather and other causes, and after placing his troops in winter-quarters, returned to Paris.

The war with Spain revived the hopes of the Jacobites, and the duke of Ormond repaired to Madrid, where he held conferences with Alberoni and concerted an invasion of Great Britain. The Dutch, alarmed at Ormond's appearance at Madrid, remonstrated with Alberoni, as they had guaranteed the Protestant succession, which might be endangered if an insurrection in favour of the Chevalier de St George was encouraged by Spain; but the cardinal assured them that the duke had

no other design in coming into Spain but to consult his personal safety. Meanwhile, under the pretence of sending reinforcements into Sicily, preparations were made at Cadiz and in the ports of Galicia, for the projected invasion, and the Chevalier himself quitted Urbino by stealth, and embarking at Netteno, landed at Cagliari in March, seventeen hundred and nineteen. From thence he took his passage to Roses in Catalonia, and proceeded to Madrid, where he was cordially received and treated as king of Great Britain. On the tenth of March, seventeen hundred and nineteen, a fleet consisting of ten men-of-war and twenty-one transports, having on board five thousand men, a great quantity of ammunition, and thirty thousand muskets, sailed from Cadiz, with instructions to join the rest of the expedition at Corunna, and to make a descent at once upon England and Ireland. The duke of Ormond was appointed commander of the fleet, with the title of Captain-general of his most Catholic Majesty; and he was provided with declarations in the name of the king, stating, that for many good reasons he had sent forces into England and Scotland to act as auxiliaries to King James.

To defeat this attempt the allied cabinets adopted the necessary measures. His Britannic majesty having communicated to both houses of parliament the advices he had received respecting the projected invasion, they gave him every assurance of support, and requested him to augment his forces by sea and land. He offered a reward of ten thousand pounds to any one who should apprehend the duke of Ormond. Troops were ordered to assemble in the north and west of England, and a strong squadron, under Admiral Norris, was equipped and sent out to sea to meet the Spanish fleet. The Dutch furnished two thousand men, and six battalions of Imperialists were sent from the Austrian Netherlands; and the duke of Orleans ordered ships to be prepared at Brest to join the English fleet, and made an offer of twenty battalions for the service of King George.

The expedition under Ormond, with the exception of two frigates, never reached its destination, having been dispersed and disabled, off Cape Finisterre, by a violent storm which lasted twelve days. These two ships reached the coast of Scotland, and had on board the Earls Marischal and Seaforth, the marquis of Tullibardine, some field officers, three hundred Spaniards, and arms for two thousand men. This small force landed in the western Highlands, and was joined by some Highlanders, chiefly Seaforth's men. The other Jacobite clans, with the disappointment they formerly experienced from France still fresh in their recollection, resolved not to move till the whole forces under Ormond should arrive. A difference arose between the Earl Marischal and the marquis of Tullibardine about the command, but this dispute was put an end to by the advance of General Wightman from Inverness, with a body of regular troops. The Highlanders and their allies had taken possession of the pass at Glenshiel; but on the approach of the government forces, they retired to the pass at Strachell, which they resolved

to defend. General Wightman attacked and drove them, after a smart action and after sustaining some loss, from one eminence to another, when night put an end to the combat. The Highlanders seeing no chance of making a successful resistance, dispersed, during the night, among the mountains, and the Spaniards, on the following day, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Marischal, Seaforth, and Tullibardine, with the other officers, retired to the western isles, and thereafter escaped to the continent.

CHAPTER XVI.

Prudent conduct of the Jacobites in the south of Scotland—The Pretender appoints Trustees for managing his affairs in Scotland—Letter from him on the subject—Discovery of a new Jacobite conspiracy—Arrests—Preparations of the Government—Committal of Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, on a charge of high treason—Meeting of a new Parliament—Habeas-corpus act suspended—Declaration of the Chevalier de St George—Severe proceedings against the Catholics—Trial and Execution of Layer—Trial and Banishment of Atterbury—Return of Lord Bolingbroke to England—Causes thereof—Act for preserving the peace of the Highlands—Meeting of some Highland Chiefs at Paris—Resolution adopted by them—Preparations of General Wade to disarm the Highlanders—Camp formed at Inverness—The Mackenzies and others submit—Proposed alliance between the Jacobites and the Cameronians—Disgrace of the Earl of Mar—Its consequences—Atterbury's charges against Mar, who justifies himself—The Consort of the Chevalier retires to a Convent—Cause of the separation—Death of George I.—Arrival of the Chevalier in Lorraine—His reasons for this step—Returns to Italy.

Although the Chevalier still had many adherents in the south of Scotland, yet, as they were narrowly watched by the government, it was considered inexpedient and unsafe to correspond with them on the subject of the Spanish expedition. In the state of uncertainty in which they were thus kept, they wisely abstained from committing themselves, and when Marischal landed they were quite unprepared to render him any assistance, and unanimously resolved not to move in any shape till a rising should take place in England in favour of the Chevalier. But this prudent resolution was well nigh marred by the following singular incident:—About the time the Spanish fleet was expected to have arrived upon the coast, an unknown person, who represented himself as a servant of Cameron of Lochiel, waited upon one Mills, tutor to young Glengary, at Edinburgh, and informed him that he had come from Spain, and had just been landed on the coast of Galloway from the duke of Ormond's fleet as it had passed by, and that he had been commissioned to go north and acquaint his master's friends to hold themselves in readiness to take up arms. Mills carried this person to one Captain Straiton, a zealous Jacobite, who gave full credit to the statement, in which he was afterwards confirmed by a letter sent to him by express by the viscount of Stormont, then at his house in Annandale, informing him that five or six days before the date of his letter, a large squadron of tall ships, which he had no doubt was Ormond's fleet, had passed along the Galloway coast, sailing with a fair wind directly for the west coast of England. On receiving the viscount's letter, Straiton sent off an express to Lord Nairne in Perthshire, informing him that the duke of Ormond was on the coast, and had certainly landed by that time, and requesting his

lordship to forward the glad intelligence to Lord Marischal and other proper persons in the Highlands, that no time might be lost in summoning the Highlanders to the field. The news having been also communicated by Straiton to some persons in and about Edinburgh, the earl of Dalhousie and some other gentlemen of the county got on horseback with the intention of joining Ormond, as they saw no possibility of reaching Marischal; but Lockhart of Carnwath, who doubted the intelligence, prevailed on Dalhousie to remain at Selkirk, under the pretence of attending the races, till he should inquire into its truth. The result was, that the whole affair turned out to be a pure fabrication, evidently got up by the emissaries of the government to entrap the Jacobite chiefs. By this timely interference on the part of Lockhart, many families were saved from ruin, as he immediately apprized those who were ready to rise, of the deception which had been practised.*

As many inconveniencies had arisen from a want of co-operation among the friends of the Chevalier in the south of Scotland, Mr Lockhart, in concert with the bishop of Edinburgh, proposed to James that the earls of Eglinton and Wigton, Lord Balmerino, the bishop of Edinburgh, (the head of the nonjuring clergy,) Mr Paterson of Prestonhall, and Captain Straiton, should be appointed commissioners or trustees for transacting his affairs in Scotland. This proposal was well received by the Chevalier, who sent the following letter to Lockhart on the occasion:—

"*February* 15*th*, 1720.

"I saw a few days agoe a paper you sent hither for my perusal, in which I remarked with pleasure that same good sense and affection for me I always found in you, and of which I am truely sensible. I am entirely convinced of the advantage it would be to my affairs, that some persons of weight and prudence should frequently confer togither, and communicate to me their opinion and reflections on matters, and at the same time, on proper occasions, give such advice to the rest of my friends as might conduce to our common good. To appoint a certain number of persons for this effect by commission, is by no means, at this time, adviseable, because of the inconveniencies it might draw, sooner or later, upon the persons concern'd; since it could not but be expected that the present government would, at long run, be inform'd of such a paper which, by its nature, must be known to a great number of people; besides, that many who might be most fitt to discharge such a trust might, with reason, not be fond of having their names exposed in such a matter; while, on the other hand, numbers might be disobliged for not having a share where it is not possible all can be concern'd; but I think all these inconveniences may be obviated, the intent of the proposal comply'd with, and equall advantages drawn from it if the persons named below, or some of them, would meet and consult together for

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 22, 23.

the intents above-mention'd. The persons you propose I entirely approve, to witt, the earls of Eglington and Wigton, Lord Balmerino, the bishop of Edinburgh, Mr Paterson and Captain Straiton, to whom I would have added Mr Harry Maul, Sir John Erskine, Lord Dun, Pourie and Glengary. Now, as these gentlemen want, I know, no spur to their zeal for my service, and that out of regard to them I am unwilling to write directly at present to them, I am persuaded that when this letter is communicated to them, they will willingly enter into what is proposed for our mutuall advantage; and to make the thing easier to you, I send a duplicate of this to Straiton, that either by him or you it may be communicated to the persons concern'd, with all that is kind to them in my name; and if any of them are desireous upon occasion to consult others not named in this letter, I shall entirely approve it; but what I desire may be the first point settled, is that of a regular correspondence with me; for which end, if Straiton is not sufficient, I shall approve of any person my friends shall appoint for that effect, as I have already that one Mr Coopar should be assisting to Straiton on occasions," * &c.

Shortly after the receipt of the preceding letter, Mr Lockhart acquainted the different persons, therein named, of its contents, and all of them undertook to execute the trust reposed in them; but as they judged it advisable to conceal the powers they had received from their friends, they requested Mr Lockhart, when their advice was wanted, to communicate with them individually, and having collected their sentiments to give the necessary instructions with due caution. From his name not having been put down in the Chevalier's list, Mr Lockhart at first declined to act as a trustee; but on being informed that his name had been omitted by mistake, and that it was the Chevalier's intention that he should be one of the number, he undertook the office.† No matter, however, of any importance seems ever to have been brought under the consideration of these trustees.

In June seventeen hundred and twenty-one, a treaty of peace was signed at Madrid between Great Britain and Spain, and at same time a defensive alliance was entered into between Great Britain, France, and Spain. As the two last were the only powers from whom the "Pretender" could expect any effectual aid in support of his pretensions, his long-wished-for restoration seemed now to be hopeless, and King George secure, as he imagined, from foreign invasion and domestic plots, made preparations for visiting his German dominions, and actually appointed a regency to act in his absence. But early in the year seventeen hundred and twenty-two, a discovery was made, on information received by the King from the regent of France, that the Jacobites were busy in a new conspiracy against the government. It appeared that the Chevalier de St George, who was at Rome, was to sail from Porto-Longone

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 29. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 34.

for Spain, under the protection of three Spanish men-of-war, and there to wait the resolutions of his friends.* In following the clue given by the duke of Orleans, it was ascertained that all the letters, in relation to the conspiracy, were carried to Mr George Kelly, an Irish clergyman, who despatched them to their different destinations. The insurrection was to have taken place during the king's absence in Hanover; but his majesty having deferred his journey in consequence of the discovery of the plot, the conspirators resolved to postpone their attempt till the dissolution of parliament.

The conspirators finding they were watched by government became extremely cautious, and the ministers, desirous of getting hold of the treasonable correspondence, ordered Kelly, the principal agent, to be arrested. He was accordingly apprehended, but not until he had, by keeping his assailants at bay with his sword, succeeded in burning the greater part of his papers. Although the papers which were seized from Kelly, and others which had been intercepted by government, bore evident marks of a conspiracy, yet it became very difficult, from the fictitious names used in them, to trace out the guilty persons. "We are in trace of several things very material," observes Robert Walpole in a letter to his brother, in reference to this discovery, "but we fox-hunters know that we do not always find every fox that we cross upon." Among other persons who were arrested on suspicion, were the duke of Norfolk, lords North and Grey, Strafford, and Orrery, Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Harry Goring.

To check the threatened insurrection, a camp was immediately formed in Hyde-park, and all military officers were ordered to repair to their respective regiments. Lieutenant-general Macartney was despatched to Ireland to bring over some troops from that kingdom, and the states of Holland were requested to have their auxiliary troops in readiness for embarkation. These preparations, and the many rumours which prevailed respecting the extent of the conspiracy, affected public credit, and a run took place upon the bank, but the panic soon subsided, and public confidence was restored.

Of all the persons seized of any note, the bishop of Rochester was the only individual against whom a charge could plausibly be maintained. He was equally noted for his high literary attainments and a warm attachment to the exploded dogma of passive obedience. He had written Sacheverel's defence *con amore*, and he had carried his partizanship for the house of Stuart so far, that, according to Lord Harcourt, he offered, upon the death of Queen Anne, to proclaim the Chevalier de St George at Charing-cross in his lawn sleeves, and when his proposal was declined, he is said to have exclaimed, "Never was a better cause lost for want of spirit." He was identified as one of the conspirators by a trifling circumstance. A dog mentioned in some of the letters as a present to a person

* Robert Walpole to his brother Horace, May 1722. Coxe.

sometimes named Jones and sometimes Illington, was sent from France. A Mrs Barnes, who was privy to the conspiracy, nowise suspecting that such an insignificant circumstance would lead to detection, freely stated that the dog mentioned in the letters was intended for the bishop of Rochester. This admission led to a closer examination of the letters, and the result was, that not only the mention of Jones and Illington was found always to agree with this information, but the bishop's illness, the death of his wife, his visits to and departures from London, were all mentioned with the right dates under these feigned names.*

After an examination before the privy-council, the bishop was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. After he had been a fortnight in confinement, Mrs Morris, the prelate's daughter, presented a petition to the court at the Old Bailey, praying that, in consideration of her father's bad state of health, he might be either brought to a speedy trial, admitted to bail, or discharged, but the petition was rejected. The committal of the bishop was highly resented by the clergy, who considered it as an outrage upon the church of England and the episcopal order, and they gave full vent to their feelings by offering up public prayers for his health in all the churches and chapels of London and Westminster.

The new parliament met in the month of October, and the first thing the king did was to announce, by a speech from the throne, the nature of the conspiracy. He observed that the conspirators had endeavoured to obtain the aid of foreign powers, but that they had been disappointed in their expectations,—that, confiding in their numbers, they had, notwithstanding, resolved once more to attempt to subvert the government; to accomplish which end, they had obtained large sums of money, engaged great numbers of foreign officers, and secured large quantities of arms and ammunition,—and that had not the plot been timeously discovered, the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, would have been involved in blood and confusion. He dwelt upon the mildness and uprightness of his government, and inveighed against the folly of the disaffected; and he concluded with an assurance that he would steadily adhere to the constitution in church and state, and continue to make the laws the rule and measure of all his actions. This speech was answered by corresponding addresses from both houses. A bill for suspending the habeas corpus act for a whole year was immediately brought into the house of lords, but as the period of suspension was double of any suspension hitherto known, it met with some opposition. In the commons, however, the opposition was so violent, that Mr Robert Walpole found himself necessitated to invent a story of a design to seize the bank and the exchequer, and to proclaim the "pretender" on the royal exchange. This ridiculous tale, uttered with the greatest confidence, alarmed the commons, and they passed the bill.

* Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe. By Lord John Russell, vol. ii. p. 387.

In connexion with this conspiracy, the Chevalier de St George issued a declaration, dated at Lucca, on the twentieth of September same year, addressed to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and states. In this paper, after mentioning the violation of freedom in the late elections, pretended conspiracies to serve as a pretext for new oppressions, infamous informers, and the state of proscription under which he alleged every honest British subject lay, he made this extraordinary proposal, that if King George would relinquish to him the throne of Great Britain, he would in return bestow upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other states to confirm it. He promised to leave to King George his succession to the British dominions secure, whenever it should open to him in the natural course. On the sixteenth of November the king sent to the house of peers the original and a printed copy of this declaration, signed by the "pretender," for their consideration. The lords unanimously resolved that it was a false, insolent, and traitorous libel, and ordered it to be burned at the Royal-exchange; and the commons concurred in this resolution. An address was also agreed to by both houses, in which they expressed their utmost astonishment and indignation at the insolence of the "pretender," and assuring his majesty of their determination to support his title to the crown with their lives and fortunes. As the catholics were supposed to be chiefly concerned in the conspiracy, a bill was introduced into the house of commons for raising one hundred thousand pounds upon the real and personal estates of all "papists," or persons educated in the catholic religion, towards defraying the expenses incurred by the late rebellion and disorders. This bill being justly regarded as a species of persecution, was warmly opposed by some members, but it was sent up to the house of lords along with another bill, obliging all persons, being "papists," in Scotland, and all persons in Great Britain refusing or neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the king's person and government, to register their names and real estates. As might have been anticipated, both bills were passed without amendments and received the royal assent.

Christopher Layer and the bishop of Rochester were the only prisoners who were brought to trial. Layer was arraigned on the twenty-first day of November, and being convicted of having enlisted men for the pretender's service, received sentence of death. With a view to discovery, he was reprieved for some time, and examined by a committee of the house of commons, but being unwilling or unable to discover the particulars of the conspiracy, he was executed at Tyburn, and his head was fixed up at Temple-bar. Mr Pulteney, chairman of the committee, reported to the house, that from the examination of Layer and others, it appeared that a design had been formed by persons of figure and distinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the "pretender" on the throne of these realms: that their first object was to obtain a body of foreign troops to invade

the kingdom at the time of the late elections, but that being disappointed in this expectation, the conspirators had resolved to make an attempt at the time it was generally believed the king intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such officers and soldiers as could pass into England unobserved from abroad, under the command of the duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms provided in Spain for that purpose, at which time the Tower was to have been seized: that this scheme being also defeated by the vigilance of the government, the conspirators deferred their enterprise till the breaking up of the camp, and in the meantime employed their agents to corrupt and seduce the army: that it appeared from several letters and circumstances, that the duke of Ormond, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, Lord North and Grey, and the bishop of Rochester were concerned in this conspiracy: that their acting agents were Christopher Layer and John Plunket, who travelled together to Rome; Dennis Kelly, George Kelly, and Thomas Carte, nonjuring clergymen, Neynne the Irish priest, who had been drowned in the river Thames in attempting to make his escape from the messenger's house, Mrs Spilman, alias Yallop, and John Sample.

On receiving this report the house of commons passed a resolution declaring that a detestable and horrid conspiracy had existed for raising a rebellion, seizing the Tower and the city of London, laying violent hands upon the sacred persons of his Majesty and the prince of Wales in order to subvert the constitution in church and state, by placing a popish pretender upon the throne; and that it was formed and carried on by persons of figure and distinction, and their agents and instruments in conjunction with traitors abroad. The duke of Norfolk, who was sent to the Tower, was not brought to trial. John Plunket and George Kelly were imprisoned during his Majesty's pleasure by virtue of bills of pains and penalties, which were passed through parliament. A bill of a similar nature depriving Atterbury of his bishopric, and banishing him for life without a power in the crown to pardon, was immediately introduced into the house of commons, though Sir William Wyndham maintained that there was no evidence against him but conjectures and hearsays. The bishop wrote a letter to the speaker, intimating, that though conscious of his innocence, he should decline giving the house any trouble, contenting himself with the opportunity of making his defence before the house of which he had the honour to be a member. The bill was committed on the sixth day of April, when a majority of the tory members left the house. The bill was thereafter passed, only two members having spoken against it.

The bill being carried to the upper house, the bishop was brought up for trial on the ninth of May. The evidence against him consisted entirely of correspondence, not one particle of which was in his own handwriting. The post-office clerks had copied and forwarded some letters on the twentieth of April, and on the twentieth of August they had stopped another letter as a sample, which they swore to be in the same

handwriting as the letters they had copied before. Evidence of an imperfect kind was then brought to show that the sample retained was written by Kelly; and it was conjectured rather than proved, that Kelly had written these letters by the dictation of the bishop. The letters being written in cypher, decypherers were examined to interpret the cypher; but they differed in their explanation of some of the cyphers. The most important point, however, still remained to be proved—the treasonable nature of the correspondence; but although allusion was made to designs entertained and postponed, there was nothing in the letters to show what these designs were. One of these letters being directed to Jackson, it was maintained, from some doubtful circumstances, that Jackson meant the pretender. "Therefore as it was high treason to correspond with the pretender, a letter to Jackson inferred to be written by Kelly, from a resemblance carried in the memory of the post-office clerks during four months, supposed from minute circumstances to be dictated by Atterbury, and believed to be rightly interpreted by the skill of the government decypherers, was argued to be sufficient ground to deprive the bishop of Rochester of his station, property, and country."* Such was the conclusion to which the house of lords came after an able speech by the bishop's counsel against the bill, another by the bishop himself, and a third by Earl Cowper in his favour. The bill accordingly passed the lords and received the royal assent. The evidence brought against the bishop was, as a modern writer † has justly observed, of a kind hitherto unknown to an English judicature; and we cannot avoid adopting the remark of the same author, that it is mortifying to be obliged to record such a proceeding during the reign of the first sovereign of the house of Hanover. Atterbury was soon sent out of the kingdom under the pain of death in case he should ever again return. It is said that when crossing over to Calais he met Lord Bolingbroke, then on his way to England, whom he thus addressed with a smile, "My lord, you and I are exchanged!"

The return of this extraordinary person to England gave rise to much speculation, and many conjectures were hazarded as to the reasons which had induced Walpole to promote the return of a man whose impeachment he had himself moved; but the mystery has been cleared up by papers which have since met the public eye. From these it appears that several years before his appearance in England, Bolingbroke had completely broken with the Stuarts in consequence of his deprivation of the seals. It seems that the earl of Mar and the duke had a violent difference with regard to the conduct of the expedition in seventeen hundred and fifteen; and Mar, to revenge himself upon his rival, prevailed upon the duke of Ormond to report in presence of the Chevalier de St George certain abusive expressions which Bolingbroke, when in a state of intoxication, had uttered in disparagement of his master. The Chevalier,

* Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe, vol. ii. p. 389. † Ibid. p. 388.

highly exasperated at Bolingbroke, sent for the seals, at which his lordship was so incensed that when the queen mother attempted to reconcile them, Bolingbroke said that he wished his arm might rot off if ever he drew his sword or employed his pen in the service of the Stuarts. He, thereupon, proffered his services to King George, and offered to do any thing but betray the secrets of his friends. This offer was followed by the celebrated letter to Sir William Wyndham, in which he dissuaded the tories from placing any reliance on the pretender, and exposed the exiled family to ridicule and contempt; but his overtures were rejected by the government, and when an act of indemnity was hinted at, Walpole expressed in the strongest terms his indignation at the very idea of such a measure. Bolingbroke, however, persevered; and Walpole having been softened by the entreaties of the dutchess of Kendal, one of the mistresses of the king, to whom Bolingbroke made a present of eleven thousand pounds, he procured a pardon. In April, seventeen hundred and twenty-five, a bill was brought into the house of lords for restoring to Bolingbroke his family estate, which, after some opposition, passed both houses.

To secure the peace of the Highlands, a bill was brought into the house of commons, in the spring of seventeen hundred and twenty-five, by the celebrated Duncan Forbes, of Culloden, afterwards lord-president of the court of session, for disarming the Highlanders. In this bill there were several clauses which would have been highly injurious to the Highlanders; but, in consequence of the opposition of some of the English members, these were dropped, as was also a clause which prohibited the wearing of the Highland garb. In reference to this bill, Mr Lockhart makes the following striking observations. "The English ministry having no hopes of ever bringing the Highlanders over to their measures, looked upon them as a considerable body of brave fellows, inured to arms, that would probably join any enemy, foreign or domestic, that should happen to aim at subverting the present settlement of the government, and therefore resolved either to extirpate them, or at least by disarming them, bring them in time to forget the use of arms, and to be of a less warlike disposition, and with such views pushed this bill, and concerted the measures that followed upon it. But whatever considerations moved the English, it was odd that the duke of Argyle should enter into such projects; the many powers, privileges, jurisdictions, and enlargement of lands, (such as no other family enjoyed,) were bestowed by the crown as rewards, or more effectually to enable his predecessors to curb the power of the Highland clans, who, under the direction of their chieftains in old times, committed great devastations in the low countries, and even entered into leagues with the kings of England against their native prince; and he, as well as all other men, could not but see that if this formidable power of the Highlanders was removed, he was of less consequence to the government, as there was less use for his service; and though King George by this act was impowered to exempt

such as he pleased, from being comprehended under it, and that consequently his grace was in no hazard of having his people disarmed, yet what was now done to others, would stand as a precedent for using him and his in the same manner, as it was an English measure, or might be retaliated on him upon an alteration of the ministry, when it might be proper to gratify those that coped with him and his family, and grudged that he and his followers should be in a better state than others. But the truth on't is, this duke hath in all matters acted as if he only considered the present time, and had no regard or concern for futurity."*

By an act passed in the first year of George I., "for the more effectual securing the peace of the Highlands in Scotland," it was rendered unlawful for any person or persons, (except the persons therein mentioned and described, viz. peers of the realm, sons of peers, members of parliament, and others authorized by his majesty,) within the shires of Dumbarton, on the north side of the water of Leven, Stirling, on the north side of the river of Forth, Perth, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Inverness, Nairne, Cromarty, Argyle, Forfar, Banff, Sutherland, Caithness, Elgin, and Ross, to have in custody, or to use or bear broad-sword or target, poniard, whingar, or durk, side-pistol or side-pistols, or gun, or any other warlike weapon in the fields, or in the way coming or going to, from, or at any church, market, fair, burials, huntings, meetings, or any occasion whatsoever within the said bounds, or to come into the low countries armed, as aforesaid.

After a recital of these provisions, it was enacted by the law, now passed, 1*mo*, that from time to time the lord-lieutenant of every one of the said shires, or any other person or persons, to be appointed by his majesty, his heirs, or successors, for that effect, should cause letters or summons to be issued in his majesty's name, under their respective hands and seals, directed to such of the clans and persons within the said several shires and bounds as they should think fit, commanding and requiring all and every person belonging to such clan or clans, and all and every such other persons therein named, living within the particular limits therein described, on a certain day, in such summons to be named, to bring to and deliver up at a certain place in such summons also to be mentioned, their arms and warlike weapons, to such lord-lieutenants, or other persons, authorized to receive the same; and if, on the expiration of the day appointed for delivery, any persons belonging to the clan or clans, or any other persons named in the summons, should be convicted on evidence of having or bearing any arms or warlike weapons, after the day mentioned in the summons, the said persons so convicted were to be forthwith committed to safe custody, to be there kept and detained without bail, until delivered over to such officer or officers belonging to the forces of his majesty as should be appointed from time to time, to receive such men within every such shire or place respect-

* Lockhart papers, vol. ii. p. 156.

ively to serve as soldiers in any part of his majesty's dominions beyond the seas. 2*do*, To prevent arms from being concealed, it was next enacted, that if, after the days appointed for delivery, any arms or warlike weapons should be found concealed in any dwelling-house, or in any house or office of whatever description within the limits summoned to deliver up, the tenant or possessor should be deemed the bearer of such concealed arms, and, upon being convicted, should suffer the penalty before mentioned, unless such tenant or possessor should produce sufficient evidence that such arms were so concealed without his connivance or knowledge. 3*tio*, To prevent questions touching the legality of the notice, it was declared that the summons, notwithstanding its generality, should be deemed sufficient if it expressed the clan or clans, that were commanded to deliver up their arms, or the lands and limits, the inhabitants of which were to be disarmed, and that it should be a sufficient and legal notice to affix the summons on the door of the parish church or churches of the several parishes within which the lands, the inhabitants whereof were to be disarmed, lay, on any Sunday betwixt the hours of ten in the forenoon, and two in the afternoon,—four days at least before the day fixed for delivering up the arms; and on the market-cross of the head-burgh of the shire or stewartry, eight days before the day so appointed. 4*to*, The lord-lieutenant of the said shires, or the person or persons authorized as aforesaid, or any two or more justices of the peace were authorized to enter into any house within the limits aforesaid, either by day or by night, and to search for and seize arms and warlike weapons. These provisions were unquestionably very severe; but the circumstances of the times rendered them absolutely necessary.

Upon the passing of the disarming act, some of the Highland chiefs held a meeting at Paris, at which they resolved to apply to the Chevalier de St George, to know whether, in his opinion, they should submit to the new law. James returned an answer under cover to Bishop Atterbury, in which he advised the chiefs rather to submit than run the risk of ruining their followers; but the bishop thought proper to keep up the letter, and having sent off an express to Rome, James was induced to write another letter altogether different from the first, requiring them to resist, by force, the intended attempt of the government to disarm the Highlanders. Meanwhile, the chiefs were apprized of James's original sentiments by a correspondent at Rome, and of the letter which had been sent to Atterbury's care. Unaware of this circumstance, the bishop, on receipt of the second letter, convened the chiefs, and communicated to them its contents; but these being so completely at variance with the information of their correspondent, they insisted upon seeing the first letter, but Atterbury refused in the most positive terms to exhibit it, and insisted upon compliance with the injunctions contained in the second letter. They, thereupon, desired to know what support they were to receive in men, money, and arms; but

the bishop told them, that unless they resolved to go to Scotland and take up arms, he would give them no further information than this, that they would be assisted by a certain foreign power, whose name he was not at liberty to mention.* The chiefs, dissatisfied with the conduct of the bishop, refused to pledge themselves as required, and retired.

After the passing of this act, General Wade, who had made a survey of the Highlands during the summer of seventeen hundred and twenty-four, was made commander-in-chief in Scotland, with powers to build forts wherever he pleased. In addition to the forces already in Scotland, troops were sent down from England, and several frigates were appointed to stations on the coast of Scotland, there to wait the general's orders. It was Wade's intention to form a camp at Inverness, preparatory to the disarming of the Highlanders, but he was stopped for a time on his journey north to quell a serious disturbance which had broken out at Glasgow, in consequence of the imposition of the malt-tax.

The great preparations made to carry the disarming act into effect, indicated a dread, on the part of the government, that the Highlanders would not deliver up their arms without a struggle. The Chevalier de St George, deceived as it would appear by the representations of Atterbury, resolved to support the Highlanders, to the effect at least of enabling them to obtain favourable terms from the government. "I find," says James, in a letter † to Mr Lockhart, "they (the Highlanders) are of opinion that nothing less than utter ruin is designed for them, and those on this side are persuaded that the English government will meet with the greatest difficulties in executing their projects, and that the clans will unanimouslie agree to oppose them to the last, and if thereby circumstances will allow them to do nothing for my service, that they will still, by a capitulation, be able to procure better terms to themselves than they can propose by leaving themselves at the government's mercy, and delivering up their arms: and, if so, I am resolved, and I think I owe it to them, to do all in my power to support them, and the distance I am at has obliged me to give my orders accordingly; and nothing in my power shall be wanting to enable them to keep their ground against the government, at least till they can procure good terms for themselves, tho, at the same time, I must inform you that the opposition they propose to make may prove of the greatest advantage to my interest, considering the hopes I have of foreign assistance, which, perhaps, you may hear of even before you receive this letter. I should not have ventured to call the Highlanders together, without a certainty of their being supported, but the great probability there is of it makes me not at all sorry they should take the resolution of defending themselves, and not delivering up their arms, which woud have rendered them, in a great measure, useless to their countrie; and as the

* Abstract of a letter from one of the Highland chiefs at Paris to Mr John Macleod, advocate, dated the end of June, 1725. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 102-3.

† Dated 23d June, 1725. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 109.

designs of the government are represented to me, the laying doun of their arms is only to be the forerunner of other methods, that are to be taken to extirpate their race for ever.* They are certainly in the right to make the government buy their slavery at as dear a rate as they can. The distance I am at (Rome,) and the imperfect accounts I have had of this law, (for disarming the Highlanders,) have been very unlucky: however, the orders I have sent to France I hope will not come too late, and I can answer for the diligence in the execution of them, which is all I can say to you at present from hence."

A few days after the receipt of this letter, Mr Lockhart went to Edinburgh, where he found the duke of Hamilton and the earl of Kincardine, two of James's "trustees," to whom he showed the letter, and requested their opinion as to the proposed attempt to resist the contemplated measures of the government. These noblemen considered that the attempt would be rash as well as fatal,—that the idea of obtaining better terms by a temporary resistance, was vain, unless the Highlanders succeeded in defeating the government; but that if they failed, the utter extirpation of their race would certainly follow; —that the Highlanders being a body of men of such high value, as well in relation to the interests of the exiled family, as to those of the kingdom, it was by no means reasonable to hazard them upon an uncertainty, for though they should give up their arms, it would be easier to provide them afterwards with others, when their services were required, than to repair the loss of their persons;—that with regard to foreign assistance, as such undertakings were liable to many accidents, and as the best formed designs often turned out abortive, it was by no means advisable to hazard the Highlanders, who were hated by the government, upon the expectancy of such aid; and that if such foreign powers as could, and were willing to assist, would inquire into the true state of affairs in Scotland, they would find that whenever a feasible attempt should be made by them to restore the exiled family, the Scots would be ready to declare themselves.

This opinion was communicated by Mr Lockhart to James,† and he informed him at same time that a person of distinction, who had been sent by the Highland Jacobite chiefs to obtain intelligence and advice, had arrived in Edinburgh *incognito*, and had informed Kincardine,

* This serious charge was probably not altogether without foundation. The extreme severities of the government certainly tended to such a result. In reference to these, Duncan Forbes, afterwards lord-president, in an anonymous letter to Sir Robert Walpole, says, "If all the rebels, with their wives, children, and immediate dependants, could be at once rooted out of the earth, the shock would be astonishing; but time would commit it to oblivion, and the danger would be less to the constitution than when thousands of innocents, punished with misery and want for the offences of their friends, are suffered to wander about the country, sighing out their complaints to Heaven, and drawing at once the compassion, and moving the indignation of every human creature." Culloden Papers, p. 62.

† Letter from Mr Lockhart to the Chevalier, 25th July, 1725. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 186.

who had waited upon him, that the Highlanders had resolved to make a show of submission, by giving up part of their arms under the pretence of delivering up the whole, while their intention was to retain and conceal the best and greater part of them. Kincardine, without giving any opinion on the subject, recommended to the gentleman in question, as foreign assistance might be speedily expected, the expediency of putting off the delivery as long as possible, and that as four or five weeks would be consumed before the forms, required by the act, could be complied with, they should retain their arms till the expiration of that period. This proposal was highly relished by the deputy, who departed early the following morning for the Highlands to communicate the plan to his friends and constituents.

The advice given by Hamilton and Eglinton coincided with the views which James, upon being made acquainted with the resolution of the chiefs at Paris, had adopted; and in a letter written to Mr Lockhart by Colonel Hay, whom he had appointed his secretary of state, and raised to the peerage under the title of earl of Inverness, he signified his approbation of the advice given by his friends, which he said was entirely agreeable to his own sentiments from the beginning. He stated, moreover, that the orders he had given to assist the Highlanders were only conditional, and in the event only that they themselves should have resolved to oppose the government, and that if the bishop of Rochester had pressed any of the chiefs at Paris to go to arms, it was more with a view to discover a correspondence which he suspected one of them had carried on independent of the others, than with any real design to induce them to order their followers to make opposition, as that was to have depended as much upon the chiefs at home as upon those abroad.*

When James ascertained that the Highlanders were resolved to submit, he withdrew the orders he had given for assisting them, and despatched a trusty messenger to the Highlands to acquaint them of his readiness to support them when a proper occasion offered, and to collect information as to the state of the country. Allan Cameron, the messenger in question, arrived in the Highlands in August, and visited the heads of the clans in the interest of James, to whom he delivered the message with which he had been intrusted. It is said that General Wade was aware of his arrival, but it does not appear that any measures were taken to apprehend him. After four months' residence in the Highlands, Cameron ventured on a journey to Edinburgh, where, in the beginning of the year seventeen hundred and twenty-six, he held frequent conferences with the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Kincardine, and Lockhart of Carnwath, on the subject of his mission and the state of affairs, but nothing of importance was resolved upon at these meetings, and Cameron departed for the continent early in February.

After the suppression of the riots in the west of Scotland, General

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 218.

Wade proceeded to Inverness, where a camp had been formed, to carry the disarming act into execution. At Inverness Wade was waited upon by a body of about one hundred and fifty gentlemen of the name of Mackenzie, headed by Lord Tarbet, Sir Colin Mackenzie of Coul, and Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Cromarty. These last informed the general that they had come as the representatives of Seaforth's tenants and vassals, who would not come in themselves till they knew how they were to be received,—that their rents had for several years been uplifted by Daniel Murdochson, Seaforth's factor or servant, and that they were not able to pay them a second time, but that if they were discharged of these rents, they would pay them in future to the government, deliver up their arms, and live peaceably. Wade, who according to Lockhart was "a good enough tempered man," at once acceded to this request, and informed the deputation, that if the clan performed what had been promised, he would endeavour in the next session of parliament to procure a pardon for Seaforth and all his friends. After being well entertained for two or three days at Inverness, the deputation, accompanied by Wade and a small body of dragoons, went to Castlebran, where the arms of the clan were delivered up, but not until Murdochson had secreted all those of any value.* The Macdonells of Glengary and Keppoch, the Camerons, the Macdonalds of Skye and Glencoe, the Stewarts of Appin, and others, made a similar surrender, but all of them were careful to conceal the best of their arms. "No doubt," says Lockhart to James, "the government will be at pains to magnify and spread abroad their success in disarming the Highlanders, but depend on't, its all a jest; for few or no swords or pistols are or will be surrendered, and only such of their firelocks as are of no value, so that a small recruit of good arms will put them in better state than before. I mention this so expressly that you may contradict reports to the contrary, lest they discourage those from whom you expect foreign aid. I now plainly see that this Highland expedition (whatever might be at first pretended or intended) is now at the bottom a money job: the general has got a great sum of money to pass through his hands for it, and his scheme is to be mighty civil to the Highlanders, and under the colour of his having persuaded them to give up their arms, (which the trash they give him will enable him to represent,) to make himself pass as an useful man and fit to be continued in Scotland with a good salary. But at the same time, I know likewise that there are some of the government heartily vexed that the Highlanders have made no opposition, hoping, if they had, that in the time of tranquillity they might have extirpated them, whereas, as matters have been managed, they will still remain, and be in a capacity to serve you when fair occasion offers."†

The extraordinary excitement produced in Scotland by the levying of the malt-tax might have proved dangerous to the government, had the

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 196.

† Letter of Mr Lockhart to James, 2d Sept. 1725. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 195.

partizans of the Stuarts, assisted by a small foreign force, been in a condition to have taken the field. A new alliance was now proposed between the Cameronians and Highlanders, and negotiations actually entered into for that purpose;* but the activity of the government in suppressing the disturbances, destroyed for a time any hopes which the Jacobites may have entertained of again embroiling the kingdom in a civil war. They indeed attempted to keep up the resentment of the people against the government, in the expectation that an invasion would be attempted, but neither the court of France nor that of Spain was disposed to embark in an enterprise which would have brought on a general war in Europe.

About this time an event occurred, which, while it tended to create factions amongst the adherents of James, made many of them keep either altogether aloof from any direct management in his affairs, or abstain from entering into any plan of co-operation for his restoration. This was the dismissal of Mar from his post as minister of James at Paris, on the suspicion that he had betrayed the secrets of his master to the British government. From his situation he was intimately acquainted with all the Chevalier's affairs, and knew the name of every person of any note in the three kingdoms who had taken an interest in the restoration of the exiled family, with many of whom he himself had corresponded. The removal, therefore, of such a person from the Jacobite councils could not fail to excite uneasy apprehensions in the minds of those who had intrusted him with their confidence, and to make them extremely cautious in again committing themselves by any act, which, if discovered, would place them in jeopardy. To this feeling may be ascribed the great reserve which for several years subsequent to this occurrence the Jacobites observed in their foreign relations, and the want of unity of action which formed so remarkable a characteristic in their subsequent proceedings. As this affair forms an important link in the historical chain which connects the events of the year seventeen hundred and fifteen with those of seventeen hundred and forty-five, a short account of it is necessary.

During a temporary confinement at Geneva, Mar had obtained a sum of money, whether solicited or not does not appear, from the earl of Stair, the British ambassador at Paris, without the knowledge of James. In a narrative afterwards drawn up by Mar in his own justification, he states, that being in great straits he received this money as a loan from the earl, who was his old friend; but Colonel Hay, in a letter to Mr Lockhart of the eighth of September, seventeen hundred and twenty-five, states that Mar had no occasion for such a loan, as "the king" remitted him considerable supplies to Geneva, where his expense would be trifling, as he was entertained by the town.† This matter might have been overlooked, but he, soon thereafter, accepted a pension of two thousand

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 212—228. † Ibid. p. 177—206.

pounds from the government, over and above the sum of fifteen hundred pounds which his countess and daughter actually then received by way of jointure and aliment out of the produce of his estate. Mar states that before he agreed to receive this pension he took the advice of General Dillon, a zealous supporter of the interests of the Stuarts, whom he had been accustomed to consult in all matters of importance, and that the general advised him to accept of the offer, as by refusing it the government might stop his lady's jointure, and that his estate would be sold and lost for ever to his family; and that as he had been released from his confinement at Geneva on condition that he should not act or take any part against the government of Great Britain during his abode in France, and should return when required to Geneva, that government might insist on his being sent back to Geneva, whence he had been allowed to go to the waters of Bourbon for his health. Mar communicated the proposal also to James, in a letter of third February, seventeen hundred and twenty-one, who at once sanctioned his acceptance of the pension, and assured him that his sentiments in regard to him remained unaltered. Notwithstanding this assurance, however, there is every reason to believe that James had begun to suspect his fidelity; and as he could clearly perceive that Mar had already taken his resolution to close with the government, he might consider it his wisest policy to conceal his displeasure, and not to break at once with a man who had so much in his power to injure him and his friends.

Having thus succeeded in their advances to Mar, the government, on receiving information of the conspiracy in which Atterbury was concerned, sent a gentleman to Paris in May, seventeen hundred and twenty-two, with a letter to Mar from Lord Carteret. This gentleman received instructions to sound Mar as to his knowledge of the intended plot. On arriving at Paris, the messenger, (who, it is understood, was Colonel Churchill,) sent a letter to Mar requesting a private interview. Dillon was present when this letter was delivered, and on reading it, Mar says he showed it to Dillon, upon which it was arranged that Mar should instantly call upon the person who had written the letter, and that Dillon should remain in the house till Mar's return, when the object and nature of the interview would be communicated to him. On Mar's return he and Dillon consulted together, and they both thought that the incident was a lucky one, as it afforded Mar an opportunity of doing James's affairs a good service by leading the government off the true scent, and thereby prevent further inquiries. They thereupon drew up a letter with that view, to be sent by Mar in answer to Carteret's communication, which being approved of by another person in the confidence of the Chevalier, was sent by Mar to the bearer of Carteret's letter. Mar immediately sent an account of the affair to James and the duke of Ormond, and he shortly received a letter from the former, dated eighth June, seventeen hundred and twenty-two, in which he expressed himself entirely satisfied with the course pursued by Mar on the

occasion. To justify himself still farther, Mar states, that among the vouchers of his exculpation, there was the copy of another letter from James, written by him to one of his agents at Paris, dated the thirteenth of August, same year, wherein he justifies and approves of Mar's conduct, and expresses his regret for the aspersions which had been cast upon the earl about the plot.

Though James thus continued to profess his usual confidence in Mar's integrity, he had ever since he became acquainted with his pecuniary obligations to Stair resolved to withdraw that confidence from him by degrees, and in such a manner as might not be prejudicial to the adherents of the exiled family in Great Britain. But Mar, who, as James observed,* had put himself under such engagements that he could not any longer serve him in a public manner, and who, from the nature of these engagements, should have declined all knowledge of James's secrets, continued to meddle with his affairs as formerly, by taking the direction and management of those intrusted to Dillon, the confidential agent of James and the English Jacobites. In this way was Mar enabled for several years, when distrusted by James, to compel him in a manner to keep on good terms with him. From the natural timidity of James, and his anxiety to avoid an open breach with Mar, it is difficult to say how long matters might have remained in this awkward state, had not the attention of the Scottish Jacobites been drawn to Mar's pension by the report of the parliamentary committee concerning the conspiracy; and the representations of the bishop of Rochester respecting Mar's conduct, shortly after his arrival in France, brought matters to a crisis. In the letter last referred to, James thus intimates to Mr Lockhart the final dismissal of Mar. "I have been always unwilling to mention Mar, but I find myself indespensably engaged at present to let my Scots friends know that I have withdrawn my confidence entirely from him, as I shall be obliged to do from all who may be any ways influenced by him. This conduct is founded on the strongest and most urgent necessity in which my regard to my faithful subjects and servants have the greatest share. What is here said of Mar is not with a view of its being made public, there being no occasion for that, since many years ago he put himself under such engagements that he could not serve me in a public manner, neither has he been publicly employ'd by me."

The charges made by Atterbury against Mar were, 1*mo*, That about the time he, the bishop, was sent prisoner to the Tower, Mar had written him a letter which was the cause of his banishment. 2*do*, That he had betrayed the secrets of the Chevalier de St George to the British government, and had entered into a correspondence with them. 3*tio*, That he had advised the Chevalier to resign his right to the crown for a pension; and lastly, that without consulting James, he drew up and presented a memorial to the duke of Orleans, containing a plan, which,

* Letter to Mr Lockhart, 31st August, 1724. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 151.

under the pretence of restoring him, would, if acted upon, have rendered his restoration for ever impracticable.

The grounds on which Atterbury founded the charge against Mar, of being the cause of his banishment, are detailed in the letter from Colonel Hay to Mr Lockhart before alluded to. It is there stated, that at the time Colonel Churchill met Mar at Paris, when he carried over Lord Carteret's letter, he informed Mar that the British government had intercepted three letters, sent by the same post, to three different persons, supposed to be then at Paris; and that, after being copied they were forwarded, and according to the Colonel's information, who arrived at Paris before the post, these letters reached their destination. One of these letters under a fictitious name was designed for Mar, and was duly delivered to him; and though fully aware of the discovery made by the government, he had the imprudence to return an answer, which he addressed to the same fictitious name with which the three letters were signed. In Mar's answer, the bishop's situation at the time, the death of his lady, his illness, his going to his country-house ten miles from London, &c. were so accurately described, that after the imprudent admission of Mrs Barnes respecting the dog, the government at once fixed upon the bishop as the author of the three letters. There was nothing, however, in the letters on which to ground even a charge of constructive treason; and although Mar was certainly to blame in writing a letter containing such pointed allusions, which he must have been aware would be intercepted at the post-office, there is no reason for believing, as insinuated by Atterbury, that he meant to insnare him.

As to the charge of having advised James to resign his right to the crown for a pension, Mar refers in his narrative to two letters which he wrote from Geneva to James and his agent, Dillon, on the twentieth of January, seventeen hundred and twenty; in the former of which he observed, that if James were to apply to the courts of France and Spain, it was probable that, at the approaching congress at Cambray, they might induce the British government to pay him a yearly allowance, which would help him in his difficulties, and the payment of which might be so contrived as neither to affect his honour nor prejudice his interest. The plan he proposed for effecting this was, that the money should not be paid directly to James himself, but should come through the hands of some foreign princes, who might be prevailed upon so to interpose as if James himself had no concern in the matter. The letter to Dillon was couched in the same strain, with this addition that the proposal should be made to the regent Orleans; but in neither of these letters was the most distant hint given, that James was to resign his right to the crown.

To understand the nature of the last charge against Mar, that he laid the scheme before the regent of France with a design to ruin James, Mar refers to the plan itself for his justification. The expulsion of the Stuarts from the British throne had been always looked upon by

the French court as an event which, by dividing the nation into rival factions, would enable France to humble and weaken an ancient and formidable rival. To encourage the Jacobites and Tories in their opposition to the new dynasty, and to embroil the nation in a civil war, the French ministry repeatedly promised to aid them in any attempts they might make to overturn the government; but true to the line of policy they had laid down for themselves, of allowing the opposing parties in the state to weaken each other's strength in their contest for ascendancy, they sided with the weaker party only to prolong the struggle, in the hope that, by thus keeping alive the spirit of discontent, France might be enabled to extend her power, and carry into effect her designs of conquest.

To remove the objections which such a policy opposed to the Restoration of James, Mar proposed that, upon such event taking place, Scotland and Ireland should be restored to their ancient state of independence, and protected in their trade, and thereby enabled, as they would be inclined, to support "the king in such a manner as he'd be under no necessity of entering into measures contrary to his inclinations to gratify the caprices, and allay the factions of his English subjects." * He also proposed that a certain number of French forces should remain in Britain after James was restored, till he had modelled and established the government on this footing, and that five thousand Scots and as many Irish troops should be lent to the French king, to be kept by him in pay for a certain number of years. Mar was fully aware that such a scheme would be highly unpopular in England, on which account he says, that although he had long ago formed it, he took no steps therein during the life of Cardinal Dubois, whom he knew to be particularly attached to the existing government of Britain; but that obstacle being removed, he laid it before the regent of France, who, he says, he had reason to believe, received it with approbation, as he sealed it up, and addressed it to the duke of Bourbon, and recommended it to his care. To excuse himself for laying the scheme before the duke of Orleans without the Chevalier's knowledge, he states that he did so to prevent James, in case of the scheme being discovered, being blamed by those who, for particular reasons, would be displeased at it; but that immediately after the delivery he acquainted James thereof, and sent him a copy of it, and at same time represented to him the absolute necessity of keeping it secret. Notwithstanding of this injunction, Colonel Hay sent a copy of it to the bishop of Rochester, and Mar attributes the bad feeling which Atterbury afterwards displayed towards him, to the proposal he made for restoring Scotland to her independence.

The memorial was presented by Mar to the duke of Orleans in September, seventeen hundred and twenty-three; but so little secrecy was

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 183.

observed, that, in the month of January following, a statement appeared in the public newspapers, that a certain peer, then at Paris, had laid a plan before the regent for restoring the exiled family. Though the British government must have been aware, or at all events must have suspected, after such a notification, that Mar was the author of the scheme, his pension was still continued, and they even favoured him still more by allowing the family estate, which was exposed to sale, to fall again into the hands of the family on favourable terms.

In reference to that part of Mar's justification, which relates to this affair, Colonel Hay, whom Mar accuses in his narrative of a design to ruin his character, remarks as follows:—"Now, I am come to say something about a memoriall, of which, in the abstract of the narrative, it is said a copy of it was sent to the king, (the Chevalier de St George,) after it had been presented to the duke of Orleans, yet the king never acknowledged the receipt of it. Mar does me justice in saying that I approved of certain articles relating to Scotland, though I did not at the time believe them to be of so great importance, as he pretended they were, neither were they represented as the foundation of a scheme, which, had the king entered into it, must have put a stop to his restoration for ever, without which these articles could be of no use. I disapproved of the memoriall from the beginning, because, as I told Mar when I first saw it, that I thought the scheme impracticable; that England was not to be conquered with 6000 foot souldiers, or the king's friends in England to be led blindly into their own ruin, with sevrall other reasons I need not repeat; and tho Mar pretends that this was contrived for the advantage of Scotland, I reallie cannot see what benefite Irelands being more powerfull than England woud bring to us, and as I coud not perceive at the time that Mar coud have any reason to belive that Orleans was any wayes disposed to act for the king, I treated the presenting of it, by the king's minister, then at Paris, as a very imprudent act, since I thought ther was a greater likelyhood of Orleans doing a service to his strict ally, Hanover, by discovering it, than of his entering into it: however, my caution in divulging it was very great, and I thought it of such consequence, that none entrusted by the king shoud at least be the first to mention it; that I did not open my lips about it to any soul living during my absence from Rome, nor after I returned, till I knew Mar shewd some particular articles in it to some people at Paris, informing them that the memoriall, because it was for the interest of Scotland, was the reason of his disgrace. Then, indeed, when I found the memoriall to be no more a secret, I thought it necessary to send a true copy of it, that so were a false one handed about, a true copy might be produced: and it does not consist with the king's knowledge that the duke of Orleans sealed up the memoriall, and recommended it to the duke of Bourbon, neither does it appear naturall, since Orleans dyed suddenlie, left his papers in the greatest confusion,

was not in good terms with his successor at the time of his death, and could nowayes foresee that he was to succeed him in the ministry." *

On reviewing the whole circumstances of Mar's conduct, evolved by Atterbury's charges, it must be admitted that his justification is far from being complete; but though there exist strong suspicions of his fidelity, there are not sufficient data on which to found a charge of wilful and deliberate treachery. From the position in which he placed himself as a debtor of Stair, and a pensioner of the British government, he could no longer be trusted with safety by his Jacobite colleagues, and as he had come under an obligation, as a condition of his pension, not to act in behalf of the Stuarts, he was bound in honour to have abstained from all farther interference in their affairs; but for reasons only known to himself, he continued to act as if no alteration of his relations with the exiled family had taken place since he was first intrusted by them. Selfish in his disposition, and regardless whether the Chevalier de St George, or the elector of Hanover wore the crown, provided his ambition was gratified, it is probable that, without harbouring any intention to betray, he wished to preserve an appearance of promoting the interests of the Stuarts, in order that the compact which he had entered into with the British government, might, in the event of a restoration of that family, form no bar to his advancement under a new order of things; but whatever were his views or motives, his design, if he entertained any such as has been supposed, was frustrated by his disgrace in seventeen hundred and twenty-five.

The breach with Mar was looked upon by some of the Jacobites as a rash act on the part of the Chevalier, and they considered that he had been sacrificed to gratify Colonel Hay, between whom and Mar an irreconcileable difference had for some time existed. This opinion had a pernicious influence upon the councils of the Chevalier, and to the rupture with Mar may be attributed the *denouement* of an unhappy difference between James and his consort, which, for a time, fixed the attention of all the European courts.

In the year seventeen hundred and twenty the Chevalier de St George had espoused the Princess Clementina, grand-daughter of John Sobieski, king of Poland, who had born him two sons, viz. Charles Edward, celebrated for his exploits in seventeen hundred and forty-five, and Henry Benedict, afterwards known as Cardinal York.† Prince Charles was placed under the tuition of one Mrs Sheldon, who, it is said, obtained a complete ascendancy over the Princess Clementina. As alleged by the partisans of Colonel Hay, she was entirely devoted to Mar, and served him as a spy in the family. To counteract the rising influence of Hay, she is represented to have incited the princess against him to such a degree, as to render the whole household a scene of constant

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 206.

† The Prince was born on 31st December, 1720,—the Cardinal on 6th March, 1725.

disturbance. But whatever may have been the conduct of Mrs Sheldon, there is good reason for believing that the cause of irritation proceeded entirely from the behaviour of Hay and his lady, who appear not to have treated the princess with the respect due to her rank, and who, from the sway they appear to have had over the mind of her husband, indulged in liberties which did not become them.

To relieve herself from the indignities which she alleged she suffered, the princess resolved to retire into a convent, of which resolution the Chevalier first received notice from a confidant of the princess, who also informed him that nothing but the dismissal of Colonel Hay from his service would induce her to alter her resolution. The princess afterwards personally notified her determination to her husband, who remonstrated with her upon the impropriety of a step which would prejudice them in the eyes of their friends, and make their enemies triumph; but she remained inflexible. In a memoir * which the Chevalier drew up in relation to this subject in his own justification, he asserts that he afterwards ascertained, from a person of great worth and consideration, who had endeavoured to prevail upon the princess to forego her resolution, that her displeasure was not confined to "Lord Inverness," but that it also extended to "Lord Dunbar," (a title which he had recently conferred on Mr James Murray,) who had been appointed tutor to the young princess, "under pretence that the prince's religion was in danger while he had the care of them."

Finding the Chevalier fully determined to retain Colonel Hay in his service, the princess made preparations for carrying her resolution into effect; and, accordingly, on the morning of Thursday, the fifteenth day of November, seventeen hundred and twenty-five, under the pretence of taking an airing in her carriage, she drove off to the convent of St Cecilia, into which she retired, without taking any notice of a long letter, by way of remonstrance, which her husband had written her on the eleventh.† In a letter which she afterwards wrote to her sister, explaining the cause of her retirement, and which, it is understood, was intended as an answer to her husband's memoir, she says, "Mr Hay and his lady are the cause that I am retired into a convent. I received your letter in their behalf, and returned you an answer, only to do you a pleasure and to oblige the king; but it all has been to no purpose, for instead of making them my friends, all the civilities I have shown them have only served to render them the more insolent. Their unworthy treatment of me has in short reduced me to such an extremity, and I am in such a cruel situation, that I had rather suffer death than live in the king's palace with persons that have no religion nor conscience, and who, not content with having been the authors of so fatal a separation betwixt the king and me, are continually teazing him every day to part

* Appendix, No. V.

† This letter, and a previous one, dated 9th November, are published among the Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 246.

with his best friends and his most faithful subjects. This at length determined me to retire into a convent, there to spend the rest of my days in lamenting my misfortunes, after having been fretted for six years together by the most mortifying indignities and affronts that can be imagined." *

The Chevalier was anxious that his friends should form a favourable opinion of the course he had adopted in resisting the demand of his wife; and, accordingly, on the morning after her departure, he assembled all his household, and explained to them fully the different steps he had taken to prevent the extraordinary proceeding of the princess. He also entered into a justification of his own conduct, and concluded by assuring them, that it should be his principal care to educate his two sons in such a manner as might contribute one day to the happiness of the people he expected to govern. With the same view, he immediately despatched copies of the memoir, and of the two letters he had written to the princess, to Mr Lockhart, to be shown to his friends in Scotland; but as the memoir and letters had been made public, copies of them were publicly hawked through the streets of London and Edinburgh, with a scurrilous introduction, several weeks before Mr Lockhart received his communication. This was apparently done with the approbation of the government, as the magistrates of Edinburgh compelled the porters of the city to cry the papers through the streets.† At first, the Jacobites imagined that these documents were forgeries got up by the government, to make the Jacobite cause contemptible in the eyes of the people; but they were soon undeceived, and great was their consternation when they found that the papers in question were genuine.‡

The court of Rome seemed to approve of the Chevalier's conduct in refusing to remove Hay; but when it was understood that the removal of Murray, the young princes' governor, was considered by their mother even

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 265. † Ibid. p. 242—261, 360.

‡ Mr Lockhart, in a letter to the Chevalier, 12th March, 1726, makes the following judicious observations on the affair of the separation. "Differences 'twixt man and wife, even in a private family, is so delicate a point, that a third person, without a very particular call and immediat concern, cannot well venture to interpose, and much less wond I presume to say any thing on so nice and tender a subject, were it not attended with consequences wherein so many thousands are affected, and doth thereby become a publick national concern. Consider, Sir, I beseech you, the many advantages which the enimys of you and your family draw from what has hapned, by inventing and propagating many storys which tend to lessen your character in the world, and which, tho ever so false and improbable, are credited by some, and at least creat fears and doubts in others, and by blasting the hopes of your leaving a numerous issue behind you. This very article is of the last consequence, for it is a truth naturall to imagine, and consists with my particular knowledge, by the opportunitys I had of conversing often and knowing the sentiments of my unkle, the late Lord Wharton, and his intimates, that the enimys of your family were by nothing more encouraged to drive on and persist in their rebellious schemes, than that in you alone existed the royal race of Stuart, and were in hopes that with you it wond expire; whereas a numerous issue subsisting, is one of the most powerful arguments in behalf of your just cause, as it draws alongst with it a disputable succession, whilst the present settlement continues, the many miserys whereof England has by dear bought experience been taught."—Vol. ii. p. 258.

of more importance than the dismissal of Hay, the pope sent a message to James, intimating that if Murray were removed and Mrs Sheldon restored to favour, a reconciliation might be effected with the princess,—that, however, he would not insist on Mrs Sheldon being taken back, but that he could not approve of nor consent to Murray being about the prince. The Chevalier did not relish such interference, and returned for answer, that he had no occasion for the pope's advice, and that he did not consider his consent necessary in an affair which related to the private concerns of his family. As James was the pensioner of his holiness, the answer may be considered rather uncourteous, but the Chevalier looked upon such meddling as an insult which his dignity could not brook. The pope, however, renewed his application to bring about a reconciliation, and with such earnestness, that James became so uneasy as to express a wish to retire from his dominions.* By the efforts, however, it is believed, of the princess's friends, aided by the repeated remonstrances of a respectable portion of the Jacobites, the Chevalier at length reluctantly dismissed Hay from his service. According to Mr Lockhart, Hay and his wife had obtained such a complete ascendancy over the Chevalier, that they had the direction of all matters, whether public or domestic, and taking advantage of the confidence which he reposed in them, they instilled into his mind unfavourable impressions of his best friends, and by insinuating that the princess, and every person that did not truckle to them, were factious, and that their complaints against the colonel and his lady proceeded from a feeling of disrespect to himself, his temper became by degrees soured towards his wife. To escape from the insolence of these favourites, the princess, as has been seen, embraced, for a time, a conventual life; and while some of the Chevalier's adherents, who had lost their estates in his service, left his court in disgust, others were ordered away. It was currently reported at the time that Mrs Hay was the king's mistress, and that jealousy on the part of the Princess Clementina was the cause of the rupture; but persons who had ample opportunities of observation could observe no impropriety, and the princess herself never made any such accusation. The pertinacity with which James clung to his favourites greatly injured his affairs, and lessened his character in public opinion.†

The death of George the First, which took place on Sunday, the twenty-second day of June, seventeen hundred and twenty-seven, while on his journey to Hanover, raised anew the hopes of the Chevalier.‡ He was

* Letters from the Chevalier to Mr Lockhart, 3d Dec. 1725, and 19th Jan. 1726. Vol. ii. p. 253—256.

† Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 339.

‡ George I., when electoral prince, married the Princess Sophia Dorothy, the daughter of William, duke of Zell. After bringing him a son and daughter, she was superseded for a mistress. The princess had been admired before her marriage by Count Konigsmark. He arrived at Hanover while the prince her husband was with the army. It was reported to the elector that his daughter-in-law received the count in the evening in her own apartments. Being watched, he was assassinated by the orders and in the presence

at Bologna when this intelligence reached him, and so anxious was he to be nearer England to watch the progress of events, and to be ready to avail himself of the services of his friends in Britain to effect his restoration, that he left Bologna privately for Lorraine, the day after the news was brought him of King George's death, although the princess, who had just left the convent by the advice of her friends, was at the time on her way from Rome to Bologna to join him. The journey of the princess being publicly known, the Chevalier availed himself of the circumstance to conceal his real design, by giving out that he had left Bologna to meet her. On arriving at Nancy, the Chevalier despatched couriers to Vienna, Madrid, and Paris, announcing the object of his journey, and at the same time sent a messenger with a letter to Mr Lockhart, who, in consequence of a warrant being issued by the British government for his apprehension, had a few months before taken refuge on the continent, and was then residing at Liege. This letter, which is dated twenty-second July, seventeen hundred and twenty-seven, embodying as it does the views of the Chevalier, the state of his circumstances, and his opinion of passing events, possesses considerable interest. It is as follows:—

"As soon as I heard of the elector of Hanover's death, I thought it incumbent on me to put myself in a condition of profiting of what might be the consequences of so great ane event, which I was sensible I coud never do at so great a distance as Italy; and that maele me take the resolution of leaving that country out of hand and drawing near to England, that I might be in readiness, without loss of time, to profit of any commotion that might ensue in Great Britain, or of any alteration that might happen in the present system in Europe on Hanover's death. At

of the elector, one evening as he was leaving the palace. It was generally believed that she was innocent, and that by the artifice of a mistress of Ernest Augustus, who had substituted another person for the princess, he was drawn to the spot. The prince, on his return, immured her in the castle of Alden, where she was confined for thirty-two years, and died only seven months before her husband. Her crime was never proved. Convinced of her innocence, her son, George II., secretly kept a picture of her in his possession; and on the morning after the news of his father's death reached London, he hung up the portrait in his ante-chamber.* Mr Lockhart (Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 252.) says, that about eight or ten weeks after the death of George I. a copy of a letter (of which he gives a translation from the French,) was handed about at most of the courts of Europe, especially in Germany, giving an account of his death. The letter stated, that when the electress (wife of George I.) was dangerously ill of her last sickness, she delivered to a faithful friend a letter to her husband, and exacted a promise that it should be delivered into his own hands. It contained a protestation of her innocence, a reproach for his hard usage and unjust treatment of her, and concluded with a summons or citation to her husband, to appear within a year and day at the bar of divine justice, and there to answer for the long and many injuries she had received from him. As this letter could not, with safety to the bearer, be delivered in England or Hanover, it was given to him in his coach on the road. He opened it immediately, supposing it came from Hanover. He was so struck with the contents of the letter, that he was seized with convulsions, followed by apoplexy, and soon expired. This story was discredited by some and believed by others, and from the industry displayed in propagating it, it was supposed that it was concocted by the friends of the electress, and that her son, George II., and the king of Prussia were parties to it.

* Orford's Reminiscences.

the same time that I left Italy I despatched expresses to Vienna, Madrid, and Paris, and have alreadie received the return of that to Vienna, by which it is very plain that the emperor woud be very desirous that I coud be in a condition of making ane attempt without any foreign force, and woud not even obstruct my own passing privately thro his dominions for that effect, tho his ministers declare at the same time that since the preliminaries are signed he cannot give me any assistance.

" The answers from France and Spain are not yet come, but when they do, 'tis to be expected they will not be more favourable, so that for the present no foreigne assistance can be expected; but with all that, the present conjuncture appears so favorable in all its circumstances that had I only consulted my own inclinations, I shoud certainly out of hand have crossed the seas, and seen at any rate what I coud do for my own and my subjects delivery; but as on this occasion I act for them as well as myself, and cannot hope without their concurrence to succeed in what I may undertake in our mutual behalf, I find myself under the necessity of making no furder steps without their advice.

" 'Tis true the disadvantages I lye under are great and many; I have but a small stock of mony, scarce sufficient to transport what few arms I have and what officers I may get to follow me on this occasion. Ime sensible that it is nixt to impossible that a concert shoud be established amongst my friends at home, such as woud be sufficient for a rising in arms in my favor before my arrivall, and by what is said before, the little hopes of foreign assistance will be sufficiently seen; but with all this, many arguments may be brought to authorise ane undertaking which at first sight might appear rash. Our countrie is now (whatever the outward appearance may be) in great confusion and disorder, the people have had time to feel the weight of a foreign yoke, and are noways favorably inclined towards the present elector of Hanover. That concert, vigor, and unanimity which does not precede my crossing the seas, may attend and follow such ane event, and if the chief great powrs in Europe are not all my declared friends, ther is not one that is my enimy, and that has not a particular interest to wish me on the throne; and were I in person in Britain at the head of even a small number of my own subjects, it might naturally alter very much the present system of some or other of them during the time of the congress, (that about to be held at Aix-la-Chapelle,) but shoud it once meet, and affairs be adjusted there on the foundation of the quadruple alliance, foreign affairs will take quite another face, and in all probability woud long remain so, whilst the present elector of Hanover and his son might have time to ingratiate themselves with the English nation; so that all put together it must be concluded that if the present conjuncture is slip'd, it cannot be expected that wee ever can have so favorable a one for acting by ourselves, and that wee run the risk of allowing the generall affairs of Europe to be less favorable to us than they are at present; so that what-

ever is not absolutely desperate ought certainly to be undertaken, and the sooner the better.

"I desire therefore you may think seriouslie on this matter, and let me have your opinion as soon as possible, and if my going into England be not adviseable, whether my going to the Highlands of Scotland might not be found proper." To this letter is appended the following postscript in James's own handwriting. "The contents of this will show you the confidence I have in you, and I expect you will let me know by the bearer, (Allan Cameron,) your advice and opinion, particularly on this important occasion."*

From Cameron Mr Lockhart was surprised to learn that the Chevalier, notwithstanding the certainty he was under that he could look for no foreign aid, and that his friends, both in Scotland and England, had made no preparations to receive him, was not only inclined, but seemed even resolved, to repair to the Highlands of Scotland, and there raise the standard of insurrection, and that Colonel Hay, whom he had so lately discarded, was one of his counsellors on the occasion. As Cameron, who had visited the Highlands some time before, and was well aware of the almost insuperable difficulties which opposed themselves to the contemplated step, seemed to approve of the Chevalier's design; Mr Lockhart expressed his wonder that one who knew the state of the Highlands so well, and the determination generally of the Highlanders not to take the field again till they saw England actually engaged, could advise his master to risk his person, and expose the country and his friends to certain destruction. He observed, that there were indeed some persons who would venture their all in any attempt headed by the Chevalier in person, but as matters then stood, the number of such persons would be few, and that the great majority of those that might be expected to join him would consist of idle persons, actuated solely by the hopes of plunder, who would abandon him eventually to the mercy of the government troops that would be poured into the Highlands, and that, under the pretence of punishing the few who had taken up arms, they would ravage the country and cut off the inhabitants, for doing which the government only wanted such a handle.

In accordance with these sentiments, Mr Lockhart represented in his answer to the Chevalier's letter, that the design he contemplated was one of the greatest importance, and though it was very proper for him to put himself in a condition to avail himself of any favourable circumstances that might occur, yet that appearances did not warrant such expectations,—that the people of England seemed to have forgot all the grievances under which they had laboured during the late reign, in hope of a better order of things, and that until they found themselves disappointed, he could expect nothing from them,—that with regard to

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 356.

such of the people of Scotland as were favourably disposed, they could not possibly do any thing without being previously provided with many material things they stood in need of, and that before these could be supplied, many difficulties had to be surmounted and much time would be lost, during which preparations would be made on all hands to crush them,—that although it would be of advantage to strike a blow before the government had time to strengthen themselves at home and abroad, yet the attempt was not advisable without necessary precautions and provisions to insure its success, as without these such an attempt would be desperate, and might ruin the cause for ever,—that no man living would be happier than he (Mr Lockhart) to see the dawning of a fair day, but when every point of the compass was black and cloudy, he could not but dread very bad weather, and such as could give no encouragement to a traveller to proceed on his voyage, and might prove the utter ruin of himself and attendants.* This judicious advice was not thrown away upon the Chevalier, who at once laid aside his design of going to Scotland, and retired to Avignon, where he proposed to reside under the protection of the pope; but his stay at Avignon was short, being obliged to leave that place in consequence, it is believed, of the representations of the French government to the court of Rome. He returned to Italy.

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 360

CHAPTER XVII.

Treaties of Seville and Paris—Disputes in Parliament about reducing the army—Ineffectual attempt to repeal the septennial act—Message from the Crown to augment the forces—Debates—New Parliament—Whig and Tory invectives—Convention of the Prado—Debates in Parliament—Defeat of the Tories, who retire from Parliament—Scheme of Lord-President Forbes for securing the allegiance of the Clans—War with Spain—Lord Marischal sent to Madrid by the Chevalier de St George—Jacobite association in Edinburgh—Drummond of Bochaldy arrives at Rome—Jacobite intrigues at Paris—Death of the Emperor Charles VI.—Accession of Maria Theresa—Confederacy against her—Neutrality of Hanover—Meeting of the Hungarian Diet—Speech of the Queen—Austrians ravage Bavaria—Retirement of Walpole—Proposed overtures to the discontented Whigs from the Chevalier de St George—Drummond of Bochaldy arrives at Edinburgh, and Murray of Broughton at Paris—Plan of a French invasion—Charles, eldest son of the Chevalier de St George, arrives at Paris—Preparations for invasion—Alarm of the British ministry—Preparations for defence—Sailing of the French fleet—Embarkation and failure of the expedition—Declaration of war between France and England—Arrival of Murray of Broughton at Paris—Interview with the Prince, who resolves to proceed to Scotland.

THE natural desire to preserve his German dominions on the one hand, and a wish to establish himself and his descendants in his newly acquired kingdoms against the designs of the abetters of the house of Stuart on the other, induced George the First to enter into a variety of treaties, and to form many alliances which seemed only calculated to draw Great Britain into every continental dispute, and, as the Jacobites justly looked upon war as the best auxiliary to their schemes, to endanger that very succession which he was so anxious to perpetuate. But although warlike preparations were made on all sides, and partial hostilities committed, the opposing states were averse to war; and after many negotiations, the powers at variance agreed to certain preliminaries, which were signed at Vienna on the thirty-first day of May, seventeen hundred and twenty-seven, by which it was, *inter alia*, agreed that hostilities should immediately cease; that the charter of the Ostend company, which was injurious to the commerce of England and France, should be suspended for seven years, and that a reference of all disputes should be made to a general congress to be held within four months at Aix-la-Chapelle.*

For the convenience of the French minister the congress was transferred to Soissons, where a peace would have been immediately concluded, had not the death of George the First raised new hopes of a Jacobite restoration in the minds of the emperor, Charles the Sixth, and Philip the Fifth of Spain. It has been alleged that these two sovereigns had formerly entered into a secret treaty to restore the Chevalier de St George to the throne of Great Britain; but no evidence has yet been discovered of its

* Coxe, Kings of Spain, Rousset, Recueil d'Actes, &c.

existence, although there are good grounds for supposing that they had in view the expulsion of the house of Hanover. But whatever were the views of Charles and Philip in regard to the restoration of the exiled family at the period in question, their hopes were speedily extinguished by the tranquil succession of George the Second, and the retention of Walpole in the post of prime minister. Thus disappointed in his expectations, the king of Spain acceded to the preliminaries of Vienna, which accession was followed by the treaty of Seville, to which England, France, and Spain, were parties. As this treaty stipulated for the garrisoning of the Italian fortresses by Spanish troops, the suppression of the Ostend company, and revoked the commercial privileges enjoyed by the subjects of the emperor, Charles declined to accede to it, and even threatened to involve Europe in a general war rather than give his assent; but he at length yielded a reluctant compliance, and signed the second treaty of Vienna in March, seventeen hundred and thirty-one, by which the general tranquillity of Europe was established.

The nation naturally expected that the restoration of peace would have been followed by a reduction of the standing army; but Walpole had too much penetration not to see the dangers to which the Hanover succession would be exposed, were such a system adopted under existing circumstances, and he formed his resolution accordingly. In the parliamentary session of seventeen hundred and thirty-one, Sir W. Strickland, secretary, having moved that the army should be maintained to the same extent as in the preceding year, Lord Morpeth moved an amendment, that the number should be reduced from eighteen to twelve thousand men, which was supported by Sirs William Wyndham, Watkins Williams Wynne, John Barnard, and others, and Lord Harvey. Sir Robert Walpole, his brother Horace, and Sir Philip York, the attorney-general, afterwards Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, argued for the motion. On the part of the ministry it was maintained that the maintenance of such a considerable number of land-forces was necessary to defeat the designs of the disaffected, secure the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, defend it in case of foreign attack, and enable it to take vigorous measures in the event of a general war,—that the science of war was so much altered, that little reliance could be placed upon a militia in defending the kingdom from external attacks, and that all nations were obliged, as a security against the encroachments of neighbouring powers, to maintain standing armies,—that the number of troops was too trifling to excite the jealousy of the people, even under an ambitious monarch,—that the idea of infringing the liberties of his subjects had never entered into his majesty's thoughts,—that it could not be supposed that the officers, among whom were many gentlemen of family and fortune, would ever concur in a design to enslave their country,—and that as the forces, now in pay, were annually voted and maintained by the parliament, the representative of the people, they could not properly be deemed a standing army. On the part

of the tories or opposition, it was argued that a standing force in time of peace was unconstitutional, and had been always considered dangerous, —that a militia could be as well disciplined as a standing army, and that the former had stronger motives to incite them to courage and perseverance than hired mercenaries,—that the internal peace of the country could be sufficiently preserved by the civil power,—that the number of the disaffected, which was now quite contemptible, might be considerably increased, if a standing army were kept up, and other arbitrary measures pursued,—that although other nations had had recourse to standing armies for protection against neighbouring states, they had enslaved the nations they were destined to protect; but that Great Britain, from her insular situation, had no need of such doubtful protection,—that this situation was strengthened by a numerous navy which had given her the dominion of the sea,—and that if this force was properly disposed, every attempt at invasion would be rendered, if not altogether impracticable, at least ineffectual,—that the army, though sufficiently numerous to endanger the liberties of the people, could be of very little service, from the great extent of coast, in preventing an invasion,—that although they did not question his majesty's regard for the liberties of his subjects, they were apprehensive, that should a standing army be ingrafted upon the constitution, another prince of very different dispositions might afterwards arise, who would not stickle to employ the army to subvert the constitution; and though many of the officers were gentlemen of property and honour, they might be discarded, and others of more pliant dispositions substituted in their places,—that with regard to the argument that the army was wholly dependent on the parliament, it was sufficiently answered by the fact, that an army had formerly turned their swords against the parliament, for whose defence they had been raised, and had overturned the constitution both in church and state,—that independent of this, the hardship to the people of England would be equally the same whether a standing army should be at once declared indispensable, or regularly voted from year to year according to the pleasure of the ministry,—that the sanction of the legislature to measures unconstitutional in themselves, and repugnant to the genius of the people, instead of yielding satisfaction, would serve only to demonstrate that ministerial influence operating upon a venal parliament, was the most effectual way to forge the chains of national slavery. In addition to these reasons, the opposition urged the reduction of the standing army as a necessary consequence of a declaration made by his majesty, that the peace of Europe was established, and that he had nothing so much at heart as the ease and prosperity of his people; and it was argued, that if eighteen thousand men were sufficient on the supposed eve of a general war, a less number would certainly suffice when peace was perfectly restored. All these arguments, however, against an undiminished standing army were quite ineffectual, and the motion was carried by a large majority. A similar result took place in the upper house.

Next session the opposition resumed the subject, and urged their arguments for a reduction of the standing army with such vehemence, that the ministry found themselves obliged to have recourse to the old bugbears of popery and the pretender, to obtain an acquiescence in their measures. By insisting, as Sir Robert Walpole did, that the chief thing desired by the Jacobites was a reduction of the army,—that no reduction had ever been made but what gave them fresh hopes, and encouraged them to raise tumults against the government; and that the anxiety of the Jacobite party was so notorious, that if a reduction was made, they would send off an express by post-horses that very night to the pretender: he again carried his point. But these defeats only stimulated the tories to fresh opposition. Walpole had made himself odious in the eyes of the nation by proposing his celebrated excise scheme, which he was obliged to abandon from deference to public opinion, and a regard to his own personal safety. To keep up the odium against him, the opposition are said to have spread a report that he intended to revive his hated scheme in the session of seventeen hundred and thirty-four; but on his declaring that he had no such intention, they resorted to other plans to get him displaced. Besides the tories, there was a party of disappointed whigs headed by Mr William Pulteney, who joined in the opposition. Pulteney had distinguished himself by his opposition to the Oxford administration, and on the accession of the house of Hanover was made secretary of state. When Walpole retired from office he also resigned; but as Walpole did not procure for him the situation he expected on the return of that minister to power, he broke with him: he, however, afterwards accepted the appointment of cofferer of the household; but, on a fresh disagreement, he was dismissed from office, and, from that time forward, became the leader of the discontented whigs. Among other plans which the opposition now resorted to was the repeal of the septennial act,—a measure which the tories and Jacobites had long desired; but as Pulteney and his whig friends had promoted the act, they were reluctant to hazard their consistency by concurring in any measure for its repeal, in consequence of which the question had been delayed. That reluctance, however, being now overcome, a motion was made by Mr Bromley in the house of commons for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the septennial act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliaments. The principal speaker in support of the motion was Sir William Wyndham, who, in a speech of great boldness, displayed the rancour of the opposition in the following revolting portrait which he drew of Walpole in the character of a supposed minister:—

"Let us suppose a man abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour, of no great family, and but a mean fortune, raised to be chief minister of state by the concurrence of many whimsical events,—afraid, or unwilling to trust any but creatures of his own making,—lost to all sense of shame and reputation,—ignorant of his country's true interest,—pursuing no aim but that of aggrandizing himself and his favourites,

—in foreign affairs trusting none but those who, from the nature of their education, cannot possibly be qualified for the service of their country, or give weight and credit to their negotiations. Let us suppose the true interest of the nation, by such means, neglected or misunderstood,—her honour tarnished,—her importance lost,—her trade insulted,—her merchants plundered, and her sailors murdered, and all these circumstances overlooked, lest his administration should be endangered. Suppose him next possessed of immense wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chiefly composed of members whose seats are purchased, and whose votes are bought at the expense of the public treasure. In such a parliament, suppose all attempts made to inquire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation from the distress which has been entailed upon it by his administration. Suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay, or engages in his particular interest by distributing among them those posts and places which ought never to have been bestowed upon any but for the good of the public. Let him plume himself upon his scandalous victory, because he has obtained a parliament like a packed jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let us suppose him domineering with insolence over all the men of ancient families, over all the men of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation; as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy and corrupt it in all. I am still not prophesying; I am only supposing, and the case I am going to suppose I hope will never happen: but with such a minister and such a parliament, let us suppose a prince upon the throne, either for want of true information, or for some other reason unacquainted with the inclinations and interest of his people, weak and hurried away by unbounded ambition and insatiable avarice. This case has never happened in this nation; I hope, I say, it will never exist. But as it is possible it may, could there any greater curse happen to a nation than such a prince on the throne; advised, and solely advised by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a parliament? The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws. The existence of such a prince, or such a minister, we cannot prevent by act of parliament; but the existence of such a parliament I think we may; and as such a parliament is much more likely to exist, and may do more mischief, while the septennial law remains in force, than if it were repealed; therefore, I most heartily wish for the repeal of it."

This virulent invective, which was levelled as much at the king as the minister, was answered by Walpole in a corresponding tone, and the motion was negatived by a great majority. Emboldened by this success, Walpole, about the end of the session, and after a considerable number of the opposition members had retired to their homes in the country, delivered a message from the crown, expressing a desire that his majesty might be empowered to augment his forces, if occasion should require, between the dissolution of parliament, then about to take place,

and the election of another. A motion for taking the message into consideration, though warmly opposed in the house of commons, was carried, and an address presented to the king signifying compliance. Considerable opposition was also made in the house of peers with as little effect as in the commons. The ministerial influence was in fact too powerful to be resisted with any probability of success. In particular, the minister, by a proper distribution of places among the Scottish members and their friends, had almost the whole of them at his nod; and, accordingly, a very large majority of the Scottish representatives were always to be found swelling the ministerial majorities. To prevent the influence of the minister extending itself to the elections in North Britain, motions were successively brought forward in the house of peers by the earl of Marchmont and the duke of Bedford, which were supported by the earls of Chesterfield, Winchelsea, and Stair, and other peers. Both motions were opposed by the dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, and were of course negatived. To revenge himself against Stair, who had always served the government with fidelity and zeal, Walpole deprived him of his regiment; and several other peers, who had opposed the excise scheme, which he was forced to abandon, were also dismissed from their employments.

The elections for the new parliament were warmly contested, but ministerial influence preponderated. The parliament met on the fourteenth of January, seventeen hundred and thirty-five. A division took place upon the address, which showed the relative strength of both parties, two hundred and sixty-five having voted for the address, and one hundred and eighty-five against it. The session was not distinguished by any remarkable occurrence, except some proceedings in the house of peers, in relation to matters contained in a petition presented to the house, signed by the dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, the earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair, in which it was stated that undue influence had been used, in the election of the sixteen Scottish representative peers. The house fixed a day for taking the petition into consideration; but they afterwards resolved to adjourn the consideration of it to a short day, before which the petitioners were ordered to declare whether they intended to dispute the election of all the sixteen peers, or only the election of some, and which of them. The petitioners declared that they did not intend to controvert the election of the sixteen peers; but they considered it their duty to offer evidence, that undue methods had been used to influence the election, which were dangerous to the constitution, and which might, if not prevented in future, equally affect the rights of the elected peers, as those of the other peers of Scotland. The petitioners were next, after a warm debate, ordered to lay before the house a written statement, detailing the instances of the undue practices and illegal methods they alleged, and upon which they intended to proceed, and the names of the persons they suspected to be guilty. The petitioners, thereupon, represented to the house, that as they had no

intention to appear as accusers, they could not take upon them to name particular persons who might have been implicated in those illegal practices, but that their lordships, on taking the proper examinations, would discover them. They, however, averred, from the information they had received, that the list of the sixteen Scottish representative peers had been made out previous to the election, by persons high in trust under the crown,—that this list was shown to peers as one approved of by the crown, was in consequence called the king's list, from which, except in one or two instances of peers who were expected to conform, there was to be no variation,—that peers were solicited to vote for this list without alteration,—that attempts were made to engage peers to vote for this list by promising them pensions, &c.,—that sums of money were given for this purpose,—and that pensions, offices, and discharges of crown debts were actually granted to peers who voted for this list, and to their relations,—and that on the day of election, a body of troops was drawn up in the Abbey court of Edinburgh, for no other purpose, it would appear, than of over-awing the electors. This explanation was deemed unsatisfactory, and the petition was rejected; but the allegations which it contained were not without foundation.

During the two following sessions, the opposition, overwhelmed by the weight of ministerial influence, made a feeble resistance; but in the session of seventeen hundred and thirty-eight, they endeavoured to excite a warlike feeling against Spain, on account of the dissensions on the subject of Spanish commerce; and to embarrass the ministry at the same time, they insisted, though certainly at the expense of their consistency, to reduce the army from seventeen thousand four hundred, to twelve thousand men. Although Walpole might have urged the danger of a war with Spain, into which the opposition was attempting to embroil the nation, as a pretence for keeping up the army, he did not avail himself of such a line of argument, but openly declared that even if the government had no other enemies than the pretender, and the disaffected part of the king's subjects, the danger from these was a sufficient reason for keeping up the army. An attempt was made to turn the fears of the minister into ridicule; but he maintained that danger did exist, and in an energetic speech, drew a portrait of a true Jacobite, which many who heard him could not fail to observe, was intended as a representation of themselves.

"I am sorry to see, sir, (he observed,) that this is a sort of fear, which many amongst us endeavour to turn into ridicule; and for that purpose they tell us that though many of our subjects are discontented and uneasy, very few are disaffected. I must beg leave to be of a different opinion; for I believe most of the discontents and uneasinesses that appear among the people, proceed originally from disaffection. No man of common prudence will profess himself openly a Jacobite. By so doing he may not only injure his private fortune, but he must render himself less able to serve effectually the cause he has embraced. Your

right Jacobite, sir, disguises his true sentiments. He roars out for revolution principles; he pretends to be a great friend to liberty, and a great admirer of our ancient constitution; and under this pretence there are numbers, who every day endeavour to sow discontents among the people, by persuading them that the constitution is in danger, and that they are unnecessarily loaded with many and heavy taxes. These men know that discontent and disaffection are like wit and madness, separated by thin partitions; and therefore they hope, if they can once render the people thoroughly discontented, it will be easy for them to render them disaffected. These are the men whom we have most reason to fear. They are, I am afraid, more numerous than most gentlemen imagine; and I wish I could not say, they have been lately joined, and very much assisted by some gentlemen, who, I am convinced, have always been, and still are, very sincere and true friends to our present happy establishment."

Sir John Hynde Cotton, a concealed Jacobite,* stung by this reproach, thus retorted upon the whigs.

"I do own it gives me a good deal of surprise to hear gentlemen who act upon revolution principles, talk in a manner so utterly at variance with the language of whigs in former times. Sir, I know not what whigs the honourable gentlemen has been acquainted with; but I have had the honour and happiness to be intimate with many gentlemen of that denomination. I have likewise, sir, read the writings of many authors who have espoused those principles; I have sat in this house during the most material debates that have happened between them and the tories; and I can declare from my own experience, that I never knew one who acted on true whig principles, vote for a standing army in time of peace. What the principles of the whigs in former days were, I can only learn from reading or information. But I have heard of whigs who were against all unlimited votes of credit. I have heard of whigs who looked upon corruption to be the greatest curse that could befall any nation. I have heard of whigs who esteemed the liberty of the press to be the most valuable privilege of a free people, and triennial parliaments to be the greatest bulwark of their liberties; and I have heard of a whig administration who have resented injuries done to the trade of the nation, and have revenged insults offered to the British flag. These, sir, are the principles, if I am rightly informed, that once characterised the true whigs. Let gentlemen apply these characters to their present conduct; and then, laying their hands upon their hearts, let them ask themselves if they are whigs."

As Walpole was extremely desirous to avoid a rupture with Spain, a

* Stuart papers, in the possession of his Majesty, to which he was graciously pleased to permit access for the purpose of enabling the author to illustrate the history of the rebellion of 1745.

Note.—The reference to the "Stuart papers," in the subsequent parts of the present work, relate exclusively to those in the immediate custody of his Majesty.

convention with that power was concluded at the Prado, on the fourteenth day of January, seventeen hundred and thirty-nine, by which it was agreed, that within six weeks from the day on which the ratifications should be exchanged, two plenipotentiaries should meet at Madrid, to confer and finally regulate the respective pretensions of both crowns, as to the trade and navigation in Europe and America, and other disputed points; and that his catholic majesty should pay a certain sum in satisfaction of the demands of British subjects upon the crown of Spain, subject, however, to deduction of demands made by the crown and subjects of Spain. At opening the session on the first of February, the king, in his speech to both houses, alluded to the convention; but he abstained from stating the nature of its provisions, farther than that the king of Spain had obliged himself to make reparation for the losses sustained by British subjects, from the depredations of Spain. When the terms of the convention became generally known, a cry of indignation was raised against the minister, who, it was alleged, had sacrificed, the honour of the country to the unjust and domineering pretensions of Spain.

Backed by the general voice of the nation, the opposition again prepared themselves to combat the ministerial phalanx. They first tried their strength in several preliminary motions for the production of certain papers connected with the disputes on the Spanish question, in which they were unsuccessful; but they made their great effort on the ninth of March, when an address approving of the convention was moved. Before the day appointed for taking the convention into consideration, petitions had been presented to the house of commons by merchants, planters, and others, trading to America, by the cities of London and Bristol, the merchants of Liverpool, and the owners of some vessels which had been seized by the Spaniards. In these petitions it was stated that Spain, by the convention, was so far from giving up the unjustifiable practice of searching British ships, trading to and from the British plantations, that she appeared to have claimed the power of doing it as a right, seeing that, although the differences arising out of it were to be referred to plenipotentiaries, Spain had not even agreed to abstain from the practice, during the time that the discussion of this affair might last. These petitions, which prayed that the petitioners might be heard against that part of the convention which seemed to recognise the right of search on the part of Spain, were referred to the committee appointed to consider the convention; but a petition from the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, praying to be heard by counsel, against a clause in the convention, for regulating the limits of Carolina and Florida, experienced a different fate, having been rejected on a division.

The day for considering the convention having arrived, so desirous were the commons to be at their posts, that by eight o'clock in the morning four hundred members had taken their seats. The address was

moved by Mr H. Walpole, who lauded the convention, urged the inducements which Great Britain had to cultivate peace, the dangers of war, and the designs of the pretender. Mr Lyttelton, in an animated speech, endeavoured to turn the argument thus addressed to the fears of the audience to his own advantage. "After he (Walpole) had used many arguments to persuade us to peace, to any peace, good or bad, by pointing out the dangers of a war, dangers I by no means allow to be such as he represents them, he crowned all those terrors with the name of the pretender. It would be the cause of the pretender. The pretender would come. Is the honourable gentleman sensible what this language imports? The people of England complain of the greatest wrongs and indignities; they complain of the interruption, the destruction of their trade; they think the peace has left them in a worse condition than before; and in answer to all these complaints what are they told? Why, that their continuing to suffer all this is the price they must pay to keep the king and his family on the throne of these realms. If this were true it ought not to be owned; but it is far from truth; the very reverse is true. Nothing can weaken the family; nothing can shake the establishment but such measures as these, and such language as this." In vindication of the convention, the ministry maintained that Spain had granted satisfaction adequate to the injury received, —that all causes of complaint would be removed by a treaty of which the convention was merely a preliminary,—that war, which was uncertain in its events, was always expensive and injurious to a commercial country,—that in the event of a rupture, France and Spain would unite against Great Britain,—that she had no ally on whom she could depend for effectual aid; and that war would favour the designs of the disaffected to restore the exiled family. Notwithstanding the force of these arguments, the ministry made a narrow escape, the address being carried by a majority of twenty-eight votes only in a house of four hundred and ninety-two members.

Such a result, instead of encouraging the opposition to perseverance, filled them with dismay, and they resolved to discontinue their attendance in parliament. "The secession," as this extraordinary step was termed, was immediately after the division notified to the house by Sir William Wyndham in a speech of great pathos and solemnity. After a pathetic remonstrance against the resolutions to which the house had come, he called the majority a faction which had arraigned itself against the liberties of the nation, and thus concluded his harangue. "I here, Sir, bid a final adieu to this house. Perhaps when another parliament shall succeed I may be again at liberty to serve my country in the same capacity; I therefore appeal, Sir, to a future, free, uninfluenced house of commons. In the meantime, I shall conclude with doing that duty to my country I am still at liberty to perform, which is, to pray for its preservation. May therefore that Power which has so often and so visibly interposed in behalf of the rights and liberties of this nation, con-

tinue its care over us at this worst and most dangerous juncture, when the insolence of enemies without, and the influence of corruption within, threaten the ruin of her constitution!" Sir Robert Walpole, in a reply, which has been characterized by Lord Chatham as one of the finest he ever heard,* poured out a torrent of personal abuse upon Wyndham, unparalleled in the history of parliamentary vituperation. He denounced Sir William as the head of those traitors who for twenty-five years had conspired to destroy their country and the royal family, in order to restore a popish pretender,—and who, in return for the clemency he had experienced at the hands of the government after his apprehension, had ungratefully abused that clemency by heading a party whose object was to overthrow all law.

As it was easy to perceive that a rupture with Spain was almost inevitable, and as such an event would resuscitate the hopes and favour the designs of the Chevalier de St George and his abettors, it became the duty of the government to provide against any new attempts to stir up a civil war in the kingdom. The Highlands of Scotland were the quarter whence the greatest danger was to be apprehended, not more on account of the nature of the country, which was favourable to a prolonged warfare, than of the attachment of the greater number of the chiefs to the house of Stuart. It was obvious, that in proportion as that attachment was weakened, the interests of the house of Hanover were strengthened; yet strange to say, the government had devised no plan for detaching the Highland chiefs and their dependants from the fortunes of the exiled family. It was reserved for Lord-president Forbes, a man not less distinguished for patriotism than political wisdom, to discover a plan for securing the allegiance of the clans by engaging them in the service of the government, a scheme which, if acted upon, would have saved the kingdom from the horrors of civil war, and preserved many worthy families from ruin.

Before communicating his plan to the government, Lord-president Forbes resolved to consult his friend Lord Milton, then lord-justice-clerk, upon the subject. One morning in the end of autumn seventeen hundred and thirty-eight, he visited Lord Milton at his house at Brunstane before breakfast. Surprised at receiving such an early call, Milton asked him what was the matter. "A matter," replied the president, "which I hope you will think of some importance. You know very well that I am, like you, a whig; but I am also the neighbour and friend of the Highlanders, and intimately acquainted with most of their chiefs. For some time I have been revolving in my mind different schemes for reconciling the Highlanders to government; now I think the time is come to bring forward a scheme which, in my opinion, will certainly have that effect. A war with Spain seems near at hand, which, it is probable, will soon be followed by a war with France, and there will be occasion for more troops than

* Walpoliana.

the present standing army. In that event, I propose that government should raise four or five regiments of Highlanders, appointing an English or Scottish officer of undoubted loyalty to be colonel of each regiment; and naming the lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains, and subalterns, from this list in my hand, which comprehends all the chiefs and chieftains of the disaffected clans, who are the very persons whom France and Spain will call upon, in case of a war, to take arms for the pretender. If government pre-engages the Highlanders in the manner I propose, they will not only serve well against the enemy abroad, but will be hostages for the good behaviour of their relations at home; and I am persuaded that it will be absolutely impossible to raise a rebellion in the Highlands. I have come *here* to show you this plan, and to entreat, if you approve it, that you will recommend it to your friend Lord Ilay,* who, I am told, is to be here to-day or to-morrow on his way to London." "I will most certainly," said Milton, "show the plan to Lord Ilay; but I need not recommend it to him, for, if I am not mistaken, it will recommend itself."

The earl of Ilay having arrived at Brunstane next day, Lord Milton showed him the president's plan, with which he expressed himself very well pleased. The earl carried it to London with him, and presented it to Sir Robert Walpole, who, on reading the preamble, at once declared that it was the most sensible scheme he had ever seen, and stated his surprise that nobody had thought of it before. Walpole then laid the plan before a meeting of the cabinet summoned for the purpose of considering it, at which he expressed his approbation of it in the strongest terms, and recommended it as a measure which ought to be carried into immediate execution, as a war with Spain might soon take place. Singularly enough, every member of the cabinet, with the exception of Sir Robert himself, declared against the measure. They assured him, notwithstanding his strong recommendations of it, that for his own sake they could not agree to it, because if government should adopt the plan of the *Scots* judge, the patriots (as the opposition was called,) would denounce Sir Robert as a person who intended to subvert the constitution, by raising an army of Highlanders to join the standing army and enslave the people of England. The plan was, therefore, abandoned, and about a year after its rejection Great Britain declared war against Spain.†

Notwithstanding the convention, the differences between Great Britain and Spain remained unadjusted, and in the following year, as before stated, war was openly declared against Spain. The opposition, therefore, returned to their seats, a measure which they justified by the declaration of war against Spain; every assertion against the encroachments of Spain contained in the declaration being, as they alleged,

* Archibald, earl of Ilay, the friend of Sir Robert Walpole. He succeeded his brother, John, duke of Argyle, in the year 1743.

† Home's History of the Rebellion of 1745, chap. i.

almost similar in expression to those used by the opposition against the convention.

As soon as the Chevalier de St George received intelligence of the war with Spain, he despatched Lord Marischal to Madrid to induce the court of Spain to adopt measures for his restoration. But however willing Spain might be to assist him, he was desirous that no attempt should be made without the concurrence of France.* About the same time, that is, in the beginning of the year seventeen hundred and forty, some of the more zealous and leading Jacobites, in anticipation of a war with France, held a meeting at Edinburgh, and formed themselves into an association, by which they engaged themselves to take arms and venture their lives and fortunes to restore the family of Stuart, provided the king of France would send over a body of troops to their assistance. By a singular coincidence, this association, like that which brought over King William to England, consisted of seven persons, viz. Lord Lovat, James Drummond, commonly called duke of Perth, the earl of Traquair, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Cameron of Lochiel, John Stuart, brother to Lord Traquair, and Lord John Drummond, uncle to the duke of Perth.† The conspirators despatched Drummond of Bochaldy, or Balhady, (nephew to Lochiel,) to Rome with the bond of association, and a list of those chiefs and chieftains who were considered by the associates to be favourable to the cause. Drummond was instructed to deliver these papers into the hands of the Chevalier de St George, and to entreat him to procure assistance from France in furtherance of their design. The project was well received by James, who, after perusing the papers, forwarded them immediately by the same messenger to Cardinal Fleury at Paris, with a request that the court of France would grant the required assistance. But the cardinal, with that caution which distinguished him, would come under no engagement, but contented himself at first by a general assurance of conditional support.

The negotiation was, however, persevered in, but the death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth, which happened on the twentieth of October, seventeen hundred and forty, drew off the cardinal's attention to matters which appeared to him of greater importance. The emperor was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, married to the grand-duke of Tuscany, formerly duke of Lorraine. Though this princess succeeded under the title of the pragmatic sanction, which had been guaranteed by England, France, Spain,

* Letters to the duke of Ormond and Lord Marischal, 27th January, 1740, the original copies of which are among the Stuart Papers in his Majesty's possession. Alluding to his expectations of assistance from France, the Chevalier, in a letter (of which a copy is also in the same collection,) written to Marischal on 11th January, 1740, while the latter was on his way to Madrid, says, "I am betwixt hopes and fears, tho I think there is more room for the first than the last, as you will have perceived by what Lord Sempil (so an active agent of James was called,) has I suppose writ to you. I conclude I shall sometime next month see clearer into these great affairs."

† Trial of Lord Lovat, p. 21.

Prussia, Russia, Holland, and the whole of the Germanic body, with the exception of the elector-palatine, and the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, a powerful confederacy was formed against her by almost all these powers, to strip her of her dominions. Maria Theresa at first looked to France for support; and, in expectation of receiving it, declined a proposal made by Great Britain and Holland to form a grand confederacy against the house of Bourbon;* but France, regardless of her engagements, joined the confederacy with the view of crushing the house of Austria. The king of Prussia modestly demanded from Maria Theresa, the whole of Silesia; and, upon being refused, entered that province about the end of December at the head of an army. He entered Breslau, the capital, and took all the fortresses except Brieg and Neiss. In April, seventeen hundred and forty-one, he defeated the Austrians at Molwitz, and thus became master of the whole of Silesia.

Alarmed at the formidable confederacy formed against her, the queen of Hungary applied to Great Britain for succour; but Sir Robert Walpole evaded the demand, and recommended an immediate peace with Prussia. The parliament, as well as the nation, however, had different views; and as the minister saw that he would be compelled to fulfil his engagements to the house of Austria, parliament was called upon to support the queen of Hungary, and maintain the liberties of Europe. The commons cheerfully voted a sum of £300,000 to enable George the Second to fulfil his engagements, which sum was remitted to the queen of Hungary, and the contingent of twelve thousand Danish and Hessian troops, which Great Britain had engaged to furnish, was got in readiness. Meanwhile the court of France concluded an offensive alliance with the elector of Bavaria, by which she engaged to send forty thousand men to join the elector, and another army of equal force to keep the elector of Hanover and the United Provinces in check.† A treaty was entered into about the same time between Prussia and France. This was again followed by a treaty to a similar effect between the king of Prussia and the elector of Bavaria, by which Silesia was guaranteed to Prussia; Upper Austria, the Tyrol, Brisgau, and Bohemia to Bavaria. By offering Moravia to the elector of Saxony, he was induced to enter into the alliance, and signed a treaty with France. By enriching Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria, (the three rival powers which disputed the dominion of Germany with the house of Austria,) with her spoils, France expected to raise them to an equality with Austria, and prevent her from ever again asserting the dominion of the empire. Spain also prepared to attack the Austrian possessions in Italy, and the king of Sardinia armed for the same purpose.

To counteract the efforts of the elector of Hanover in favour of Maria Theresa, a French army under Marshal Maillebois, marched into Westphalia, and threatened the electorate. George the Second, with-

* Coxe's House of Austria. † Flassan.

out the knowledge of his minister, meanly proposed a neutrality for his German dominions, and a treaty was accordingly signed by the French and Hanoverian ministers; but Lord Harrington, the British minister, refused to put his name to a document which parliament, he was aware, would not have sanctioned.* While the army under Marshal Maillebois kept Hanover in check, another French army joined the elector of Bavaria, whom the French court had engaged to raise to the imperial dignity. The elector marched towards Vienna, and his cavalry arrived within a few miles of the capital; but Fleury, jealous of the elector of Saxony, induced the elector, by means of his agents, to draw off his army towards Bohemia, lest the Saxons should make themselves masters thereof. Frederick of Prussia had indeed strongly urged the elector to advance, and observed that "the Romans could be conquered nowhere but at Rome;" but the elector, more disposed to follow the advice of the French minister, entered Bohemia and laid siege to Prague,—a movement which preserved the capital and saved the house of Austria from ruin.

While thus threatened with destruction by the combined attacks of France, Spain, Prussia, Saxony, Poland, and Bavaria, Maria Theresa displayed a firmness of soul worthy of her race and the justice of her cause. Refusing to purchase peace at the expense of any portion of her hereditary dominions, she resolved to appeal to the sympathy and affection of her Hungarian subjects against the perfidy of her assailants. She was crowned at Presburg in the month of June, seventeen hundred and forty-one, amid the acclamations of a loyal and devoted people; and, in September following, she met the assembled diet in the same place. Her appearance on this occasion harmonized with the object in view. Clad in deep mourning, the crown of St Stephen on her head, and a cimeter at her side, she entered the hall and ascended the tribune. Every eye was fixed upon her, and every heart beat with emotions of loyalty and respect. Her youth,—her beauty,—her graceful charms,—the dignity of her deportment,—her unbending integrity in defending the lawful possessions of her house,—the appeal which, as the heiress of a long line of monarchs, she was about to make for protection against her enemies,—all tended to rouse the national feeling in her favour.

After an explanation from the chancellor of the cause for which the diet had been assembled, Maria Theresa addressed the deputies in a Latin speech:—"The afflicted state of our affairs moves us to inform our faithful subjects of Hungary of the invasion of Austria, and the peril of this kingdom. It will be for you to consider of the remedy. This king-

* The Chevalier de St George, in a letter to the duke of Ormond, 1st November, 1740, thus alludes to the treaty:—"It will, to be sure, exasperate all our countrymen much against the elector, and may have, I think, in general, very good consequences for my interest. By it the Cardinal, (Fleury,) becomes master of affairs in Germany, and when he has settled matters there, I think it is reasonable to hope that he will turn his thoughts seriously to what relates to my interest."—*Stuart Papers.*

dom,—our person,—our children are at stake. Abandoned by all, we have no resource but the fidelity of the states of Hungary, and the ancient valour of the Hungarian people. We exhort the states and orders to consult on the imminent danger of our person, our children, our crown, and kingdom: and to give instant effect to their resolves. For our parts, every order and class in the kingdom may be assured that the pristine happiness of the country, and glory of the Hungarian name, shall be the object of our dearest care and affection." No sooner had the queen finished her speech, than the deputies, with spontaneous accord, drew their swords almost from the scabbard, and driving them back to the hilt, exclaimed, "Moriamur pro rege nostro, Maria Theresa!"—We will die for our king, Maria Theresa! The queen, unable to repress her emotions, burst into tears of joy and gratitude. The states instantly voted large supplies of money and troops, and in a few weeks a large army was collected and formed.

In the month of November the duke of Lorraine entered Bohemia at the head of sixty thousand men, to relieve Prague; but it surrendered to the French and Bavarian troops before he could reach it. He thereupon divided his troops into three divisions; the command of one was given to Khevenhuller, the ablest of the Austrian commanders. To keep up his communication with his own country, the elector of Bavaria had posted twenty thousand men in different places. These posts were attacked separately, and with the most complete success, by Khevenhuller, who entered Bavaria in the month of December, preceded by large bodies of irregular cavalry, known by the name of Croats, Pandours, and Tolfaches, who carried havock wherever they went.

While the flames of war were thus spreading over Europe, the situation of the British ministry was every day becoming more critical from the clamours of the tories and the discontented whigs. Walpole had triumphed in both houses on motions for an address to the king to dismiss him from his presence and councils; but his triumph was short, and the approach of an election redoubled the efforts of his enemies. Though the Jacobites required no incentive to induce them to assist in displacing a minister who had been the chief obstacle to the restoration of the exiled family; yet to make perfectly sure of their aid, Lord Chesterfield went to France, and by means of the duke of Ormond, obtained, it is said, a circular letter from the Chevalier de St George to his friends, urging them to do every thing in their power to ruin Walpole.* To encourage the popular clamour against the minister, reports, the most absurd and incredible respecting him, were circulated among the people and

* Colonel O'Bryan, who acted several years as the Chevalier's *charge des affaires* at Paris, had been made to believe that Walpole was favourably inclined to James's restoration; but the Chevalier seems to have had some doubts on the subject. In a letter to O'Bryan of 13th January, 1740, he says, "Si Walpole a veritablement mes interets en veu, il saura bien s'addresser a moy, par des voyes plus directes et plus authentiques."—*Stuart Papers.*

lelieved; and while the general discontent was at its height, the elections commenced. The contests between the two parties were extremely violent; but the country party, backed by the adherents of the prince of Wales, who had formed a party against the minister, prevailed. So powerful was the influence of the duke of Argyle, who had lately joined the opposition, that out of the forty-five members returned for Scotland, the friends of the ministry could not secure above six. The new parliament met on the fourth of December, seventeen hundred and forty-one; and Walpole, no longer able to contend with the forces arrayed against him, retired from office within a few weeks thereafter.

Encouraged by appearances, and imagining that some of the old discontented whigs who deprecated the system which had been pursued since the accession of the house of Hanover, of maintaining the foreign dominions of the sovereign at the expense, as they thought, of the honour and interests of the nation; Drummond of Bochaldy proposed to the chevalier to visit England, and make overtures in his name to the "old whigs."* This plan was highly approved of by James, who wrote him a letter in his own hand, which was intended to be exhibited to such persons as might seem inclined to favour his restoration. This letter was inclosed in a private letter containing instructions† for the regulation of his conduct in the proposed negotiation, which, it was intended should be kept an entire secret from the Jacobites, both in England and Scotland. Erskine of Grange, who enjoyed the confidence of some of the discontented whigs, and who privately favoured the designs of the exiled family, was pitched upon as a fit person to make advances to the old whigs.‡

In pursuance of his instructions, Drummond departed for England about the beginning of the year seventeen hundred and forty-two, but it does not appear that at this time he entered upon the subject of his mission. He came privately to Edinburgh in the month of February, same year, and there met some of the persons who had entered into the association, and several others, who, in conjunction with the original conspirators, had formed themselves into a society, denominated by them "the Concert of Gentlemen for managing the king's affairs in Scotland." To these, among whom was Murray of Broughton, Drummond represented that, on his return from Rome, he had been extremely well

* This scheme was first broached by Drummond to Sempil, another active agent of the Chevalier, and communicated by him to James, who signified his approbation of it in a letter to Sempil, dated Nov. 22, 1741. "I approve very much in general of our making application to the old whigs, and take it as a new and great mark of Balhaldy's zeal. The offer he makes of being instrumental in that measure, I perused with satisfaction. What you write on the subject, I shall consider seriously on it betwixt this and next week; I shall by next post send you a packet for Balhaldy, with all that may appear proper and necessary from me on that particular."—*Stuart Papers.*

† Vide Appendix, Nos. X. and XI.

‡ There is, among the Stuart papers, a copy of a letter from the Chevalier de St George to Mr Erskine, 13 March, 1740, thanking him for the zeal he had shown in his cause.

received by Cardinal Fleury, to whom he had delivered the papers which he had carried from Edinburgh,—that the cardinal expressed great satisfaction with the contents of these papers, had the pretender's interest so much at heart, and was so sanguine of his success, that provided he had sufficient assurances from the friends of the exiled family in England, that they would assist in the restoration of the Stuarts, he would send over an army of from thirteen to fifteen thousand men, the number required; a division of which, consisting of fifteen hundred men, was to be landed on the east coast of Scotland, at or near Inverness; another of a similar amount in the west Highlands of Scotland; and the main body, which was to consist of ten or twelve thousand men, was to be landed as near London as possible. He added, that, provided assistance could be obtained in England, the projected invasion might be put in execution the following autumn. Before leaving Edinburgh Drummond had an interview with Cameron of Lochiel, who came to town at his desire, and to whom he communicated the result of his mission to Rome and Paris.*

After a short stay at Edinburgh, Drummond returned to Paris, where, according to his own account, as communicated in letters to Lord Traquair and Lochiel, he had an audience of the cardinal, to whom he represented matters in such a favourable light that he promised to carry his design of invasion into effect in a very short time. The French minister, however, though he really seems to have seriously contemplated such a step, was not yet in a condition to come to an open rupture with England; and to postpone the enterprise, he proposed to Drummond that an application should be made to Sweden for a body of troops to invade Scotland, and that a person from Scotland, along with another person from France whom the cardinal would appoint, should be sent thither to urge the application at the Swedish court. The cardinal gave as his reason for thus deviating from his original plan, that the Swedes being protestants, would be more agreeable to the people of Scotland, than French or Irish troops. In accordance with this proposal, Lord Traquair suggested that Murray of Broughton should be sent to Sweden on the proposed mission, but he declined.†

From the turn which the affair of the invasion had now taken, and the time when it was expected to take place being allowed to elapse without any preparations on the part of France, a suspicion began to be entertained by the members of the Concert, that the cardinal never had any intention to invade Scotland, and that the whole was a scheme of Drummond's to keep alive the spirit of party in Scotland, and to make himself pass for useful in the eyes of his employers. To ascertain the real state of the case, Murray of Broughton, at the suggestion of Lord Traquair, was sent to Paris in the month of January, seventeen hundred and forty-three. He took London on his way, but before he reached the capital, he heard of the death of Cardinal Fleury. After stay-

* Lord Lovat's Trial, p. 75. † Ibid. p. 76.

ing a short time in London, Murray went privately to Paris, where he met Drummond and Sempil, who managed the Chevalier's affairs in France. They stated to him, that in all probability the scheme of invasion would have been carried into effect, had not the army of Marshal Maillebois been sent towards Hanover instead of the coast of Flanders, as at first intended; and that from the interest taken by the cardinal in the affairs of the Stuarts, he had put all the papers relating to them into the hands of Monsieur Amelot, the secretary for foreign affairs.*

At an audience which Murray afterwards had with Monsieur Amelot at Versailles, the foreign secretary told him that, on being made acquainted by Sempil with the cause of Murray's journey, he had informed the king of France of it, and that his majesty had authorized him to assure Mr Murray that he had the interest of the Stuart family as much at heart as any of the gentlemen who had signed the memorial of association, and that as soon as he had an opportunity he would put the scheme into execution.†

Shortly after this interview, Murray left Paris for London, accompanied by Drummond, who came over to obtain the assurances required by the French court from the English Tories and Jacobites. After remaining a few days in London, Murray returned to Edinburgh, to report to his friends the result of his mission. Drummond stopt at London, where he met Mr Erskine of Grange,‡ but although overtures were then, it is believed, made to Lord Barrymore, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, they declined to give any assurance or promise of support in writing. By desire of Drummond, Lord Traquair met him in London shortly after his arrival to assist him in his negotiations.§

At first view it may appear singular, and the circumstance must convey a very sorry idea of the councils of the Chevalier de St George, that a person of so little weight and influence as Drummond, who was utterly unknown to the English tories and Jacobites, should have been sent on such an important mission; but when it is considered that some of the leading Jacobites were proscribed and in exile, and that those at home were strictly watched by the government, and were therefore afraid to commit themselves by any overt act, it cannot excite surprise that the Chevalier availed himself of the services of one whom he considered "an honest and sensible man."‖ Drummond was, however,

* Lord Lovat's Trial, p. 76. † Ibid.

‡ The Chevalier alludes to this meeting in a letter to Sempil, 9th April, 1743; and in another of 16th May following, he mentions a long paper which Mr Erskine had sent him on the state of affairs.—*Stuart Papers.*

§ Letter from the Chevalier to Sempil, 24th May, 1743.—*Stuart Papers.*

‖ Letter to Sempil, 16th March, 1740.—*Stuart Papers.* Drummond was not the only person employed by the Chevalier about this time to visit his friends in England. A Colonel Bret, and afterwards a Colonel Cecil, with both of whom James corresponded, made frequent journeys to England. The dutchess of Buckingham made many unsolicited trips to Paris to hasten Cardinal Fleury's motions, but James was by no means

considered, even by his original employers, as an unfit person for executing the trust reposed in him, and Lord John Drummond, one of the seven who had signed the association, was quite indignant when he found him engaged in the mission to England.* Nor was Sempil, another agent, between whom and Drummond a close intimacy subsisted, more acceptable to the Scottish Jacobites, some of whom he offended by his forwardness.†

During the earlier part of the year seventeen hundred and forty-three, the French ministry were too much occupied with the war in Germany to pay much attention to the affairs of the Stuarts; but towards the close of that year they began to meditate upon an invasion of Great Britain. The parliament met in the beginning of December, when a motion was made in the house of peers by the earl of Sandwich ‡ for an address to the crown to discontinue the Hanoverian troops in British pay, in order to remove the national discontent, which was represented to be so violent, that nothing but their dismission could appease it. The motion was negatived, but renewed in another shape on the army estimates being brought forward, when it shared the same fate. The attention of the French ministry being drawn to these and similar discussions, and to the general dissatisfaction which seemed to pervade the people of Great Britain, by the agents and partizans of the exiled family, backed by the influence of Cardinal Tencin, entered upon the project of an invasion in good earnest. The cardinal, who now had great influence in the councils of France, had, while a resident at Rome, been particularly noticed by the Chevalier de St George, by whose influence he had been raised to the cardinalate, and he was moved as much from gratitude to his patron as from ambition to bring about the restoration of the Stuarts.§ The court of Versailles, indeed, required little inducement to engage in an enterprise which, whether it succeeded or not, would at all events operate as a diversion in favour of France in her contest with the house of Austria, of which Great Britain was the chief support; but it is not

satisfied with her officiousness. In writing to her on 20th July, 1741, he cautions her as follows:—"I must seriously recommend to you not to importune the old gentleman too much. When you have given him what lights and information have come to your knowledge, all the good is done, for in the present situation one would think he should want no spur to befriend us, and in all events he will go on in his own way, while teazing him can serve for nothing but to make him peevish and out of humour." The dutchess must have been possessed of some important papers, as James, in a letter to Sempil, (2d May, 1743,) written shortly after her death, expresses his concern lest her papers should fall into the hands of the government.—*Stuart Papers.*

* Letter from Lord John to Secretary Edgar among the Stuart Papers. Appendix, No. XV.

† Letter from Lord Marischal to Lord John Drummond. Appendix, No. XVII.

‡ Lady Sandwich was a zealous Jacobite, and declared, in a letter to the Chevalier de St George, that she would not live in England till he was restored. Vide her letter and the Chevalier's answer, Appendix, Nos. XVIII. and XIX.

§ The cardinal dined with James every Wednesday. Letter from the Chevalier to "Lord Inverness," 13th January, 1740.—*Stuart Papers.*

improbable that they at this time contemplated a more serious attempt. In intimating, however, his resolution to undertake the expedition, the king of France notified to the Chevalier de St George that it was to be kept a profound secret, and that neither the duke of Ormond nor Lord Marischal should be let into the secret till the enterprise was ready to be put into execution.*

The command of the troops designed for this expedition, amounting to fifteen thousand men, was given to Marshal Saxe, an able commander, who had distinguished himself in several campaigns; and the naval part, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, besides transports, collected at Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, was intrusted to Monsieur de Roquefeuille, an officer of considerable experience and capacity. This force was destined for the coast of Kent, and a smaller force was to be landed in Scotland under the command of Lord Marischal.†

While the preparations for the expedition were going on, Cardinal Tencin kept up an active correspondence with the Chevalier de St George. As James felt rather disinclined to accompany the expedition himself, he proposed that his eldest son, Charles, a youth of great promise, then in his twenty-third year, should go in his stead; but as it was doubtful whether the prince would arrive in time to join the expedition, the Chevalier sent an express to the duke of Ormond requesting him to accompany the expedition, and to act as regent, by virtue of a commission of regency formerly granted him, until the prince should arrive. On arriving in England, the duke was directed to advise with the principal friends of the family, among whom he particularly enumerated the duke of Beaufort, the earls of Barrymore, Westmoreland, and Orrery, Lord Cobham, and Sirs Watkin Williams Wynne, John Hynde Cotton, and Robert Abdy.‡ Having obtained the consent of the French court to this arrangement, the cardinal, upon the completion of the preparations for the expedition, despatched a messenger to Rome to request the attendance of the young prince at Paris. Accordingly, on the morning of the ninth of January seventeen hundred and forty-four, Prince Charles, accompanied by his brother Henry and two or three attendants, left Rome before break of day, but they had not proceeded far when they parted, the prince on his route to France and the duke to Cisterna.§ The former was disguised as a Spanish courier, and took only one servant along with him on his journey. To account for the departure of the two brothers, it was given out at Rome that they had

* See Appendix, No. XXIII. † Ibid.

‡ See Appendix, No. XX. Lord Marischal, in a letter to the Chevalier de St George, 5th September, 1744, insinuates, that there existed a design on the part of the French ministry, or of the Chevalier's agents at Paris, to exclude both the duke of Ormond and himself from any share in the expedition. See Appendix, No. XXXIV.

§ "My children," says James in a letter to Sempil, 9th January, 1740, "parted both this morning from hence before day, the duke for Cisterna and the prince for his long journey. We have been at so much pains and contrivance to cover it, that I hope the secret will be kept for some days, perhaps for several."—*Stuart Papers.*

gone to a boar hunt, and so well was the secret of the prince's real destination kept, that nearly a fortnight elapsed before it was discovered.*

Provided with passports furnished by Cardinal Aquaviva, the prince travelled through Tuscany and arrived at Genoa. From Genoa he proceeded to Savona, where he embarked in a felucca, and passing by Monaco arrived at Antibes. From the latter place he proceeded to Paris, where he met Marshal Saxe and other officers belonging to the expedition, and after a private audience of the French king, he set out incognito for the coast of Picardy. The route by Genoa and Antibes was selected as the safest, and, from the season of the year, the most expeditious; but so unfavourable was the weather, that the prince had to stop some days at different places, and when he reached Antibes he was recognised, and information of his arrival there and of his departure for Paris was sent to the British government by persons in its interest. Hitherto the British ministry do not appear to have had any suspicion that the armaments at Brest, Boulogne, and other French ports, were destined for the shores of Britain, but the appearance of the eldest son of the Chevalier de St George in France opened their eyes to the dangers which now menaced them. At this time the military force in England did not exceed six thousand men, so that if the threatened invasion had taken place, a revolution would very probably have followed.†

Taken thus by surprise, the duke of Newcastle, as the organ of the British ministry, directed Mr Thomson, the English resident at the court of France, by a letter dated the third day of February, seventeen hundred and forty-four, to make a remonstrance to the French ministry for having violated the treaties by which the family of Stuart was excluded from the territories of France, and to require that the prince should be obliged forthwith to quit that kingdom. No direct answer was given to this remonstrance and requisition, nor would his most christian majesty explain what his intentions were until the king of England should give satisfaction respecting the repeated complaints which had been made to him touching the infraction of those very treaties which had been so often violated by his orders.

* Alluding to the discovery, James says, (letter to Sempil, 23d January, 1740,) that it made "a great noise, as you may believe, here," viz. at Rome.—*Stuart Papers.*

† About this time, if we may believe the accounts of the Stuart party, the spirit of Jacobitism was widely diffused in Scotland. "The violentest whigs," says Mr John Stuart in a letter to Secretary Edgar from Boulogne, in February, 1744, "are become the most zealous Jacobites. My friend says that the last night of the year with us (that is to say, the prince's birth-night,) was celebrated there (in Scotland) as publicly as we could do it here,—that he was himself in a numerous company of people of fashion, amongst whom were several officers of the army,—that the health of the day, the merry meeting, and a whole train of such, were drunk publicly,—that about the third hour, when the third bottle had banished all reserve, servants were turned out and the doors lockt, one of the company made a speech, and filled a bumper to the restoration, and damnation to every one that would not help: the whole stood to their feet, drunk the (some words are here torn away in the original,) and their hands to their swords: the officers pulled the cockades out of their hats, trampled them under feet, and then tossed them into the fire: then called for music and serenaded the ladies with loyal tunes, songs," &c.—*Stuart Papers.*

Meanwhile, the French fleet, consisting of fifteen ships of the line and five frigates, under M. de Roquefeuille, sailed from Brest, and for several days displayed itself in the channel. Knowing the object for which these ships had put to sea, the government was greatly alarmed, and not without cause; for, besides the paucity of troops in the island, they had only six ships of the line at home ready for sea, the grand fleet being then in the Mediterranean. The activity and preparations of the government corresponded with the magnitude of the danger with which it was threatened. Orders were instantly sent to fit out and man all the ships of war in the different ports of the channel. These orders were so promptly obeyed, that in a few days an English fleet of three ships of 100 guns, four of 90, six of 70, and six of 50, was collected at Spithead under the command of Sir John Norris.* Several regiments were immediately marched to the southern coast of England; all governors and commanders were ordered to repair forthwith to their respective posts; the forts at the mouth of the Thames and Medway were put in a posture of defence; and the militia of Kent were directed to assemble to defend the coast in case of an invasion. On the fifteenth day of February, the arrival of Prince Charles in France, the preparations along the French coast, and the appearance of the French fleet in the English channel, were announced to parliament in a message from the king. Both houses joined in an address, in which they declared their indignation at the design formed in favour of "a popish pretender," and assured his majesty they would take measures to frustrate so desperate and insolent an attempt. The city of London, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge,† the principal towns in Great Britain, almost all the corporations and communities of the kingdom, the clergy of the establishment, the dissenting ministers, and the quakers, or Society of Frends, presented similar addresses. A demand was made from the States-general of the six thousand auxiliaries which by treaty they had engaged to furnish on such occasions; and this force was immediately granted. Forgetful of the wrongs which he had suffered at the hands of the government, the earl of Stair tendered his services, and was reappointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Great Britain. Several noblemen of the first rank followed his example, among whom was the duke of Montague, who was permitted to raise a regiment of horse. Orders were sent to bring over the six thousand British troops from Flanders; and both houses of parliament, in a second address, exhorted the king to augment his forces by sea and land, in such manner as he should think necessary at this dangerous juncture of affairs. The habeas corpus act was suspended for six months; several suspected per-

* Memoirs of Europe, vol. ii. p. 197.

† The Chevalier de St George drew up an address to both universities. It bears the same date (23d December, 1743,) as the two declarations published in 1745. This address was not published. Vide a copy from the original, in the possession of his Majesty, Appendix, No. XXII.

sons were taken into custody; the usual proclamation was issued for putting the laws in execution against the unfortunate catholics and non-jurors, who were ordered to retire ten miles from London; and every other precaution, deemed necessary for the preservation of the public tranquillity, was adopted.*

Meanwhile the preparations for invasion were proceeding rapidly at Boulogne and Dunkirk, under the eye of Prince Charles. Roquefeuille had in his excursion in the channel come in sight of Spithead; and, as he could perceive no ships there, he imagined that the English ships had retired within their harbours. Judging the opportunity favourable, he detached M. de Barriel with five ships of war to hasten the embarkation at Dunkirk, and to order the transports thereupon to put to sea. Roquefeuille then sailed up the channel with the remainder of his fleet as far as Dungeness, a promontory on the coast of Kent, off which he anchored to await the arrival of the transports. Having received intelligence of Roquefeuille's arrival from an English frigate which came into the Downs, Sir John Norris left Spithead with the British fleet, and doubling the South Foreland from the Downs, on the twenty-third of February discovered the French fleet at anchor. Though the wind was against him, Sir John endeavoured, by availing himself of the tide, to come up and engage the French squadron; but, the tide failing, he was obliged to anchor when about two leagues from the enemy. He intended to attack them next morning, but M. de Roquefeuille, not judging it advisable to risk an engagement, weighed anchor after sunset, and favoured by a hard gale of wind from the north-east which blew during the night, ran down the channel and got into Brest harbour. So violent was the gale, that all the English fleet (two ships only excepted,) parted with their cables and were driven out to sea, and before it could have returned to its station, the transports, under convoy of the five ships of war despatched by Roquefeuille, might have disembarked the army under Marshal Saxe had the storm not reached the French coast; but the tempest, which merely forced the English ships to quit their moorings, was destructive to the expedition, and utterly disconcerted the design of invading England.

On the very day on which the two fleets discovered each other, Marshal Saxe, accompanied by Charles Edward, arrived at Dunkirk, and proceeded to get his troops embarked as fast as possible. Seven thousand men were actually shipped, and proceeded to sea that day with a fair wind, but in the evening the wind changed to the east and blew a hurricane. The embarkation ceased, several of the transports which had put to sea were wrecked, many soldiers and seamen perished, and a considerable quantity of warlike stores was lost. The remainder of the transports were damaged to such an extent that they could not be speedily repaired.

* Smollett's History of England, vol. iii. book ii. chap. 5.

Such was the result of an expedition planned with great judgment and conducted with such secrecy as to have escaped the vigilance of the government till on the very eve of its being carried into execution. After the discomfiture it had met with from the elements, and the formidable attitude which England, aroused to a sense of the imminent danger she was in, had now assumed, the French court must have instantly abandoned, as it is believed it did abandon, any idea of renewing the enterprise; but Charles Edward, sanguine of success, and in no shape discouraged by the catastrophe which had happened, daily importuned Marshal Saxe to re-embark his troops and proceed to England; but the marshal excused himself, by urging the necessity of fresh instructions from court and the previous repair of the damaged transports.* The French ministry, however, finally resolved to postpone the expedition.

Although war may be said to have virtually commenced between Great Britain and France by the battle of Dettingen, which was fought between the allies and the French in the month of June, seventeen hundred and forty-three, no formal declaration of war was issued by either power till the month of March following, after the expedition against England had been given up. Immediately after that event, the English resident at the court of France was informed that a declaration of war must ensue, which was accordingly issued on the twentieth of March. This was followed by a counter declaration against France, published at London on the thirty-first of the same month.

After the failure and abandonment of the enterprise, Prince Charles retired to Gravelines, where he lived several months in private under the assumed name of the Chevalier Douglas. Ever since his arrival in France he had been forced by the French court to preserve an incognito, which, though highly approved of by Drummond and Sempil, his father's agents, was productive of great uneasiness to the Chevalier de St George, who could not understand the reason for affecting to conceal a fact which was notorious to all the world.†

* The Marshal, in answer to a querulous note sent by the prince on 11th March, says in his answer on the 13th, "Vous ne pouvez, Monseigneur, accuser que les vents et la fortune des contretemps qui nous arrivent." But he promises after the ships were refitted to proceed with the expedition.—*Stuart Papers.* The letters of Saxe among the Stuart archives fully confirm the opinion of his illiteracy.

† James, however, at first approved of the incognito. Writing to Sempil, on 10th March, 1744, he observes, "The prince will have been tired with his confinement; but, as matters stand, the French court was much in the right to keep him private, tho' that will not, it is true, hinder the elector of Hanover from taking the alarm, and his measures against the invasion." His views were different when writing Drummond on 12th June. After complaining of the disagreeable way in which the prince had been employed on his first arrival at Gravelines, (of which no particulars are given,) he continues, "I shall not be easy till I know the prince is out of his strange and long confinement and incognito, which must be so uneasy to him, and, I think, does little honor to the king of France, while it must carry something very odd with it in the eye of the public. But there were, to be sure, reasons for it which the public never knew, but I hope I shall at last."—*Stuart Papers.*

The preparations for invasion had raised, not without foundation, great hopes of a restoration in the minds of the Scottish Jacobites; but when they ascertained that the expedition was relinquished, they felt all that bitterness of disappointment which the miscarriage of any cherished scheme is sure to engender. They did not however despair of effecting their object ultimately, and, in the meantime, the leading members of the concert despatched a messenger to the prince to assure him of their attachment to his cause, and inform him of the state of the country and the dispositions of the people.* About the same time Murray of Broughton went to Paris, by advice of the earl of Traquair, to ascertain the exact situation of affairs. Here he was introduced to the prince by Drummond and Sempil. At a private interview which he had with Charles the following day, Murray stated, that from the absurd and contradictory nature of the communications made by the prince's agent at Paris, they had, as it appeared to him, a design to impose upon him with the intention of serving themselves. Charles alluded to the association which had been formed at Edinburgh, said that he did not doubt that the king of France intended to invade Britain in the ensuing spring,—that he was already preparing for it, and intended to execute it as soon as the campaign in Flanders was over; but that whether the king of France undertook the expedition or not, he himself was determined to go to Scotland. Murray, thereupon, endeavoured to show him that such an attempt would be desperate, as he could not at the utmost expect to be joined by more than four or five thousand men; but notwithstanding Murray's representations, Charles repeated his determination of going to Scotland. Murray says that he was so much against the undertaking, that he spoke to Sir Thomas Sheridan—an Irish gentleman who enjoyed the prince's confidence—to endeavour to persuade

* The arrival of this messenger, whose name was Blair, was announced by Drummond of Bochaldy to the prince's father, in a letter, dated 30th July, 1744:—"Yesterday night there arrived here, (at Dunkirk,) a gentleman from Scotland sent by the duke of Perth, Lord Traquair, and young Lochiel, to inform the prince of the state and disposition of that country, and the hazard the clans run by Lord John Drummond attempting to raise a regiment in your majesty's name, which he gloriously averred to every particular, was by his majesty's command and order; but the dangerous effect of this was prevented by the gentlemen of the concert, their prudence and influence in allowing nobody of any distinction to give either countenance or credit to it except his brother, who, it seems, they could not hinder from going such lengths as brought troops about him, and forced him to abscond, till such time as the government came to understand that the view was absolutely private in Lord John, and that the using your majesty's name was an imposition for private ends, which the clans had disappointed as much as they could. It would appear exaggeration to repeat to your majesty the accounts this gentleman brings of the real spirit and forwardness every man shewed on hearing that the prince was coming to them, and what an universal melancholy succeeded that flow of spirits on being made certain of a disappointment."—*Stuart Papers.*

It appears from the Chevalier's answer (28th August, 1744,) to the above-mentioned letter, that Lord John Drummond was authorised to raise the regiment:—"I remarked what you said last post in relation to Lord John: he had my approbation for endeavouring to raise a Scots regiment in the French service; and as I think that in general the more troops there be of my subjects in that service, the better. I must recommend to you not to take any steps to obstruct the raising of the said regiment."—*Stuart Papers.*

him against it, and that Sir Thomas told him, on his arrival in Scotland, that he had done so, but to no purpose. On returning to Scotland Murray reported to the members of the association all that had passed at the conference with the prince; and all of them, except the duke of Perth, declared themselves opposed to the prince's resolution of coming to Scotland without troops.* Murray then wrote a letter to Charles, stating the opinion of his friends, and representing the ruinous consequences which might ensue from such a rash undertaking. This letter was committed to the care of a gentleman who went to London in the month of January, in the year seventeen hundred and forty-five; but he neglected to forward it, and it was returned to Murray in the month of April. Murray made several attempts afterwards to forward the letter to France, and at last succeeded; but it never came to the hands of the prince, who departed for Scotland before the letter reached its destination.†

During the spring of seventeen hundred and forty-five, the agents of the Chevalier de St George renewed their solicitations at the French

* The prince's design was rumoured at Paris, and communicated by Sempil to the Chevalier, who, in his answer, dated 23d February, 1745, remarks as follows:—"I am noways surprised that some French people should have a notion of the prince's going to Scotland without troops, tho' nobody surely can enter into such an idea except out of ignorance, and from not knowing the true state of things. But I am always alarmed at it, because I think it impossible that the king of France should approve of such a project, and that it is well known how much I should myself be averse to it. However, it will be always well that you use your best endeavours to refute so dangerous a scheme, and that nobody can do more solidly and effectually than yourself, from the lights and knowledge you have of the affairs of Britain; and I own, till I see the contrary, I shall, as long as the war lasts, always hope that the French will take at last some generous resolution in our favor."—*Stuart Papers.*

† Such is the statement given by Secretary Murray on the trial of Lord Lovat; but Mr James Maxwell of Kirkconnel, who was an officer in the prince's army, throws the whole blame of the expedition of 1745 upon Murray. He says that while the prince, upon the failure of the expedition of 1744, was deliberating as to the course he should pursue, "John Murray of Broughton arrived from Scotland. This gentleman—whom I shall have frequently occasion to mention—had been all his life a violent Jacobite. He had been of late very busy in the king's affairs in Scotland. I dont know what commission he had from the king; but he went about and acted as the king's agent. He brought assurances from several persons of distinction in Scotland of their readiness to join the prince upon his landing; but they entreated his royal highness not to think of coming without a body of regular troops, a considerable sum of money, and a great store of ammunition and arms. Murray finding there was no appearance of obtaining these things from the court of France at present, and impatient of delay, for reasons best known to himself, advised the prince in his own name to come to Scotland at any rate; it was his opinion that the prince should come to Scotland as well provided and attended as possible; but rather come alone than delay coming,—that those who had invited the prince, and promised to join him if he came at the head of four or five thousand regular troops, would do the same if he came without any troops at all;—in fine, that he had a very strong party in Scotland, and would have a very good chance of succeeding. This was more than enough to determine the prince. The expedition was resolved upon, and Murray despatched to Scotland with such orders and instructions as were thought proper at that juncture."—*MS. in the possession of the family of Kirkconnel.*

The letter No. XXXV. of the Appendix, which appears to be the production of Murray, throws no light on this subject.

court for another expedition; but Louis and his ministers were too much occupied with preparations for the campaign in Flanders to pay much attention to such applications. They however continued to amuse the Jacobite negotiators with assurances of conditional support; but James began to perceive that little or no reliance could be placed upon such promises.* To relieve himself from the *ennui* occasioned by the failure of the expedition, and the state of seclusion in which he was kept by the French government, and to obtain some knowledge of military tactics, Charles applied for permission to make a campaign with the French army in Flanders; but although he was warmly backed in his application by his father, Louis refused to accede to his wish.† Though frustrated in his expectations of any immediate aid from France, and denied the trifling gratification of making a campaign, Charles manifested little of the restlessness and hauteur which he afterwards displayed on his return from Scotland. Though he had much reason, as he observed, "to be out of humour," he resolved, notwithstanding, to bear with patience the disappointments which he had experienced.‡

To ease his mind from the anxieties which pressed upon it, the Duke of Fitzjames and other friends of his family, invited the prince to pass the spring at their country-seats in the neighbourhood of Paris, where, amid the society of his friends and rural recreations, he seemed, for a time, to forget the object for which he had come to France.

* Vide Extracts of Correspondence, Appendix, No. XXIII.
† Id. and the Chevalier's Letters, Appendix, Nos. XXVI—XXXI.
‡ Appendix, No. XXXII.

APPENDIX

TO

THE SECOND VOLUME.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Memoir of a Plan for preserving the Peace of the Highlands: written a short time after the Revolution. (From the Original in the handwriting of Duncan Forbes, of Culloden, the President's father. Every part of this plan seems to have been followed, in every point of any consequence.)

The strength of the kingdom of Scotland did stand anciently in the power of Superiors over ther Vassalls, and Cheeffs over their Clanes; which power, as it was always burdensome to the King and Kingdom in tyme of peace, because thes great Superiors and Cheeffs, proud of it, acted often insolently, and would neither be commanded by King nor Law; so was that same power of thers evin as hurtfull in tymes of War: which may appear by the conduct of the Scots affairs at Flowdon, Pinkie, Solloway Moss, and many other occasions, when competition amongst them ruined the King's affairs; for such as he could neither humor nor engage by benefite, were often tempted to desert the common interest, and leave it a prey to the enemy.

Wherefor the Kings of Scotland made it ther Bussines to break the power of thes Superiors and Cheeffs, particularly K. James the 5^{t}, as may be seen in the whole transactions of his reigne; but all endevors to this purpose proved weak and ineffectuall, till the Gospell came to be established in the kingdome by a Reformation from Popery.

Since the Reformation, the strenth of the nation stands upon another bottome; for the preaching of the Gospell haveing brought in a light upon the consciences of the people, the far greater part of the nation now weill neither follow superior nor cheeff, but in so far as they are convinced that the undertaking is consonant to the laws of God and the Kingdom.

And when K. Charles the 2$^{d.}$ came to the Crown, he found the designe of his Predecessors so weell accomplished, that the nation was in ane inteir peace; theeft and robbery extinguisht; vassallages and Clanes brok; exact obedience to the Law: the Gospel preached over all the Kingdome; and ane orderly discipline exercised in a weell governed Presbiterian Church, without shisme, division, or so much as contradiction. So that never Prince was better stated than he; for he governed easily a people who had nothing to crave, save but to have his commands and obey.

But the designes of the two last reignes being to introduce Popery and arbitrary power, and men of conscience being improper instruments for bringing such purposes about, so contrary to their ingrained principles, it was found necessary to overturne all the good establishment already made in the nation, and act contrary to the Pollitick of former Kings, by setting up Superiors and Cheeffs again, demolishing the streinths built amongst the Highland Clanes; so giving them loose reines to rob, and reassume ther former barbarity; whereby they became fitt instruments for destroying men of conscience, who were lyk to stand in the way of thes alterations that were intended to be made upon the religion and liberty of the nation.

This designe was prosecute, as is known, with much bloodshed, torture, rapine, and ruine of familys; and was ending in the overthrow of all rights, both sacred and civil, when the Lord in his mercy raised up his Majesty who now reignes, to delyver Scotland from misery, and setle it upon its old and trew foundations; which is very neer accomplished, and that by methods lyke to those which were used by former kings in making the nation happy, viz. By making the parliaments free; by settleing the Church in its former integrity; by restoring the opprest to their liveings; and by settling Garrisons upon the necks of those barbarous people who were the tools of oppression, and are the constant disturbers of the nation. Were this fully compleated, ther rests no more but that the king command what he will, and have the pleasure to see the people joyfully obey all his comands, to the utmost farthing of ther Estates, and last drop of ther blood.

And certainly the present course of affairs can terminate in nothing but this, unless some contrary methods be taken to those which have lately been so successful in gaining the hearts of the people to the king; which will hardly happen, if ther be not ill designing men put in trust, who may weaken the hands of such as would serve the king best.

Therefor it is to be mynded, that ther is a party in Scotland whose affections can never be gaind to the King; and those are they who call themselves Episcopal, but realey are indifferent of that and all matters of that nature, and are adicted to nothing but King James, under whose protection they formerly opprest others; and, in spyte of all the kyndness and forbearance can be show'd them, will only comply to gain opportunity to bring him back if they can. The certainty of this appears as clear as the sun, from three or four following Evidences.

First, from the testimony of the best Officers in the Army; who declare, that after all ther converse and favourable endevors with these Men, they find not one in Scotland, who favors Episcopacy, but to the best of ther conjectures he hates the King and the Government, and would have back King James; nor doe they find one Presbiterian, lett him have never so many other faults, but would venter all for his Majesty, both agst K. James and all his other enemys.

Secondly, This appears to be trew, from these Mens taking the oaths to his Majesty in Parliament, after they were in compact with K. James to bring him back. They having sworn only to the effect they might have latitude to act and vote against the interest of him to whom they swore, and advance the interest of him whom by their oaths and subscriptions they had renounced.

A third evidence, and a most convinceing one, that they will omitt no opportunity of bringing back K: Ja: if they can, is ther deportment upon the miscarriadge of the fleet; the King being in Ireland, Maj: Gen^{l}. Makay in Lockaber with the Forces, all Letters and Intelligence being stopt from England for severall Posts; then the Jacobite, or Episcopal party as they please to call

themselves, contryved fals news anent his Majesties death, and K: James his Landing in England with a French army, to whom the people had joyned, and the State had intirely submitted; upon which ther were many forged Letters. Ther Preachers were very active in spreading these Reports, and in affoording Horses to any who would take armes; by which means a body of 4 or 500 Horse were got together, who came the length of Stirling boasting great things, and burning the Country. While, in the mean tyme, upon the first report of ther Insurrection, and a small invitation from the King's Commissioner, some seaven thousand presbeterians had drawen themselves together about Glasgow, marching towards Stirling, wher the Enemy were; and, as is said, litle fewer than 14 thousand more out of the Western Shyres were following with Carseland and Buntine; the terror whereof not only chased these Jacobites, already on foot, away to the north, but also quashed all that was feard at that tyme from Northumberland, the South border, and some great men within the kingdome. By which it is evident, who are for the King, and who agst him; who are willing to serve him, and who not; who are able, and who not; and, consequently, who ought to be trusted, and who not.

Fourthly, It is also to be remembered, that those few unhappie men who attempted the overthrow of the Government of late, no sooner fell in any disgust with his Majesty, but they joyned themselves in with these Jacobites, with whom they entered into league, received impressions from them, and formed dessignes with them of bringing back K. James; which was prosecute with such bold endevors amongst themselves, and such dark subtility, amongst good people to whom they durst never discover the bottome, that it wanted litle, at several stepps, of taking its damnable effect. The craftiness of ther Insinuations was such, to persuade that the K: would never doe the things which are now doon; And so great was ther influence, that the most and best of the people were become desparate, and out of hope of any good at all from his Majesty; whilst in the mean tyme the Jacobites asserted (wher they durst be free,) that K: James was ready to doe all that could be requyred of him. But no sooner was ther any thing done in Parliam^{t}. to the satisfaction of the people, but ther hearts begane to warme towards the King; and the Jacobite Combination began to break, which certainly had no power in its self, but in so farr as they were able by Craft and lyes to discourage honest men, and lay them asyde from owneing the King's interest. By all which it is evident, that the following positions are undeniably trew; viz^{t}.

That the things now doon are of infinite value to the nation, and without which the people could never be easie, and therefor behooved to be doon.

2°. That the nation, having receaved so great obligations from the King, will never be ingrate to him; but will make returnes to him of all they are worth, ask it when he will.

3°. That no Jacobite, or hardly any in Scotland who calls himself Episcopall, can be trusted by his Mätie.

4°. That His Majesties Commissioner, in manadgeing as he did, and gaining the hearts of the people to the King, has doon both King and Countrey the best service could be doon; and by that means hes rendered himself the welcomest Agent that His Majesty can hereafter employ to that nation.

I know that evill designeing men suggest two inconveniencies in what is doon, and they are both groundless.

The first is, that the Presbiterian Churchmen will employ the freedome the King and Parliament has given them too rigorously agst those of the Episcopall Profession, which may irritate the Church of England. Verily, such as

suggest this know very litle of the Presbiterian Ministers' Concerne for the king's satisfaction, and prosperity of his affairs. I am confident they will rather omitt ther own affairs then trouble his, which will presently be seen in the Deportment of this Assembly.

Another suggestion is, that the Commission of Parliament will be too rigorous in applying the Act anent Forfaulturs and fynes; which is also groundless; For that Committee is so tender in these matters, that indeed, in my sense, they are not so just as they ought to be: withall, ther Power is but to report, and then is the wholl mater entire in the king's own hands.

From all that is said it may be concluded, that if what is already in frame were compleited, and that one very small article past anent the constant President wholly indifferent to the King, but considerable to the People, hardly can Scotland wish for more.

For compleiting what is so farr advanced, ther may be 3 things reckoned necessary.

1. That the Councell of Estate be not mixt with troublesome Members.

2. That the Garrisons in the Highlands be rightly placed, and the Peace of thes Countreys secured.

3. That the well-affected part of the nation be put in a condition to defend the Comon Interest; and either armed, or at least armes provyded, that may be put in their hands in case of necessity.

As to the first, it is in the King's hand.

As to the second, anent posting of Garrisons, and securing the Peace of the Highlands, His Majesty will find it necessary to employ 1800 foot in Garrisons, which are to be placed in eleven severall places; which places are so advantageously scituate, as that they comprehend the whole Highlands. That if the King's forces be marching through thes Countreys, ther is no place they can be in, but they are within 12 miles of two or three of thes Garrisons at once. They are proper for Magazins in tyme of Warr, and will save the trouble of Baggage horses when the forces are upon a March, and are most proper for curbeing theefts and depredations in tyme of Peace.

The first and most considerable post is Inver-Lockie, which requires 1200 men; out of which ther may be a Detachment of 40 at Keppach, 6 myles above Inverlockie, which opens the way into Baddenoch. At Rutven, in Baddenoch, there may be another Detachment of 80 men, also from Inverlockie. At Blair in Atholl, 80 of the other forces. At the castle of Bray Marr, 60. At Drumond, in Perthshyre, 50. At Fin Larik upon Loch Tay, 50. At Dunstafnage, 50; which place, with the Castle Kilchume, ought to be both kept by the Countreymen of Argyleshyre, upon the Earle's account (whilst his Business is a doeing with Mull), and needs non of the King's forces. And upon the other side of Inverlockie, is requisite ther be a Detachment of 80 men from thence, placed at Invergarry, which opens the ways to the Shyres of Invernes and Ross. At Invernes it is fit there be a body of three hundred men, out of which 60 may be posted at Erchelish in Strathglass (14 myles from Invernes and 12 from Invergarry); that being upon the pass from Seafort and Lovat's Countreys to Lockaber.

These posts are all possest already by His Majesty's forces, excepting Kippach and Invergarry, which may be easily had; and according as the Countrey becomes peaceable, the lesser Garrisons may be disbanded; only Inverlockie cannot be left, but if possible must be improven to a place of Comerce, to the effect the country about it may be made Civill.

And that the Government may be the sooner liberate from the necessity of

keeping these lesser Garrisons, it is humbly proposed, that His Majesty grant a Commission of Justiciary, for securing the Peace of the Highlands, to some select Gentlemen living in the Shyres most contiguous to them, as was doon in the time of K. Charles the Second; which will, undoubtedly, have a powerful influence for suppressing of theefts and robberys, especially the forces being posted as is above said. It did good in K. Charles and K. James his tyme, when it was designed for none, nor yet put in any good hands; so that now it cannot miss to doe good, being in honest mens hands, the Government weell disposed for the support of it, and the forces posted in a maner for the very use of it. It is also fit ther be Conveeners named in each District; that these Conveeners have some allowance per annum, for the Incident charges they must be at beyond the rest; lest, through the shifting to be at expence, the thing become less effectuall, as it did in K. James his tyme. The Comander of each Garrison ought to be upon the Commission, and the Governor of Inverlockie a Conveener.

It is also requisite for Inverlockie, that it have a particular Jurisdiction over the barbarous Countreys adjacent, as it had in former tymes; lest any encouradgement should be wanting to the Governor now which he had formerly.

And it is requisite that the Governor of Inverlocky be in no relation to any of the adjacent Superiors or Cheefs of Clanes, so it is necessary that none of the highland sort, who speak a languadge not understood by the present Governor, be put in with him in that place; and what is presently amiss of that kynd would be rectified.

And that this may be the more effectually doon, Collonell Hill his own recommendation would be had anent his officers, who certainly will think of none but such as the Government may best trust.

It is also necessary that Hill's regiment consist of 1200 men; in which case it will Imploy all the Centinells that now are in the Regiments of Glencarne, Kenmure, and Grant; these three Regiments being pitifully defective, as can be made appear. And as by the reducing these three to one, ther will be no fewer men in the service than now ther are; so it will save the King twenty thousand lb. Sterline yeirly, which may be employed to buy armes.

As to the 3d generall conclusion laid down for the security of the Government; vizt. that the weell affected part of the nation be armed, and put in a condition to defend the Comon Interest; the above proposall will contribute to it some thing. And if that be short, when the Parliam^t. meets, his Majesty hes it in his power to persuade them to accelerate the tearms of the Cess, at the rate of a Concession very easy to him, and which will bring in the Money and seasonably, as every thing may be doon to satisfaction.—*Culloden Papers, No. XX. p.* 14.

No. II.

"*An account of the Highland Clans in Scotland, with a short narrative of the services they have rendered the crown, and the number of armed men they may bring to the field for the King's service.*" Laid before Louis the Fourteenth by the Scottish Jacobites.

The Highlanders are used to arms from their infancy, and may be reckoned as good as their equal number of the best regular troops in Europe; and they have, on all occasions, (particularly under the command of the marquis of Montrose for

King Charles the First, and the viscount of Dundee for King James the Seventh,) in several battles defeated above double their number of old regular troops; and it is hardly possible to sustain their charge, if they be rightly led on; they being superior both in their arms and manner of fighting to any other troops.

The clans are here mentioned, with five hundred men to a regiment. It is true, that some of them can bring more men to the field, and others fewer; but, computing them one with another, they may be reckoned so.

The three great branches of the M'Donalds, viz.

Clanranald—Glengarie—Sir Donald M'Donald of Sleat.

The captains of Clanranald's family have still been loyal, and had a good regiment in the fields for Kings Charles I. and II. and this present captain, at fourteen years of age, was, with 500 men, at the battle of Killicranky for King James VII. This family has suffered much for their loyalty, by the oppressions of the family of Argyle, who have been rebels for four generations by past.

Clanranald's family and their followers are Catholics.

Glengarie his predecessor, the late Lord M'Donald, had still a regiment for the service of Kings Charles I. and II. and this present Glengarie had the same for King James VII.

This family has suffered much also by the family of Argyle. Both he and his followers are Catholics.

Sir Donald M'Donald of Sleat was with his regiment at the battle of Killicranky, for King James VII. and continues still very loyal.

These three branches of the M'Donalds, including other lesser branches of that name, may bring to the field, of very good men, 1500.

The three great branches of M'Duff, or Clanchattan, viz.

Farquharsons—M'Intoshes—M'Phersons.

The Farquharsons have still been loyal; for Findly Farquharson of Braemar and Inverey was killed carrying the royal banner at the battle of Pinkie, in the year 1547, against the English. His grandchild James Farquharson of Inverey was, at 70 years of age, kept two years prisoner at Edinburgh for his loyalty; and was forced to pay a considerable fine before he was released. His son, Colonel William Farquharson of Inverey, had still a good regiment for the service of Kings Charles I. and II. under the command of the marquises of Huntley and Montrose, and the earls of Glencairn and Middleton; and being still without pay, and at his own charges, mortgaged all his estate for the said service, worth about £500 sterling a-year. Yet his son, Colonel John Farquharson of Inverey, was among the first who took arms for King James VII.; and after all the other Highlanders had given over coming to the field, he raised betwixt eight and nine hundred men, and sustained the small party of the King's officers a whole campaign, acting offensively as well as defensive; for which he had six parishes (belonging to him and his relations,) entirely burnt and destroyed, which was procured by the Lord Forbes and his family; one of the most rebellious in Scotland, and their next neighbours. Witnesses of their last services and sufferings are Colonel Rattray, Major Holmes, Lieutenant-colonel Fitzsimons, and several others present in France. Many of the name of Farquharson and their followers are Catholics.

The M'Intoshes and M'Phersons, although they did not rise to arms all of them, yet they still sent men to the field, both for the services of Kings Charles I. and II., and for King James VII.; and are all of them at present loyal. These three fore-mentioned branches, including others lesser about them, can bring to the field, of very good men, 1500.

The M'Leans have still been loyal; their chief, and 500 of his name being

killed at Inverkething, for King Charles II. by Cromwell. They have been also in the field for King Charles I., and they had, at the battle of Killicranky, for King James VII., five hundred men, and will be found very ready, when the king shall have use for them. They are mightily oppressed by the family of Argyle. They can bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The Camerons have still been loyal, and have still had a good regiment in the fields, for Kings Charles I. and II., and for King James VII., and continue very loyal; and may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The Stuarts and Robertsons of Athol have still been loyal, and have still taken the field for the Kings Charles I. and II., and for King James VII., notwithstanding the present marquis of Athol, who was superior to the most part of them, was then for the prince of Orange; but it is now the better, that he himself is loyal at present. They may bring to the field, of good men, 1000.

The M'Naughtons and Stuarts of Appin, have still been loyal to the Kings Charles I. and II., and to King James VII., and were in the fields for them: as was also M'Neil of Barra, who, with his men, are all Catholics. They may raise, of very good men, 500.

The Drummonds' loyalty is not to be doubted; since they will certainly follow their chief the duke of Perth, or his son the earl of Drummond. They may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The M'Kenzies are neither to be doubted; since they will follow their chief the marquis of Seaforth. They with other little names about them, may bring to the field, of indifferent good men, 1000.

The Frasers are loyally inclined; and may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The M'Leods are loyally inclined; and may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The Sinclairs are esteemed loyal; and may bring to the field, of indifferent good men, 500.

The M'Kays and the Highlanders of Strathnaver; their superiors are not loyal; yet their commons can be brought to the field, and may do good service, being joined with others; they may make, of very good men, 500.

The Rosses of Balnagowan; their chief is not loyal, yet his clan might be brought to the field; and they may make, of none of the best men, 500.

The Grants; their chief has been very violent against the late King, and raised a regiment against him, and entertained it three years at his own charges; yet his clan must be called to the field, and joined to others of unquestioned loyalty. They may raise, of none of the best of men, 500.

The Campbells of Breadalbin; their superior, the earl of Breadalbin, is a very cunning man; yet still pretends to be very loyal. They may bring to the field, of indifferent good men, 500.

The Grahams of Menteith, and Stuarts of Down are loyal; and may bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

The M'Neils of Galchyle, M'Lauchlans, M'Kinnons, M'Aulays, M'Nabs, M'Gregors, M'Gibbons, M'Echins of Dumbarton, Argyle and Stirling shires are loyal; and may bring to the field, amongst them all, of very good men, 1000.

The number of all the men is 12,000.

That which is commonly objected against the Highlanders is, that they do not keep discipline, and that they plunder.

To which it may be easily answered, that at all the times the Highlanders were in the fields, they neither had pay nor provisions, but what Providence sent them from day to day; and each soldier being obliged to go and search for

himself, it was impossible to send an officer with each of them: so abuses could not be prevented; and, were the most regular troops in Europe in the same circumstances, they might be found as ill, if not worse, than the Highlanders.

Most part of all Lowlanders are their inveterate enemies, and seldom or never speak or write favourably of them, and that from mere envy; because a Highland clan is capable to render the King better service than some of their first nobility; and, as to their lesser, a dozen and more of them cannot bring so many men to the field as one clan.

The King might likewise expect from the low countries of Scotland, at least, 20,000 men; for the King hath generally, all the nation over, three for him, for one against him. But supposing he hath but half, as certainly he hath more, the militia of Scotland being 22,000 men, that half has but to double their militia, which they may easily do, will make above 20,000 men. But the King must carry arms for them.

Whereas the Highlanders are generally well armed of themselves; and, at most, will not want above a fourth part of their arms.

The Lowlanders will likewise want officers.—*Nairne Papers, D. N. Vol. II. folio, No.* 23. *Macpherson, Stuart Papers, Vol. II. p.* 117.

No. III.

"In various letters to the earl of Middleton, Sir William Ellis, and others, from their correspondents in England, it appears that some friends proposed to the Chevalier de St George to change his religion, at least, to have protestant servants, and a protestant clergyman with him. To satisfy them in this last particular, Lesly, the famous non-juring clergyman, so often mentioned in these papers under the feigned name of Lamb, was sent for to Bar-le-duc in the room of Mr West who was not so well known. Mr Lesly wrote a letter on the subject, addressed to a member of parliament. It was openly handed about by the party, and at the same time the Chevalier himself wrote another on the same subject."—*Macpherson.*

"*Abstract of a letter, written in his Majesty's hand, on the subject of religion, to a person in England, to be shown to his friends there.*"

A copy in Nairne's hand.

March 13th, 1714.

I WOULD very much have wished not to have been obliged, at this time, to enter upon so nice a subject as that of religion; but your two last letters are so pressing and positive, that it would be an unpardonable dissimulation in me, should I not answer your letters with the same sincerity you write them.

I shall, therefore, begin by putting you in mind of the last conversation I had with you upon that subject, to which I have nothing to add, but that I neither want counsel nor advice to remain unalterable in my fixed resolution, of never dissembling my religion: but rather to abandon all than act against my conscience and honour, cost what it will. These are my sentiments; and, had I others, or should I act contrary to those I have, where is the man of honour that would trust me? and how could ever my subjects depend upon me, or be happy under me, if I should make use of such a notorious hypocrisy to get myself amongst them? I know their generous character could not but detest both the crime itself, and him that should be guilty of it. And would they but give

themselves time seriously to consider, I am persuaded they would not make my religion the only obstacle to my restoration ; it being itself the greatest security for their liberties, properties, and religion, by putting it out of my power ever to invade them should I intend it ; which is so far from my thoughts, that, on the contrary, I am most willing and ready to grant all the reasonable security that can be demanded of me, in relation to all these points, all my desire being to make them a flourishing and happy people.

I can have no other interest but theirs ; whereas, how many other rightful heirs are there to the crown after me, who being powerful foreigners, may have inclinations equal to their power, and may, very probably, never give rest to England, till they enslave it in good earnest?

Will my subjects be always so blinded, as to make a monster of what is in effect their greatest security; and not perceive and endeavour to prevent the real and just causes they have of fear and apprehension ?

My present sincerity, at a time it may cost me so dear, ought to be a sufficient earnest to them of my religious observance of whatever I promise them : for I can say, with truth, that I heartily abhor all dissimulation and double dealing, and I love my subjects even now too well not to wish, as much for their sakes as my own, that they would at least open their eyes to see their true interest, and timely provide for their future peace and quiet.

I know my grandfather and father too had always a good opinion of the principles of the church of England, relating to monarchy ; and experience sufficiently sheweth, that the crown was never struck at but she also felt the blow ; and, though some of her chief professors have failed in their duty, we must not measure the principles of a church by the actions of some particular persons.—*Nairne Papers, D. N. Vol. III. 4to. No.* 27. *and Vol. IV. No.* 54. *Macpherson, Stuart Papers. Vol. II. p.* 525.

No. IV.

An Anonymous Letter from Mr Duncan Forbes to Sir Robert Walpole; from a copy extant in the President's handwriting. This letter is supposed to have been written in August, 1716.

Sir,—My constant affection for my King and Country will not permit me to see the interest of both in danger of being ruined, without a deep concern ; and when I discover that the mischief proceeds from the drowsy negligence or selfish designs perhaps of some ministers, I cannot help endeavouring to obviate the misfortune by representing the case to such as ought to profit by the admonition. What moves me to address this unsigned remonstrance to you is, that of a great while I have looked upon Mr Walpole to be an honest man ; and am still very unwilling to part with that belief, notwithstanding of very shrewd appearances to the contrary : however, I shall form my opinion in that matter as I find this notice is used.

You need give yourself no trouble in endeavouring to find me out ; the attempt will be impossible ; only, lest you should mistake me, from some of the sentiments after expressed, I think it necessary to tell you that I am, and ever was, a very zealous friend to the present settlement, which alone prompts me to give you this intimation ; and that during the late confusions I exposed myself as usefully for His Majesty's service, as any of those on whom the king, ill informed, has bestowed the most distinguishing marks of his favour. This de-

claration, since I am unknown, does not hurt modesty; and yet will appear to be true, if there is a proper occasion for it. I have but one thing more to acquaint you with, before I enter on the subject; and that is, that it will not be in your power to suppress this representation. My respect to the king will hinder me from publishing it; but I will convey it into hands that will take care of it: if you do not perceive, you will guess at my meaning, and act as you will be answerable.

The people of Great Britain are but too well distinguished by the known designations of Whig and Tory; of which the Whigs, to a man, are affectionate to His Majesty; and the Tories, on the other hand, bating a very few, madly addicted to the Pretender.

As His Majesty has prudently chosen to settle the administration in the hands of his friends the Whigs, it is unquestionably his interest to keep that part of the nation satisfied with the public management; and at the same time to take as few steps, which may sharpen the resentment of the disaffected part of the people, as the security of the government will possibly admit of. Britain receives still another distinction from the two different kingdoms whereof it is composed; and though it is undoubtedly his Majesty's interest to cherish England, as being the most valuable part of the king's dominions, it is by no means prudent to disoblige Scotland by open injuries, which may create general dissatisfactions, not to be ended but with the ruin of that part of the United Kingdom.

Sensible that the ministry has lately taken, and still pursues, measures unnecessarily disobliging to the king's friends, exasperating the disaffected, and in a particular manner ruinous to Scotland, I cannot help offering this representation; in which, as I am a Scotsman, and best acquainted with the affairs of that country, I shall chiefly touch its grievances; resolved to assert no fact, and to give the character of no person, that I will not answer at the *peril* of my head, if by clearing it I may do my King and Country service.—When the late Rebellion was happily ended by the Pretender's flight, his deluded followers found themselves all in chains, or obliged to surrender and sue for mercy, or to fly their country with him. Every man concerned in that odious work certainly deserved death, and the punishment due by law; but humanity and prudence forbade it. It was not fit to dispeople a country; nor prudent to grieve the king's best friends, who mostly had some concern in those unfortunate men; or expedient to give too just grounds of clamour to the disaffected.

It will be agreed on all hands, that the proper rule in this case would have been, to have punished only as many as was necessary for terror, and for weakening the strength of the rebels for the future; and to extend mercy to as many as it could conveniently be indulged to with the security of the government; and this maxim every thinking Whig had then in his mouth, however offended at the insolences of the rebels. In place of a course of this kind, the method followed was, 1st, To try all the criminals in England; 2dly, To detain in prison all those in custody in Scotland, except some who had interest with certain great men to obtain a previous pardon, to the manifest dishonour of the government; 3dly, To attaint a vast number of Scots Noblemen and Gentlemen; 4thly, To put it out of His Majesty's power to grant any part of estates forfeited; and 5thly, To appoint a Commission for inquiry, and levying the rebels' goods and chattels. The necessary consequences of this procedure in general are two; first, it makes all those who had the misfortune to be seduced into the Rebellion, with their children, relatives, and such as depend on them, for ever desperate; and it is hard to tell what occasions may offer for venting their rage. We see that want and hard circumstances lead men daily into follies, without

any other temptation; but when those circumstances are brought on by adherence to any principle or opinion, it is certain the sufferers will not quit their attempts to better their condition, but with their lives. 2d, As there are none of the rebels who have not friends among the king's faithful subjects, it is not easy to guess how far a severity of this kind, unnecessarily pushed, may alienate the affections even of those from the government. But in particular, as this case relates to Scotland, the difficulty will be insurmountable. I may venture to say, there are not 200 Gentlemen in the whole kingdom who are not very nearly related to some one or other of the rebels. Is it possible that a man can see his daughter, his grandchildren, his nephews, or cousins, reduced to beggary and starving unnecessarily by government, without thinking very ill of it? and where this is the case of a whole nation, I tremble to think what dissatisfactions it will produce against a settlement so necessary for the happiness of Britain.

If all the Rebels, with their wives, children, and immediate dependants, could be at once rooted out of the earth, the shock would be astonishing; but time would commit it to oblivion, and the danger would be less to the constitution, than when thousands of innocents, punished with misery and want for the offences of their friends, are suffered to wander about the country, sighing out their complaints to Heaven, and drawing at once the compassion, and moving the indignation of every human creature.

Zealots and short-sighted people may perhaps think it just, that a nation so involved with Rebels should suffer; but let those men consider, that it was much more owing to Providence, and to the vigilance of our King, than to the inclinations of the people, that England did not discover as many Rebels even, in proportion to its extent, as Scotland did; and then let them examine how far their reflection will hold.

I should spend too much time, and repeat what you, no doubt, Sir, have heard often urged in parliament, did I enter upon the improprieties and inconveniencies of the Forfeiture Bill, as it affects Creditors; therefore I shall pass over that article, and satisfy myself with assuring you, that those consequences, which at first might easily have been foreseen, have now accordingly fallen out; and that in this kingdom there are not an hundred persons who can be restrained from murmuring, upon any other consideration, than that they hope his Majesty, against the ensuing sessions of Parliament, will overturn that fatal Bill.

It's pity the ministers, in a point so important, should not be at some pains to find out what impression this step makes on the people. A faithful informer must report, that the King's friends in Scotland begin to fear that the nation is devoted to destruction; and that the most forward abettors of the conduct of the Government, are forced to lay the blame on some particular persons, and to promise that the measure will speedily be altered, as the only possible means to preserve the hearts of his Majesty's loyal subjects dutiful to him. In short, Sir, this course will very soon make a standing army necessary; the King's enemies say, that is the design of the ministry; and it's certain his friends will believe it, unless things take another turn.

If this forfeiting Bill was gone into, when the danger was over, from any other view than that of crushing this poor country, it must have been with the hopes of levying money for the Public Service; and if it appear (as by and by it will) to a demonstration, that it can have no such effect, 'tis hoped, with reason, that the King and Parliament will either take it away, or not blame the people who construe the contrivance of it into a design to ruin the nation.

To satisfy any person that the forfeitures in Scotland will scarce defray the

charges of the Commission, if the saving Clause in favours of the Creditors take place, I offer but two considerations, that upon inquiry will be found incontestable. First, it is certain, that of all the Gentlemen who launched into the late Rebellion, the tenth man was not easy in his circumstances; and if you abate a dozen of Gentlemen, the remainder, upon paying their debts, could not produce much money clear; nor was there any thing more open to observation, than that the men of estates, however disaffected in their principles, keeped themselves within the law; when at the same time men supposed loyal, in hopes of bettering their low fortunes, broke loose.

2dly. It's known, that the titles by which almost all the estates in Scotland are possessed are diligences upon debts affecting those estates purchased in the Proprietor's own name, or in that of some trustees; now it's certain, that when the Commissioners of Enquiry began to seize such estates, besides the debts truly due to real Creditors, such a number of latent debts will be trumped up, not distinguishable from the true ones by any else than the Proprietor, as will make the enquiry fruitless, and the Commission a Charge upon the Treasury, as well as a nuisance to the nation.

By what is above said (which, upon ane examination, you will find to be certain truth,) it will be evident, that the forfeited estates are in themselves inconsiderable; and that they are good for little or nothing to any others except the owners: wherefore it will be to the last degree imprudent, for the sake of such a trifle, or rather for the sake of creating a revenue to the Commissioners of Enquiry, to stir up a disaffection in the nation; which may God and the wisdom of our K. soon prevent.

But, allowing that this Bill should bring in 10 or £20,000 per annum clear, will any reasonable man imagine that that profit is to be put in balance with the certain loss of the affections of the people; especially when that event will bring on £100,000 charge for maintaining an army to keep the nation orderly.

As I see with concern the terrible effects of the forfeiting bill, I am far from thinking that the Rebels should goe unpunished; but then that punishment ought to proceed according to the rule above set down; that is, no farther than is necessary for the security of the Goverment, and for the terror of others who might attempt the like afterwards. Pursuant to this rule, an easy and certain method might be fallen upon; for example—

1st. Let the most leading, the most powerful, and the most malicious of the Rebels, be pitched upon; let them be executed if in custody; if not, their estates forfeited for ever. These men, in both nations, might possibly not exceed the number of 20 or thereby.

2dly. Let an Indemnity, by Act of Parliament, be published to all (excepting such as his Majesty shall think fit) who shall surrender against a certain day, and at a certain place, and there to have their names recorded.

3dly. Let those persons be only entitled to pardon and to their estates, upon their finding bail, 1. For their good behaviour; 2. That they shall meddle in no public business, elections, &c. 3. That they shall present themselves once or oftener a year at Edinburgh, or when his Majesty shall think fit, there to answer to any Charge that can be made against them; and 4. That they shall neither wear arms, nor converse one with the other, nor go without their respective Counties without licence, under several Penalties.

These or such like securities might be devised, whereby the Government would be absolutely safe, and the minds of all men sweetened; while as, at the same time, by the execution of the most remarkable criminals all the ends of Punishment would be fulfilled. And if some such measure is not pursued, it is

with the last degree of regret I tell you, that the Pretender will gain many more friends by the punishment of the Rebels, than he will lose by their overthrow.

After representing this important false step, I next proceed to take notice of another; which, tho' of less prejudice to the K. creates a very general disrespect to his ministry; and that is, that in a season when matters of the greatest weight are on the wheel, this Country should be entirely neglected, and the management of it committed to a set of men hated or despised by almost all the King's friends.

You cannot be ignorant, that the set of men known here by the name of Squadroné, have in a very particular manner been of many years odious to the people, on account of their selfish adherence to one another, in opposition to every interest but their own; and you may easily persuade yourself, that they have recommended themselves very little by their mean assentation to what has so sensibly injured their Country; especially as their interest at the bottom is very inconsiderable, extending little farther than the individual confederates. These men are become in a more particular manner the derision of the King's friends; since it is found out, that they, who never did or durst attempt a laudable thing for his service whilst danger threatened the Constitution, have now had hardiness enough to arrogate the merit of every useful action to themselves, and to aim at blackening the reputation of the King's General, by whose conduct and authority alone, we are all satisfied, the torrent of the Rebellion could possibly have been stopped.

It is no small cause of discontent, to such as served the King faithfully in this nation, to find, that a Ministry can be so designing, or so far imposed on, as to quit with the Duke of Argyle; worthy in himself, but chiefly valuable for his steady adherence to his Majesty; moved by a parcel of fictions, contrived and abetted by certain politicians, who are become a proverb in their country.

Nobody here can forget the fictitious scheme contrived by Gen^{l}. Cadogan in the beginning of February last; by which he persuaded the Court that it was then possible to pursue the Rebels into their hills, and obtained orders for that purpose, of design to have detained the D. of Argyle about that affair. No one can forget, that the same General, having found means to delay his expedition till April, undertook it then, without a possibility of success: and every one still has it fresh in his memory, that this man, having fatigued the troops, and spent a great deal of money, was necessitated, by a treaty dishonourable to the Government, to save his own shame, in making articles with a puny Highland Chief, G——; inconsiderable in every other respect, than as he was a malicious Rebel, and famous for obtaining Conditions of the British General, which afterwards were ratified by a formal Remission; and the King's friends will long remember, that this pardoned Rebel was lately in this town, a very forward man of Council with the Squadroné in all their meetings.

This instance of the Court being imposed on, by the knot of men now mentioned, to grant a remission to the worthlessest rogue living, is no small mortification to the lovers of the Constitution; and it receives a good deal of addition from what is at present adoing; viz. a distinction, that every prisoner who was taken in action, or surrendered himself to the King's mercy, in the hands of the D. of Argyle, is ordered to be transported to England to be tried; whereas those who surrendered to any of the party aforesaid, are almost all left at home; and if any one goes alongst with the rest, it is of design that he may escape for want of evidence; as in the case of M'Kenzie of Fraserdale, in whose behalf the D. of Athol, to whom he surrendered, undertakes to prove, that he was forced into the Rebellion, tho' he actually marched at the head of 500 men to Perth.

It is scarce supposable, that a ministry could do a thing more lawless or more injudicious, than to commit the care of public management, at a time so critical as this is, to men so much the derision, and at the same time so much the aversion, of their Country, as those to whom the charge is committed in Scotland.

Now, Sir, do you judge if it is for the honour or interest of the King, or his ministry, at a time when the Nation is (I must say) in a just ferment, to entrust the public concern to such managers, especially when the kingdom is yet at a loss how to account for the disgrace of that man, whom they lately accounted, under the King, their bulwark against Popery and tyranny.

By what I have said in the onset, Sir, you may guess I will not rest satisfied singly with having transmitted this to you. I must know something of your sentiments about it. I'm resolved to wait till the 20th of September; and if in the London Gazette, before that date, I see nothing advertised concerning a letter dated and signed as this is, you may trust to it, I shall complain of it in such a manner, as you shall have no reason to be satisfied.

I am,

Sir,

Your humble Servant,

Y. Z.

Culloden Papers, No. LXXXII. p. 61.

No. V.

Memoir dispersed over Europe by the Chevalier de St George in his own vindication in reference to his wife's separation.

ROME, *November* 13, 1725.

IT has been the constant practice of the King's enemies to project measures for sowing divisions and misunderstandings amongst those who are thoroughly fixed in their loyalty to His Majesty and are most capable to serve him, and by the means of those who still pretended to adhere to it, to draw him by specious appearances into steps against his honour and the good of his service.

His Majesty had reason to think that, by the prudent measures he had taken, he would not have been much troubled for the future by such contrivances; but these days past have afforded but too strong and too publick an instance of the contrairy.

It is some time since the King suspected that his enemies and pretended friends, finding that they could not impose upon His Majesty, were endeavouring by malicious insinuations to animate the Queen against His Majesty's most faithful servants, and particularly against him who had the greatest share in his confidence and affairs, in hopes, no doubt, by that means to compass what they dispair'd of being able to come at by any other; and they so far succeeded, that for some time past the Queen could not conceal her dislike to such persons, and the King could easily see that her behaviour towards himself was alter'd, altho' he could not discover any real ground for either one or t'other. His Majesty was therefor willing to impute them to ill offices and humour, which he hop'd would pass with a little time and patience on his part, and therefore he did not make any change in his conduct towards the Queen, who, ever since her marriage, had been entirely mistress of his purse, such as it is in his bad circumstances. His Majesty also continued to her the same liberty she had always enjoy'd, of going out and coming home when she pleased, of seeing what

company she liked best, and of corresponding with whom she thought fit; and to encourage her, diverting and amusing herself more than had hitherto appear'd agreeable to her inclinations.

In this state of things the King could not but be astonished to the last degree when he was told by one much in the Queen's confidence, that if he did not dismiss the earl of Inverness from his service she would retire into a convent, altho' she did not give any reason for so extraordinary a proposal and resolution; and on Friday last the Queen told the King herself that she was resolved to retire, but still without bringing any reasons for it, and has seemed to persist ever since in this resolution, tho' without coming to the execution, altho' on the Friday she had actually taken leave of some ladys here on that account.

The King could not but be sensible of the indignity done him by this publick way of proceeding; but as he was perswaded the Queen had been misled and might be reclaim'd, he had much more compassion for her having thus exposed herself than resentment against the unjust eclat she had made, and therefor not only continued to live with her as usual, but invited her in the most moving terms to own her error and return to her duty, neither of which she has yet done, but it is to be hoped she soon will, by the prudent and moderate measures the King is taking in order to reclaim her.

The King really thought all this while that Lord Inverness was the chief object of these designs, for tho' her majesty's great and publick uneasyness had begun on her first being acquainted with the Princes being to be taken out of Mrs Sheldon's hands, yet her majesty had expressed herself to severall persons favourably of Lord Dunbar, and had never mentioned to the King the least dislike or disapprobation of that lords being governour to the prince, which made it appear the more extraordinary to his majesty, when in a conversation he had on Monday last with a person of great worth and consideration of this place, (who he knew had been endeavouring to prevail on her majesty not to do both the king and herself the injury of retiring into a convent,) he found that she was, if possible, more uneasy on Lord Dunbar's account than on Lord Inverness's, under pretence that the princes religion was in danger while he had the care of them, and that her majesty was perswaded that those two lords were obnoxious to his English friends, and that their being about his person was one of the greatest obstacles to his restoration.

As Lord Inverness was extremely afflicted at the Queen's behaviour on this occasion, and to think that he might be represented as the unfortunate, tho' innocent occasion of a disunion betwixt their majesties, he did most earnestly intreat of the King that he would allow him to retire from business, which nothing but his majesty's orders to the contrary in the most peremptory manner, could have prevented; his majesty having at the same time assured both Lord Dunbar and him that their remaining in his service under circumstances so very disagreeable, was the strongest instance they could possibly give him of their inviolable attachment to his person and cause.

All these facts and circumstances put together, it is very easy to see that in all these matters the Queen must have been originally imposed upon, and guided, not by turbulent and factious friends, but by real enemies, who would have drove the King to that extremity, as either to see his wife abandon him, or by yielding to her unjust demands, give up the management of his children and his affairs, and put himself into the hands, not of the Queen, but of those who, it was manifest, had in their view the ruin of both.

The King is sensible how prejudicial to his interest this unfortunate eclat

must be, but he is perswaded that the malice of his enemies on this occasion must turn against themselves when the true state of the question is known.

No. VI.

Letter from the Chevalier de St George to Young Lochiel, addressed to Mr Johnstone, junior.

April 11th, 1727.

I am glad of this occasion to let you know how well pleased I am to hear of the care you take to follow your father's and uncle's example in their loyalty to me; and I doubt not of your endeavours to maintain the true spirit in the clan. Allan is now with me, and I am always glad to have some of my brave Highlanders about me, whom I value as they deserve. You will deliver the inclosed to its address, and doubt not of my particular regard for you, which, I am persuaded, you will always deserve.

James R.

You will tell Mr Maclachlan that I am very sensible of his zeal for my service.

No. VII.

Letter from Allan Cameron to his nephew, Young Lochiel.

Albano, *October* 3, 1729.

Dear Nephew,

Yours of September 11th came to my hand in due time, which I took upon me to shew his majesty, who not only was pleased to say that you wrote with a great deal of zeal and good sense, but was so gracious and good as to write you a letter with his own hand, herewith sent you, wherein he gives full and ample powers to treat with such of his friends in Scotland as you think are safe to be trusted in what concerns his affairs, until an opportunity offers for executing any reasonable project towards a happy restoration, which they cannot expect to know until matters be entirely ripe for execution, and of which they will be acquainted directly from himself; and therefore whatever they have to say at any time either by you, by the power given by the King's letter, or by any other person, the account is to be sent to his majesty directly, and not to any second hand, as the King has wrote to you in his letter. Dear nephew, now that his majesty has honoured you with such a commission, and gracious letter concerning yourself and family, and that he has conceived so good an opinion of your good sense and prudence, I hope this, your first appearance, by the King's authority, will answer the trust he has been pleased to put in your loyalty, zeal, and good conduct, of which I have no reason to fear or doubt, considering the step you have already made. By executing this commission with prudence and caution, depend on it you have an opportunity of serving the King to good purpose, which in time will redound to the prosperity of your friends and family. I need say no more on this head, since you will see by the King's letter fully the occasion you have of serving his majesty, your coun-

try, and yourself. But as I am afraid you will have difficulty to read it, his hand not being easy to those who are not well acquainted with it, the substance of it is, that he will not let you go without shewing you how sensible he is of your zeal and affection to his interest and service; that Scotland, in general, when it is in his power, (hoping that happy time will one day come,) shall reap the fruits of the constant loyalty of his friends there; that you represent to them to keep themselves in readiness, not knowing how soon there may be occasion for their service; but that they take special care not to give a handle to the present government to ruin them, by exposing themselves to its fury by an unreasonable or imprudent action; for that they shall have his majesty's orders directly when it is proper: and recommends entire union among yourselves in general: and towards the end of the letter he is pleased to make yourself and family particular promises of his favour, when it please God he is restored; and while he is abroad, all that is in his power. I hope this hint of the meaning of the letter will enable you, by taking some pains, to read it through. It being wrote in the King's own hand, there was no occasion for signing it.

I think it proper you should write to the King by the first post after you receive this letter. I need not advise you what to say in answer to such a gracious letter from your King, only let it not be very long. Declare your duty and readiness to execute his majesty's commands on all occasions, and your sense of the honour he has been pleased to do you in giving you such a commission. I am not to chuse words for you, because I am sure you can express yourself in a dutiful and discreet manner without any help. Your are to write, Sir, on a large margin, and to end, your most faithful and obedient subject and servant; and to address it, To the King, and no more, which inclose to me sealed. I pray send me the copy of it on a paper inclosed, with any other thing that you do not think fit or needful the King should see in your letter to me: because I will shew your letter in answer to this, wherein you may say that you will be mindful of all I wrote to you, and what else you think fit.

This letter is so long that I must take the occasion of the next post to write you concerning my own family: but the King, as well as Mr Hay, bid me assure you that your father should never be in any more straits, as long as he, the King, lived; and that he would take care from time to time to remit him, so that I hope you may be pretty easy as to that point.

I must tell you, that what you touched on in your letter to me of the 14th August concerning those you saw there live so well, beyond what they could have done at home, they must have been provided for some other way than out of the King's pocket; and depend on it, some others have thought themselves obliged to supply them.

You are to assure yourself and others that the King has determined to make Scotland happy, and the clans in particular, when it pleases God to restore him. This is consistent with my certain knowledge. You are only to touch upon this in a discreet way, and to a very few discreet persons; but all these matters I leave to your own good sense and prudence, for you may be sure there are people who will give account of your behaviour after you return home; but I hope none will be able to do it to your disadvantage. Keep always to the truth in what you inform the King, and that will stand; though even on the truth itself you are to put the handsomest gloss you can on some occasions.

You are to keep on good terms with Glengary, and all other neighbours, and let by-gones be by-gones, as long as they continue firm to the King's interest; let no private animosity take place, but see to gain them with courtesy and good management, which I hope will give you an opportunity to make a figure

amongst them; not but you are to tell the truth, if any of them fail in their duty to the King or country.

As to Lovat, pray be always on your guard, but not so as to lose him; on the contrary, you may say that the King trusts a great deal to the resolution he has taken to serve him, and expects he will continue in that resolution. But, dear nephew, you know very well that he must give true and real proof of his sincerity, by performance, before he can be entirely reckoned on, after the part he has acted. This I say to yourself, and therefore you must deal with him very dexterously; and I must leave it to your own judgment what lengths to go with him, since you know he has always been a man whose chief view was his own interest. It is true he wishes our family well; and I doubt not he would wish the King restored, which is his interest, if he has the grace to have a hand in it after what he has done. So, upon the whole, I know not what advice to give you, as to letting him know that the King wrote you such a letter as you have; but, in general, you are to make the best of him you can, but still be on your guard, for it is not good to put too much in his power before the time of executing a good design. The King knows very well how useful he can be if sincere, which I have represented as fully as was necessary.

This letter is of such bulk, that I have inclosed the King's letter under cover with another letter addressed for your father, as I will not take leave of you till next post. I add only that I am entirely yours,

A. CAMERON.

No. VIII.

Letter from the Chevalier de St George to one of his adherents in Scotland,

March 11th, 1748.

I RECEIVED, a few days ago, yours of the 18th February, and am far from disapproving your coming into France at this time. The settling a correspondence betwixt us on this side of the sea and our friends in Scotland, may be of consequence in this juncture. I hope you will have concerted some safe method for that effect with Lord Semple before you leave him; and that once determined, you will, I think, have done very well to return home, where you may be of more use than abroad. I shall say nothing here of what is passing in France, of which you will have been informed by Lord Semple; and you may be well assured that I shall neglect nothing that depends on me to induce the French to assist us, as it is reasonable to hope they will, if there be a general war. But if they ever undertake any thing in my favour, I shall, to be sure, have some little warning of it before; but that may be so short that I fear it will be impossible that General Keith can come in time to Scotland, how much soever both I, and, I am persuaded, he himself also desires it; because you will easily see that one of his rank and distinction cannot well quit the service he is in either abruptly or upon an uncertainty. I remark all you say on that subject; and when the time comes, it shall be my care to dispose all such matters as much as in me lies for what I may then think the real good of my service, and the satisfaction of my friends,—for in such particulars it is scarce possible to take proper resolutions before the time of execution. I had, some time ago, a proposal made to me in relation to the seizing of Stirling castle. What I then heard, and what you now say on that subject, is so general, that

I think it is not impossible but that the two proposals may be found originally one and the same project. I wish, therefore, you would enter a little more into particulars, that I may be the better able to determine what directions to send. As to what is represented about the vassals, I suppose what you mean is the same as what I have inserted in the draught of a declaration for Scotland I have long ago had by me, viz., that the vassals of those who should appear against my forces on a landing, should be freed of their vassalage, and hold their lands immediately of the crown, provided such vassals should declare for me, and join heartily in my cause. As this is my intention, I allow my friends to make such prudent use of it as they may think fit. Before you get this you will probably have received what was wrote to you from hence about the Scotch episcopal clergy, so that I need say nothing on that subject here, more than that I hope the steps taken by me will give satisfaction, and promote union in that body. It is a great comfort to me to see the gentlemen of the concert so zealous, so united, and so frank in all that relates to my service; and I desire you will say all that is kind to them in my name. I remarked you have advanced £100 of your money for Sir J. E., which I take very well of you; but I must desire you will not give me any more proofs of that kind of your good will towards me: and as for what is past, I look upon it as a personal debt, and shall take care that it be repaid. I remark what you say about the difficulty there is of raising money. I foresaw that would be no easy matter, and I think it should not be insisted upon. I think I have now taken notice of all that required any answer, in what you wrote to me and Morgan; and shall add nothing further here, but to assure you of the continuance of my good opinion of you, and that your prudent and zealous endeavours to forward my service shall never be forgot by me.

No. IX.

Answer to some Queries sent by the Chevalier de St George, or by some persons in his interest, to an adherent in Scotland.

EDINBURGH, *Jan. 8th*, 1736.

ANSWER I.—The leading men amongst the loyalists are much diminished; and the severity of the times obliging most people to disguise their sentiments, it is hard, at this juncture, to make any condescendence who would make an appearance upon a proper opportunity; nor can that easily be penetrated into, except by a man of approven zeal and integrity, vested with a public character for that purpose.

The country party, that makes such a bustle, have probably very little loyalty joined to their discontent, most of them being people of avowed opposite principles; and though the miserable situation of the country, both at home and abroad, ought to have produced a change, and roused the ancient spirit of liberty, yet that it has done it, is uncertain; therefore the safest conclusion, though not perhaps the most just, is, that they want more to change the minister than the master.

II.—It is to be presumed that most of those concerned in the last rebellion, being almost superannuated, would rather wish well to than engage again in the cause.

III.—The most leading men, and most esteemed amongst the clans that I know of, are Sir Alexander Macdonald and Cameron of Lochiel.

IV.—The young Highlanders do not know the use of arms as well as the old; but they bear a deep resentment against the authors of such a great difference between them and their forefathers.

V.—The Cameronians are very well armed, and regularly regimented amongst themselves; but then they are so giddy and inconstant that they cannot be depended upon, not knowing what they would be at, only they are strongly enraged against the present government.

VI.—A native seems preferable to a foreign commander; but to name the person would be abundantly too presumptuous for any one in my sphere.

The originals of the four preceding papers were in the possession of Cameron of Fassefern, Lochiel's nephew, and it is supposed are still in the possession of the family. They form the first four Nos. of the Appendix to Home's History of the Rebellion.

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* No. X.

Letter.—The Chevalier de St George to Drummond of Bochaldy.

ROME, 29*th Nov.* 1714.

I HOPE the letter I wrote to you in May last for your friend's† perusal is long before this come safe to his hands, and that it will have given him satisfaction. What I have now to say to you for his use also chiefly regards some certain gentlemen who are his friends, and you will readily guess who I mean under that denomination. It is true those gentlemen have not been hitherto looked upon as well wishers of mine; but I have at the same time observed with pleasure, for this long while, that they have constantly opposed the measures of the government, and endeavoured to pursue such as they thought tended to the good of our country. I am sensible that many of them are men of great talents, probity, and experience; that they are capable of forming great projects, and pursuing them with vigour, unanimity, and secrecy; and whatever may have been formerly their opinion, I should naturally think that what is now passing in Europe, and particularly in Britain, should demonstrate to them that their doing speedy justice to me and my family is the only means left to save the nation from utter ruin and destruction. The present state of affairs abroad affords no improbable nor remote prospect of some foreign powers espousing vigorously the support of my cause; and I have a very great number of friends, already in the island, who would, I am persuaded, concur heartily in all measures which tend to the recovery of my just rights; but you know, at the same time, how much I would prefer the having my restoration accomplished by my subjects alone, and I should not despair of seeing it brought about in that manner, if your friend, and his friends, entered heartily into measures for that effect. What I said in the letter above mentioned, should, I think, be sufficient to remove all fears and jealousies they may have in regard to me; and as for themselves, they may be well assured of my acknowledging in the most grateful manner the services they may render me. I look upon myself to be a common

* This and the following Numbers are taken from the original documents themselves, or from the original draughts or copies among the Stuart Papers, in the possession of his Majesty, for the use of the present work. The copies taken from the originals are distinguished by an asterisk.

† Mr Erskine of Grange.

father to all my subjects, and shall never make any distinction of names or parties, but endeavour to provide for the general welfare and safety of them all, and make no other distinction amongst them, but such as merit and services may deserve and authorize. You will easily see that I cannot enter into further particulars in this letter; but when you communicate it to your friend, and discourse on the contents of it with him, you will assure him in the strongest manner, that if he and his friends answer the good opinion I have of them, and enter seriously and heartily into measures for bringing about my restoration, that there is no reasonable demand they can make, either in behalf of themselves in particular, or of our country in general, that I shall not readily and cheerfully comply with. [The preceding is in the handwriting of Edgar, the Chevalier's private secretary; what follows is in James's own hand.] I shall expect with impatience an account from you of what may pass betwixt you and your friend in consequence of this letter, to which I have nothing further to add, but my best wishes that safety and success may attend you both in your endeavours to serve me.

No. XI.

The Letter, of which the foregoing is a copy, was inclosed in a private Letter from the Chevalier to Drummond of the following tenor.

In consequence of Lord Sempil's, and your letters to me of the 5th and 6th, and of what I wrote last post to Lord Sempil, you will find inclosed a letter apart written in my own hand. I take extreme kindly of you, and as a particular mark of your zeal, the offer you make me of going over at this time into England, and I willingly accept the offer, because I consider it as what may be of great importance to my cause to give the discontented whigs an opportunity, especially at this juncture. My letter apart, and what I writ in my last letter, will afford you ample matter of discourse with Mr Erskine on that head, and, if those gentlemen are capable of ever becoming friends to my cause, I should think the present position of affairs at home and abroad, and the assurances given in my two last letters, should remove all their doubts, and induce them to act for it without delay. You will say, in particular, all that is kind and encouraging from me to Mr Erskine, who will, I am persuaded, do what he can to serve me on the occasion. The first and general object, in this affair, is the gaining of those gentlemen. If we fail in it, we are but where we were, and we risque nothing in the tryal. If they hearken to us, we must proceed with them with proper caution, and according to the overtures they make; and in case they express a sincere desire of contributing to my restoration, and own an impossibility of its being compassed without foreign assistance; in that case it may be proposed to them to make application for it to Cardinal Fleury, for that is not a proposal to be made, but to persons who have sincerely my restoration at heart; and, I am persuaded, that should such application be made by them, it would absolutely determine the Cardinal's resolution. When you have received this packet, you will be thinking, I suppose, of going to London to meet Mr Erskine. I can give you no precise directions as to the time of your staying there, nor any particular instructions as to your negociations with him. You see the object, and nothing must be neglected to attain it. My own letters sufficiently explain my sentiments, so that your chief business must be, to be well informed of the sentiments of those persons; and then to make a faithful

and exact report of all to me as soon as you can do it with safety. It is possible, you may, on this occasion, hear discourses, or have proposals made to you, which you may think in some measure extravagant, or even injurious to me; but you may, on such occasions, moderate the warmth of your zeal, and say nothing which may rebute or hinder people from speaking freely; and after that hide nothing from me, because, if we do not draw from this negociation all the advantage we hope for, it may be always of use, and perhaps of great use to be informed of the party's real dispositions and way of thinking. What I take to be of importance in this negociation, in all events, is the secrecy of it. There is no use of its being known to any in Scotland, and it might be of very ill consequence were it even suspected by other persons in England than those immediately concerned; and you will, at the same time, be particularly cautious not to put any of my old friends in England or Scotland in the power of those we now hope to gain. You will receive from Lord Sempil 2000 livres for your journey; and I dont remember I have any thing further to add at present on these subjects. I make no doubt but that you will do your best to serve me on this important occasion, by which you will gain a new and very great merit with me, whatever may be the success of your endeavours.

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* No. XII.

Letter from Lord John Drummond, under the signature of "J. Donaldson," to James Edgar, Esq., private Secretary to the Chevalier de St George.

PARIS, 2*d Feb.* 1743.

SIR,—I receiv'd soumme days ago the letter you favour'd me with, and nothing can be more agreable to me the goodness with which His Majesty is pleas'd to inform me by you of the continuation of that Royal Protection, which I owne is the thing in the world I am the vainest of.

It gives me great satisfaction that the affair of the Sc—— [Scots] clergy is finished, and I der say it will tourn to the advantage of the King's interest in that country.

As to the Dukes Highland clothes, it vexes me very much that His Royal Highness cannot get them this Carnaval. It is Mr Walker's fault: Some time ago, most of the things directed to him were sent to St Denis; but he conceived the difficulty so great of getting them to Paris, that he sent them all back to Boulogne, from whence they will come again by the first occasion.

I receiv'd yesterday the letter, here inclosed, from Lord W——, by which, it is very plaine, he has understood me; but according to what I had writ to him, he should have come directly himself; may be because of the C—— indisposition, or for some other reason, he has been afraid of alteration, and is desirous of a second positive invitation, which I sent him by the last post, in consert with Mr O'brien, to whom I show'd his letter.

I have found the little Pituers, [pictures] Abbé Grant was in paine about. Mr Waters had sent them to his neveu, to whom I have since thought of inquiring about them.

I have not yet seen C. T——,* who am more than can be expressed,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

J. DONALDSON.

* Cardinal Tencin.

* No. XIII.

Letter referred to in the foregoing.

To the Right Honourable Lord John Drummond.

My Lord,—When your Lordship demanded the sum of money, I am indebted to you last, I had laid myself out to raise it for you, but was disappointed; but thinking that your Lordship might have occasion for it, and likewise to make matters more easy to myself, I inquired for a friend, and am now pretty well assured of a sufficient sum to answer your demand. I shall be glad to know when your Lordship will have it paid, and to whom, or if you are to receive it yourself.

Your Lordship's most affectionate and obedient humble servant,

WEMYSS.

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* No. XIV.

The earl of Wemyss appears from the following letter to have gone to the Continent, in consequence, it would seem, of the invitation from Lord John Drummond. The original letter, which is in James's own hand-writing, is inclosed in an envelope addressed E. W. with a flying seal attached to it. It is probable that it was sent to Colonel O'Bryan, who was James's minister at Paris at the time, and that it was returned to him, in consequence of the earl's departure from France.

Albano, *June 12th*, 1743.

I just learn your being arrived on this side of the sea, and not knowing how long you may remain in France, I wont delay expressing to you how much I am touched with this mark of your zeal in this critical juncture: what comes from you cannot but make deep impression, and I am very sure you will neglect nothing which may depend on you to forward my interest, where I suppose this will find you. I shall never constrain my friends in the choice of their confidants, but as I understand L—d J—n has directed you to Mr Obryen, as it was natural for him to do, it is fit I should let you know that you will be very safe in his hands, and that nobody is more capable than he to give you such lights as may make your present journey of real service to me. Till I hear from you I shall not enter into any business here, and only add the assurances of most sincere value and kindness for you.

JAMES R.

When you see your son, with whom I am acquainted, and whom I esteem, make him very kind compliments from me. I hope the time is not far off, in which I may be able to give you and your family distinguished marks of my favour

* No. XV.

Letter from Lord John Drummond, under the signature of "J. Donaldson," to Secretary Edgar, reflecting on the conduct of Drummond of Bochaldy.

PARIS, *25th Feb.*, 1743.

SIR,—I send you here inclosed, a letter I received two days ago from L^d. M——, which wants no explanation: he has not desired me to send it, and is above making complents. At the same time, I must speak of a thing I should have mentioned sooner, had it not been for a sort of petitess, of which I am now much ashamed. It was afear to be suspected of jelusy, and of what of all things I was resolved to avoid faling into little quarrels about an affair where union is so necessary. What I have to say, you will easily imagine is against B——,* who is my L^d. S——'s† principal intelligencer in Sc——.‡ At his first coming over, I knew not how B—— got himself emploied by other people, but my brother by telling there was a positive order his going to France, when my B—— sayd he intended to weigh till he had an answer by me. Soon after, he camme back to Sc—— as ambassador from the K——, where he saw two or three people, and retourned Plenipotentiary for the whole nation, settled as such at Paris, where under a suposed name,§ tho known to every (one) for a misterious incognito, he was to apear on proper occasions. At that time, if affairs had gone on, I dar say more than what he had promised would have tourned out, and ther would have been no inconveniency; but the continuation of it has been of ill consequence for the country, wher, before I retourned, all this was tolerably well known, and in several occasions I was obliged to take his part, and did it so much as if he had been of (my) own chousing, and that we had been in very good understanding, whereas, I have not seen him since he is a negociator. Most of the K(ing's) friends I meet within S(cotland) speak against him, and desired most positively that I should inform the K(ing) from them, that B(ochaldy) having alwise been in low life, he trayd several different Trades without success, and obliged to flay the country in danger of being taken up for a Fifty pound note, he had now for a recourse taken the management of the K(ing's) affairs. All this little and low scandal I would not have mentioned, but think myself obliged now to a general confession.

After having said all I could in his defence, I told them that the K(ing) was obliged to receive all those that were sent with messages, and in the most prudential manner mead a proper use of them. They insisted that what little good he might have done was strongly balanced by the handle it has given to the K(ing's) enemies, to turn his affairs into ridicule: at first the Gover: P—— said they would take up B(ochaldy) as soon as he retourned—a little while after it was given out that far from that they war very well pleased he was imploied, since it showd what his M(ajesty's) affairs war reduced to—after that they gave to understand that they fournished him with money. You cannot imagine how such storys spread and frighten in a country where they know nothing. As I am persuaded of your prudence and depend upon your friendship, of this long libell communicate to the K(ing) only what you think proper. But what I would most humbly propose, is, that all we petty politicians should be entirely

* Bochaldy. † Lord Sempil's. ‡ Scotland.

§ Drummond in his correspondence first assumed the name of Jo: Cunningham, which he afterwards changed to Watson.

layd aside, who will do more harme than good, and now that my L(ord) M(arischal) is so well in the way, he should be ordered to settle a correspondence with S(cotland,) or at least have the name of it, for tho L(ord) S(empil) by his words and letters seems to pretend ther ar great things a-bruing in S(cotland,) I do not believe it, nor can be till it commes to an essentiall undertaking. By my L(ord) M(arischal) apearing immediatly imploied, would give such a credit to affairs in S(cotland,) as would be above all suspition from his M(ajesty's) friends, and all aspersion from his enemies. It would bring in several people that will deal with nobody else, and pout things in such a channel, as when real business comes, it should go on without any manner of inconveniency.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

J. DONALDSON.*

No. XVI.

Answer to the foregoing Letter, from the original draught, corrected by the Chevalier de St George himself.

ROME, *March* 21*st*, 1743.

MY LORD,—I received, last week, your Lordship's, of the 25th February, with one inclosed in it, which I here return to you. It has long been a subject of no small concern to me, and even to the King himself, to see so little union and harmony amongst those who wished him well, and were even employed in his affairs, but that is an evil which can only be remedied by the persons themselves, and towards which his Majesty can give little assistance. His Majesty has made it a rule to himself, never to impose any body on the confidence of those who have their all at stake, nor to refuse on t'other side hearing and confiding, in as much as is requisite, those who may be employed by them, keeping the whole in his own breast, without imparting to one set of friends what may come from another, except with their consent, or in cases of necessity: he will be thus better informed of what relates to his own interest, by the encouragement it must give to his friends, to open their minds freely to him, while they themselves cannot but be pleased with his condescension towards them, and the caution and secrecy observed in what relates to them. So that while his Majesty alone knows the whole, it is impossible for others to form a right judgment on matters they are in reality ignorant of; and H. M. thinks it a less evil to let people talk as you say they do, and even find fault at random, than to put into too many hands secrets and particulars which he thinks himself obliged in

* The Chevalier de St George, writing to Lord Drummond on 22d Dec., 1744, in answer to a letter from his Lordship of 22d October, not to be found among the Stuart Papers, thus deprecates the dissensions among his friends in France. "In the meantime, for God's sake, let us stifle as much as possible all little views and animosities. Let us have nothing in view but the common good, and let every one join heart and hand to promote it in our different capacities. This will be the most effectual way to encourage foreign powers to assist us, and to animate our friends at home to act their part also."—*Stuart papers.*

honour not to disclose. Enfin, your Lordship may be perfectly at ease on the subject of the greatest part of your letter. I am heartily sorry there should be any coldness betwixt Lord Marischal and Lord Sempil. There was, I know, formerly a great intimacy betwixt them. I am well acquainted with the great esteem and attachment Lord Sempil had for Lord Marischal, and I think I could answer for Lord Sempil, that he is noways altered towards him. If after this, Lord Sempil has writ any thing that displeases Lord Marischal, it has, I am persuaded, proceeded from a pardonable, but perhaps unjust solicitude, to keep up their former friendship, and noways out of want of true regard and concern for Lord Marischal, for whom I know the King has the greatest value, and both has and will take all occasions of showing it.

As I think it my duty to communicate to H. M. all that comes to my hands, any ways relating to his affairs, I laid your letter before him, and had his orders to make you this reply, which, when you have considered, you will find it answers all your letter, and H. M. also orders me to add here his kind compliments, and how truly sensible he is of your zeal for his service.

I am, &c.

No. XVII.

"*Copy of my Lord Marischal's Letter to Lord John Drummond, the original returned to Lord John, 21st March*, 1743." *This quotation on the copy is in Edgar's hand-writing.*

BOULOGNE, *Feb.* 12*th*, 1743.

I HAVE the honor of your obliging letter, and beg you do me the justice to be well assured of my sincere esteem, friendship, and attachment. I think I see in you an Uncle whom I loved and respected for his great honor, and a Brother who is dear to me, for you are like both. Let us give over compliments, and when we write to other, shorten as much as we can our letters, for neither of us love scribbling. I must tell you I have had three days ago a pretty odd one from Lord Sempil. There are two points in it which I must tell you. One that his Lordship is pleased to tell me, that my not having sent by him a message to certain folks in Scotland, and not having learned from him what I already know from the King, may make them think that I have little curiosity on a subject, which, above all others, they have most at heart, and that I slight them, and that the measures they have taken, tho' they have omitted nothing on their part, to prove the esteem they have of me. To this accusation or threatening of his Lordship, for I think it looks like both, I have answered, that he may remember that I told him in Paris the King had done me the honor to inform me fully of the affair, and to which his Lordship could add nothing: and that I did flatter myself, that notwithstanding his Lordship's kind fears, people would still do me justice to believe that I have more than bare curiosity, on a subject where the interest of my King and country is so nearly concerned, (not to speak of my own,) where I see a noble spirit, and where I am sensible a great deal of honour is done me, and I add, that I still hope those gentlemen will do me the honour and justice to believe that I shall never fail either in my duty to my King and country, my gratitude to them for their good opinion, or in my best endeavours to serve.

The next point of his letter I shall trouble you with is, concerning my being here. I shall give you his words, not being so long as his other chapter. He

says that my being here has already made a great noise amongst the King's subjects on this side of the water, and adds, "*I can't but own to your Lordship, that as surmises are easily spread, so I fear your being so near the coast, at this time, may occasion some speculations on t'other side also, which would both raise the jealousy of the government and the terrors of our friends, who are but too susceptible of alarms.*" The meaning of this to be that his Lordship will try ways and means to oblige me to remove, for reasons known to himself.

Yours, adieu.

* No. XVIII.

Lady Sandwich to the Chevalier de St George, without date, but quoted "Received May 12th, 1743."

Sir,—My heart is penetrated with gratitude and joy, to find that I still have the honour to remaine in the remembrance of my soverain. I can with truth profess that the earlyest, as well as the strongest, affection of my mind, ever since I have been capable of reason, has been your Majesty's prosperity and happiness, and 'tis that alone, Sir, I am very well convinced, can prevent the ruin of a country that is dear to me, but which I will never inhabit till it is under your government and protection. Permit me, Sir, humbly to offer my unbounded duty to your Majestyes servise, and as wisdom can often produce something usefull out of the weakest subjects, perhaps I should gain some strength, if your Majesty honoured me with the smallest of his commands. I cannot refrain from expressing the great satisfaction I have in my acquaintance with Lord Semple; his sagacity, penetration, and integrity, are employed in your Majestyes servise, with so much vigilance and prudence, that I cannot make a better wish, than that all who have the honour to be imployed in your Majestyes affaires, may be indowed with such qualityes as he possesses; and that success may attend upon all your desires, is the perpetual prayer of

Your Majestyes

Most obedient subject and servant,

E. SANDWICH.

No. XIX.

The answer.

Rome, *May 15th*, 1743.

My sincere value for you makes acceptable all that comes from you, and in particular the hearty letter you now write to me. I want, I can assure you, no new expressions to convince me of the sincerity of your zeal and affection for my present cause, tho' I much desire occasions of shewing you how truly sensible I am of them. It will be always a satisfaction to me to know that Lord Sempil, or any others concerned in my affairs, should have a share in the esteem of so good a judge as you. I remark, you have no thoughts of returning as yet, to a country not less dear to me than to you; but I hope we shall meet there one day, tho' in all places my sincere kindness will always attend you.

No. XX.

Letter.—The Chevalier de St George, to the Duke of Ormond.

ROME, *Dec.* 23*d*, 1743.

I REALLY cannot tell myself when this may be delivered to you, because you will receive it only at the time when all is ready for the execution of the enterprize. The King of France is resolved to undertake in my favour. His Majesty required so great and strict a secret in the affair, that I was not at liberty to mention any thing of it to you before. He will take care you should have all proper lights and instructions, and I have only time to tell you that the affair has been concerted with people in England, and that your old friends have a great share in it; and I hope you yourself will be in a condition to perform that great part which I have all along designed for you. You have already by you a Commission of Regency, in virtue of which you will act, untill such time as the Prince may joyn the expedition, and then you will remain General under him; for it is absolutely impossible for me to joyn the expedition at first, and I cannot even be sure whether the prince will be able to arrive in time. Whenever he does, you will, to be sure, be of all the help and assistance to him that lyes in your power; and before his arrival, as I conclude, that you will, in all matters of importance, act with the counsel and advice of some of our principal friends. I must particularly recommend to you, for that effect, the following persons, viz^{t}. (the names which follow are in the Chevalier's own hand, in the original copy,)—The Duke of Beaufort, the Earls of Barrymore and Orrery, Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Sir John Hind Cotton, and Sir Robert Abdy, and also the Earl of Westmoreland, and Lord Cobham. It will be, I think, proper when it is time, that you, Lord Derwentwater, and any others in France, whose presence and assistance you may judge to be of use, that they attend or follow you into England.

No. XXI.

A Letter was written to Lord Marischal of same date, and in almost the same terms. It concludes thus.

I CAN give you no other directions, but to follow those of H. M. C. M. who intends to send you into Scotland with some small assistance, to back and support the expedition in England. I doubt not of the zeal and alacrity with which you will perform your part on that great occasion; and when you arrive in Scotland, you will take upon you the command which has been so long designed for you, according to the commission of General you have lying by you. When you arrive there, you will, I am sure, act to the utmost of your power for the good of my service; and as you will, doubtlessly, act by the advice and assistance of some of our principal friends, I recommend to you, in particular, for that effect, the Duke of Perth, the Lord Lovat, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreak, and Mr Cameron of Lochyel, younger, for the Highlands, and the Earl of Traquair, and the Earl of Aberdeen, if he should joyn, for the Lowlands.

* No. XXII.

TO OUR UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE, GREETING.
JAMES R.

As you have particularly suffered, and been discountenanced under an usurped and unjust Government, we cannot doubt of the satisfaction you will receive from the attempt we are now going to make.

We herewith send you a copy of our Gracious Declaration to all our loving subjects on this occasion, by which you will plainly see how different our sentiments are, from what our enemies have maliciously represented them to be.

We are sensible, you are the chief ornament and support of the Church of England; and, by the promise we have made to protect, support, and maintain it, we shall consider ourselves as particularly engaged to favour and protect you in all your rights and privileges, and we shall be ever ready to extend and enlarge them on proper occasions.

You cannot but be sensible, that the disposal of the First Fruits and Tenths for the benefit of the poorer clergy, had its rise from a former promise of our own, which may be an earnest to you of our favorable dispositions towards you and the whole body of the clergy.

We are thoroughly convinced, how much the solid learning of your two famous bodies contributes to the support of the Government, and honor of the nation; and we shall be always ready to concur with you in your constant endeavours to suppress the present general corruption of manners, and spirit of irreligion, equally destructive to Church and State.

The manifold motives, we shall have to give you constant proofs of our esteem and affection, and the certain prospect you have of being happy under our Government, will, we are persuaded, induce you to contribute as far as in you lyes, to the success of this enterprise, by your example, authority, preaching, and prayers, since nothing can be more suitable, nor so honourable for persons of your profession as to promote so great a work of justice, and to provide so effectually for the publick peace and tranquillity; and in the meantime we recommend you to the divine protection. Given at our Court at Rome, the 23d day of December, 1743. In the 43d year of our reign.

J. R.

No. XXIII.

Extracts from the Letters of correspondence, between the Chevalier de St George and Mr Sempil, his agent at Paris, from January to June, 1745, both inclusive.

NOTE.—The extracts from Sempil's letters are from the originals among the Stuart papers; those from the Chevalier's, are taken from the original copies in the same collection.

From the Chevalier, 1st and 5th January.

THE only good things they [letters] contain were the accounts you had from England: it is a great point that there is no alteration there. I wish I were sure it was the same with the Court of France; but, I own, I begin to have

my fears and jealousies as to them, and I see you are not without them either; but still I dont really see how they can patch up a peace this winter, and as long as there is war we shall always have reason to hope well. It is very true that I have been all along against an expedition upon Scotland alone, or rather, in general, against any faint attempt, the consequences of which might be more fatal to the cause than the not attempting any thing at all; neither do I see, why the French should not be able to transport the same number of troops into England, as they might be willing to send into Scotland. But still as they are masters to act in those matters as they please, did they actually refuse to debark troops into England, but were willing to debark a competent number in Scotland, I should be sorry that any thing I said or did could authorise an absolute refusal of such a proposal; for should peace be concluded without any thing being undertaken in our favour, it is easy to see what would be the consequences. But really in my present situation, at this distance, it is impossible for me to form a judgment of what should or should not be accepted of. All I can say is, that in general, no rash project should be pursued, especially considering the present disposition and situation of affairs in Brittain, which may afford us a favorable prospect ere long, independant of foreign assistance, while, at the same time, that same disposition and situation of our country may encourage us now to accept of a smaller assistance, than would otherways be advisable. Enfin, as matters now stand, I think it is better to risque too much than too little, if the medium account be fallen again, and what depends upon a number of lights and circumstances, of which those on the spot can only judge: It is the Prince, therefore, who must decide for himself, and for us all in the present case. He had, to be sure, good reasons for making you delay for some days, renewing your application on these great affairs to the Court of France, and the agitation, I am afraid, the Court was in at that time, was not certainly a favorable moment to solicit business of any kind, much less an affair of that importance; but to be sure, long before this, they will have heard and considered all that relates to us, and probably have taken their resolutions in those respects. God grant they may have been good ones. I shall be expecting them, every post, with impatience.

From Sempil,—4th January.

THE account of Credon's* behaviour will surprise you, as indeed it has done me, who have been witness of it for some time past: he is the boldest adventurer I ever yet knew or heard of. But I have not now time to entertain you on such an extraordinary subject: there seems to be a spirit of giddiness which has seized a number of [here follows some cyphers]: it is a great comfort, amidst such dissentions, to find that our friends in Bourdeaux† have preserved their senses.

From the Chevalier,—26th January.

I RECEIVED, several weeks ago, several letters from M^e. de Mezieres, but writ in so extraordinary a style that I could not in any decency, so much as acknowledge the receipt of them. I see you are no more in her good graces, and as for the Prince, he writes of them in a manner which I own raised my bile; but she is a mad woman, and not to be minded: what vexes me is, that I find Father Cruise was going into England, in the beginning of November last, in consequence of a message from Carte;‡ and I own this last, and the Lady's itch to

* Sir Thomas Sheridan. † Supposed to mean England. ‡ The Historian.

meddle in politics, without I fear proper caution or prudence, and I am sure, without my authority, may be of ill consequence, altho' what I know of their dealings is very superficial and general. I thought it was proper you should be informed of this much, and that I had no share in these transactions. You have taken up yours, to be sure, long before this, and I shall be both anxious and impatient to know the success of them ; for surely the French Court must come to some resolution as to our affairs.

From the Chevalier,—2d February.

Balhady's accounts from England are very comfortable. I am sorry there should be any interruption in the correspondence with Scotland ; but I dont take that to be of such consequence at this time, since it is what relates to England that will chiefly determine the resolutions of the French Court. The great and unforeseen event of the Emperor's * death, must alter all their schemes and projects : it should naturally facilitate a peace, but at the same time it puts it more in their power to make a vigorous attempt in our favor, and to deprive the House of Austria of their greatest support ; and if they have a generous and right way of thinking, even for themselves, one may hope they should be desirous to make such a tryal, before they enter into pacific measures : a few weeks will, probably, now show what they will do. In the meantime, I perceive the Prince was going into the country. I understand, the Court of France had rather he had gone to Avignon ; but he is much in the right not to quit his hold as long as he can, tho' the truth is they use him scandalously ; but as long as there is war we may still have hopes for the great affair, and, therefore, we must submit to any thing, rather than do what might look like abandoning our object. I am much pleased to find you were going to reassume again your negotiations ; for which, after all the great affairs which have passed through your hands, I really dont see you want credentials at present from any of us. The continuation of your correspondence with our friends in Britain is what will always give you access to the ministers, and weigh with them ; and, I am persuaded, you will be more considered by them, as being employed by my friends, than if you were more immediately by me. You cannot wonder at Cardinal Tencin's being much offended at you, for he has too much penetration not to see that our English friends could never have taken so false a step, as that of excluding him from their secret, if they had not been led into it ; for had the reserve come from the King of France himself, he had, undoubtedly, rather sent him to his Bishoprick, than have kept him in his council without his confidence. After this, how great the Cardinal's credit is with the King, is more than I can say, but, if he has little, who has more ? for it is certainly our business to apply to those who may most effectually serve us, whoever they may be.

From the Chevalier,—23d February.

The King of France having approved of my employing Mr O'bryen, as formerly, at his Court, I now write to Marquis d'Argenson, to introduce you to him, and you will find here also a letter to the same minister with a flying seal for you to deliver to him. You may remember that I writ such letters, formerly, to introduce both of you to Mr d'Amelot, so that what is now done is pursuing the same scheme, which, I know, is agreeable to the King of France. The letter I now send you answers, I think, pretty fully what you seemed to desire in that respect, tho' after that the access and credit you will have at the

* Charles the Seventh.

Court of France will always be proportioned to the informations you can give them from our friends in Britain, and I am always more and more convinced, that the more you are considered as their man the more your negotiations will meet with weight and success. . . . . In the meantime it grieves me to see so much jealousy, and so little union amongst all our people,—that is indeed a great drawback to the success of our affairs, and an evil which, I am sensible, I cannot remedy, especially now that it is become almost universal; but I can, at least, by my silence, not promote it; for though it is fit I should know every thing, yet I shall carefully avoid giving credit to all I hear, or entering in these tracasseries.

From the Chevalier,—2d March.

I AM, with reason, very anxious as to what relates to the security of our Correspondent of the Post-office, both on his own account, and because of the bad consequences it would be to be deprived of that channel of correspondence; but I will still hope the best, till I see clearer into the bottom of this affair, because I don't think there is reason to fear there could be any treachery in the case, and there could be no room for indiscretion; but in so far as particulars relating to that correspondence may have been known to others, of which last you can judge better than I, but even that may be without either treachery or indiscretion. The Government may have taken such steps and precautions as may give a just motive of jealousy to the person concerned, and make him think they know more than they really do. I hope a few weeks now will shew me clearly what we may have to expect from the French for this season; but I own at the same time, my hopes are not very great, because, I think, comparing all circumstances together, that the French had not that forwardness you seemed to think some time ago, in relation to my affairs. Civil words and expressions cost little, and I am affrayed, instead of growing colder now, they were never so warm as you thought them, and I am persuaded we have lost nothing but the interruption of your solicitations, tho' I am heartily glad they are re-assumed, and I am sure you will not slacken in them, whatever may be the conduct of others; but you must neither of you drive things too far, and you should not be displeased at my having a better opinion of you all, than you seem to have of one another. I remark, that I may expect, next post, a sort of appendix to Balhady's letter.

From the Chevalier,—8th March.

WHAT has happened in relation to our English correspondence is very unlucky, especially at this time. . . . I easily feel the advantage of Balhady's going over in this juncture, as well as the dangers and inconveniences of such a motion, as to which Balhady will, to be sure, have taken his resolution before you receive this. . . . . In the meantime, I am glad to find you have still good hopes, tho' I own I don't see on what they are grounded, more than on the present posture of French affairs, and the good disposition in which you suppose the King of France to be in towards us; and therefore it is our business, certainly, to acquiesce in all particulars, to what may be his inclination and desire, tho' I own, at the same time, that I cannot see a good reason of this incognito of the Princes, but for that there is no remedy at present. I wish he were, at least in the meantime, free from the uneasiness he cannot but receive from the continual jarrings amongst ourselves; and in which I neither see end nor remedy, neither can there be any as long as every one, without either a proper subordi-

nation or a due bearing of one another's failings, without which nothing but enmities and confusion can ensue, while ourselves and our affairs become a sacrifice to envy, and private views pursued with so much passion and blindness, as not to see that by ruining us and our affairs, they make it yet more impossible that those very passions should be satisfied, they are so violent to gratify. But too much on this disagreeable subject, which affects me too much, and on which it is very useless for me to enlarge.

From the Chevalier,—10th March.

I AM very glad to understand that there appears to be some hopes of the English correspondence being renewed, tho' the interruption of it is still a misfortune. Pray God all these people going backward and forward betwixt Britain and France, and with so little secrecy, may not be some time or another of very bad consequence; but neither the Prince nor I can answer for other people's indiscretion, or even totally prevent them, tho' we may too probably suffer by them. . . . . I own I have no great opinion of the manner in which business is carried on in the Court of France, and much fear that such a system cannot well produce great projects, without there were a good head and a steady hand to direct all those ministers who have power enough to distress one another, tho' not probably to do all they please, even in their own departments. . . . . I own my hopes of your speedy success are not at present very great. It is to be hoped they will at least allow the Prince to make a campaign; and really it would be something very extraordinary, as well as hard upon us, if they did not.

From Sempil,—15th March.

YOUR observation regarding the influence of the King's friends in England and Scotland, is but too just; for tho' the French Court, and most particularly the King, have a respect for your royal person and character, yet would hardly determine to enter into measures with your Majesty, unless they were sure of the concurrence of your faithful subjects in Great Britain. In the present situation it was necessary to prove that there is a perfect understanding between your Majesty and your faithful subjects, and that you approved of the persons trusted by them, which your letter (that of 3d Feb.) effectually does in relation to me, and is more than sufficient to confute all the pitiful notions that have been suggested.

The Duke of Perth's messenger, whom I mentioned in my last, being unwilling to return without something, and getting no satisfaction from Sir Thomas Sheridan, to whom the Prince referred him, came at last to Balhady and me, and imparted to us the true object of his journey, which was found to be very important; and as Balhady, who has been a long time acquainted with him, answers for his honour and probity, so I thought fit to introduce him to the Minister, to whom I shewed the importance of the Castle of Edinburgh, with the artillery, arms, and ammunition, that are in it. The Minister was greatly pleased, and having made his request to the King, told Mr Blair in his name, that his Majesty was glad to find such remarkable instances of the zeal of your Majesty's good subjects, especially of the Scots—that he apprehended he could not now spare troops for an expedition beyond sea—that such an enterprize ought to have been proposed three months ago, when he could have raised more troops and taken proper measures for it, but that he would still consider what he could do, and hoped the summer would not pass without proofs of his regard for the justice of the King's cause, and the confidence your faithful sub-

jects reposed in him. Mr Blair promised to apprize of all this the Prince; for tho' his Royal Highness has been near a month in town, neither Balhady nor I have been allowed the honour of kissing his hand till this day, when I received a message from Balhady, importing that Captain Stuart of the Royal Scots having accidentally met with Sir Thomas, the last had desired him (Stuart) to find us out, and let us know from him, that the Prince who intended to go out of town, as to-morrow, desired our company to-day at dinner. Balhady's messenger arrived here (Versailles) too late for me to get to town at the time appointed, and I have an engagement this evening at seven o'clock, to converse with the Minister, both which circumstances I prayed Balhady to apprize the Prince of, and hope he will pardon my absence.

From Sempil,—22d March.

THERE is a state of getting an expedition secretly resolved upon, and prepared as part of the scheme of the campaign, but I insist on their fixing it for the month of May. I know not as yet whether or no it will be possible to get it determined for the time I propose, because the minister of the war has all in readiness for a siege of importance in Flanders, which the King of France longs to undertake: if it is blended with the operations of the campaign, I shall fear some unlucky accident may postpone it as last year. . . . As to our private correspondent, it is certain that the Government have been informed of our correspondence through a Banker in Holland, with one Smart, upon which very strict injunctions were given, and all means used to intercept our letters. I told you that I could not suspect any body of direct treachery in this case, but sure I am that there has been indiscretion.

Sir Hector Maclean has communicated to me several of the King's and Mr Edgar's letters, by which I find his Majesty is very desirous to prevent the bad consequences of his being deprived of his rank, that was promised him by Lord John Drummond, upon an agreement between them that was approved of by his Majesty. Tho' I always wav'd meddling in this affair, yet it now stands in such a light, that the respect due to our Sovereign, and the good of his service, require the Knight should be supported in his claim. I am sorry to find Lord John's behaviour has been altogether unworthy of his name and family: he has all along pretended that the French Minister made difficulty to make Sir Hector Lieutenant Colonel, because he had never before served in the army, whereas the contrary is notorious here.

From the Chevalier,—23d March.

THE private correspondent having sent a man over with the letters Balhady transcribes, is a great proof of his zeal, and a mark, I would hope, of his being easier as to his own situation. I remark with pleasure what is said of the gentlemen lately entered into the Government service.* I hope they are sincere in what is now said in their name; but the Court of France will not, I believe, be disposed to think so favorably of them as I do, and will probably insist on having further light and satisfaction before they act themselves; and, I think I plainly see, that there is nothing in our power which can really give them full satisfaction, if they still insist on certain previous steps before an expedition, and that they will never do any thing for us at all, without they take a gener-

* The letter of 1st March, to which this is an answer, does not appear to be among the Stuart papers. James here alludes to the coalition or "broad bottom" ministry, of which the earl of Chesterfield, Lord Cobham, and Sir John Hynd Cotton were members.

ous, and, I really dont think, a rash resolution to proceed on the lights they already have, and what is publick to all the world, the present universal disposition of the nation. I think their insisting on more, is no mark of their having a great inclination to act for us; for, after all, their risking 8, or 10,000 men cannot be such an object to them. A battle or a siege often costs more, and I believe their loss in Piedmont last year, was much more considerable. But with all this it is still our business to represent and solicit, and at least to do our part to determine them to what is even in reality for their own interest; and, at same time, nothing ought to be neglected towards inducing them to allow the Prince to make a campaign: all motives concur to make both him and I earnestly wish he may obtain leave for that effect. . . . . I remark what Balhady says of our friends not caring to trust a priest, who was lately in England. This must mean Father Cruise who is lately returned from thence, and has been of late very busy with the Court of France, as well as M^r. de Mezieres. I wish no harm may come from their negotiations, tho' I own I expect no good from them, and I have let the Father know that I can neither approve nor authorise negotiations, into which I don't see quite clear. I hope and believe the French court will be cautious in what they may do on the Father's representations, without they know more of those affairs than I do; for by what I know or can observe hitherto, I believe there are no people of a certain weight and consideration in England concerned in them, but Colonel Cecil, with Carte, and Mrs Oglethorp.

From the Chevalier,—30th March.

I AM sorry to remark the subjects of uneasiness you explain in it, (letter of 8th March,*) and on which I shall write to the Prince in a manner of which I hope you will feel the good effects. You will do well to write freely to me on such subjects, and I shall endeavour to make the best use of the lights you give me, tho' you must not expect that I should much enlarge on such matters with you; for tho' I am the Prince's father, and that he is a most dutiful and affectionate son, yet, in my present situation, it is for our mutual interest and service that I myself should on many occasions carry myself in what relates to him, in some measure as I wish my subjects carryed towards me.

From Sempil,—5th April.

THE minister told me yesterday that it would be impossible to get troops for our expedition before the opening of the campaign, or even during the first operations of it. However, he desires I may converse fully with his brother upon the matter, and they will consider together what can be done. I have accordingly attended the minister of war these days past, but his hurry is such that he cannot give me a proper opportunity.

The duke of Beaufort's death is a great loss to your majesty; but I am persuaded nothing will shake the firmness of your surviving friends. . . . Your majesty has a right notion of the present posture of the French ministry, who are all jealous of each other, and, on that account, more circumspect and timorous in pressing even the affairs of their own respective departments, than they would otherwise be.

From the Chevalier,—6th April.

I REMARK what is said of the person lately from Scotland. (Vide Sempil's

* Not in the collection. See the letter of the Chevalier to the Prince of 30th March, No. XXXI. which explains the cause of disagreement.

letter of 15th March.) You did well to carry him to M. D'Argenson, for such messages are still of some encouragement. . . . . The Prince had already writ to me about the article of the broad-swords, upon which I think Balhady reasons very justly: after that in general, as I have writ to the Prince, I am absolutely unable at this time to be at such sort of expenses,—and even much smaller ones than that, which would be of more concern to me, were I not persuaded that the French court on one side, and our friends in England on t'other, will not allow the cause to be starved, if they are really zealous and hearty in it; and if they are not, any small expenses I might be to forward it would signify nothing.

From Sempil,—12th April.

YOUR majesty judges perfectly right as to a certain priest, (Cruise,) and those in relation with M^r. de Mezieres. Neither Cecil nor Carte, tho' authorised by Lord Marischal, Smith, and probably the duke of Ormond, have been able to acquire any degree of trust among dealers of a certain weight and consideration. Drummond had last year a list of 38 persons, most of them very honest, who seemed to be deluded by these people's singular assurance, but Walker found it of no manner of consequence to undeceive them. On the contrary, it was best to allow them to go on, because both Sir R. Walpole and Lord Islay were apprised of all their motions, and seemed to believe the King had no other correspondents.

From the Chevalier,—13th April.

I AM persuaded you have done, and will do your best, to determine the court of France to an expedition in our favor, and to hasten the execution of it. But I own, I dont see any particular motive to hope for your succeeding, more than the general posture of affairs at this time, and what is so manifestly the interest of France: for after that, as long as there is a war, the ministers to be sure will always give you good words, and there may be many plans and projects made for an expedition, without these ever being executed; so that for all you succeeded so well the last time, I shall not easily flatter myself of your succeeding again another time so well, tho' I shall not, either, let myself be too much discouraged by what I may hear from other people, since nobody can form a judgment of what they may be ignorant of. It is always good I should be informed of every thing, but except what you may think proper to write to me or Edgar on the subject of our unhappy tracassaries, the less these matters are stirred in or talked of the better; and yet I see with concern that everybody will be criticising and meddling in matters which are none of their business, and on which they cannot form a judgment, by which they certainly do a real and great prejudice to the cause, which every body may hurt by their indiscretion, but few can forward by their immediate assistance. What occasions my saying this at present is, what I have had occasion to know lately of a certain Lady Clifford, who has been some time in France. I know not whether you are acquainted with her. I suppose she is sincere in the zeal she pretends to have for us, but by what I can remark of her turn and spirit, she is an intriguing woman, capable of doing a great deal of hurt with a good intention. It is true, I wish much Sir Hector Maclean were made lieutenant-colonel to Lord John Drummond's new regiment, and I have done what I could to assist him in his pretensions for that effect, but I much fear I shall not succeed.

From Sempil,—19th April.

I THINK myself obliged to inform your majesty that Sir Thomas Sheridan always possessed his (the Prince's) mind, and that your majesty never had the Prince's confidence so much as that man, who, I fear I am too well assured, has even now the confidence of all your majesty writes to the Prince, and concerts with him what H. R. H. is to write to your majesty, tho' he makes the Prince to do it in his own style and manner.

From the same,—25th April.

IN the meantime, it is a most feasible affliction that the King of France will not consent to the Prince's going to the army. The ministers all seem to wish it; the four secretaries of state even promised to give their opinions for it, but their opinions have not been asked; when Marq^s. D'Argenson represented the motives upon which I urged it.

Sir Thomas Sheridan seems capable to go any lengths, and may find encouragement of the most dangerous nature to gratify his ambition if he should accompany the Prince to England in your majesty's absence. I am sure he dares not make a direct intimation to the Prince against his duty, and perhaps is not wicked enough for such an attempt with cool deliberation, but I doubt his passions are greater than his virtues or his reason, and may prompt him to lead by degrees the Prince into very unhappy measures, for which Sir Thomas will find but too many abettors and advisers. Mr Kelly has said some time ago to his confidents, that in a little time they would see your majesty's friends divided into the King's party and the Prince's party. I write thus freely in obedience to your majesty's commands, and am overjoyed that I am authorised to do so, which eases me in some measure of a weight that hung the heavier on my spirits, because I could not venture to own it to your majesty. I think I dont entertain such apprehensions out of suspicion to Sir Thomas. I find severals who think of him worse than I do, and have imparted their fears to me.

From the Chevalier,—26th April.

I HAVE no answer from Spain about the Duke's campaign,* and I find the Prince has little or no hopes of obtaining leave for himself to go to the field, for he did not, I suppose, then know what you now mention to me on the subject. . . . . I see with sorrow that the Prince still remains at Fitz-James. As for our great affairs, he cannot certainly hope that any thing should be undertaken till after the campaign in Flanders is begun. The right time for an expedition would, I think, be in the months of August or September, but I will not flatter myself as to that, tho' I am persuaded you and Balhady will do your best to bring the French court to some speedy and favorable resolution, tho', if no sort of determination is taken before the King of France goes to the army, I shall much fear that they take my affairs little to heart.

From Sempil,—3d May.

YOUR majesty has great reason to judge, from the present state of the French ministry, that an expedition will not be compassed this season, and yet, by some particular circumstances, there was ground to hope it might. I am sure the King of France inclines it, that Orry and Maurepas favour it, and that the bro-

* James had applied for leave for his second son to attend a campaign in Italy with the Spanish army.

thers D'Argenson consider it as the best foundation for the scheme of greatness they have in view. These dispositions, of which I have been long very certain, and the immediate advantage that must in the present state of things accrue to the French by making a reasonable attempt in your majesty's favor, gave not unreasonable hopes of speedy success. But I have already hinted, in a former letter, at the reason of the delay. The two brothers want to acquire the whole merit of the service, which they found they could not do when the King insisted to have our project examined into, with other schemes of operations; wherefore the minister of war, who has the chief influence with his majesty, got the enterprise put off for the present, on pretence that the King of France has other immediate and very pressing service for all his troops. Lord Sempil quickly perceived the true motive of this proceeding, but he seemed ignorant of it, and used all manner of argument, both political and military, for an immediate expedition. The two brothers could give no tolerable reason for postponing it, but as there was no prospect of carrying it without them, so I was forced to acquiesce, which the minister of war especially seems to take kindly, and promises all his interest and address to serve your majesty as soon as the necessary operations of the campaign will permit, that is, as soon as his brother and he can determine the King of France, without consulting the other ministers. In the meantime, I think the two brothers really wish the prince were in the army, but the King has expressed himself on that head so strongly, that they protest they cannot urge it in the present moment. . . . . I am personally acquainted with Lady Clifford, but have always heard her called a good, tho' a very weak woman. She is sister to the Dutchess of Norfolk, and never seemed to have any expectation of the Restoration, or to take the least concern in it, till the Prince was public in France, but now she expresses great zeal, and I hope very sincerely. Her most assiduous visiters during last winter were Mr Stuart, of Lord John's regiment, and Sir Hector Maclean. She seems to have no particularly intimacy or confidence with any others.

I have told the Marq^{s}. d'Argenson that your Majesty's friends in Britain call for Ballhady, and desired to know what the King of France would authorise Ballhady to say to them, upon which Ballhady and I are going to-morrow by appointment, to know his Majesty's pleasure. . . . . After this Ballhady will set out for England with the utmost secrecy, whenever the Prince is pleased to honor him with his commands.

We are informed, that on the 25th of last month, one Macnaughton, Mr Murray's footman, arrived at Boulogne-sur-mer, in a ship from Scotland: this man, who is entirely trusted by Mr Murray, has brought letters to Charles Smith, and says he has a packet for the Prince, by which indiscretion he shews how unworthy he is of the trust reposed in him; but besides, Mr Blair, who was lately here, assured us he was a very dangerous fellow,—that he boasted publicly among those of his own rank, of his master's high character from your majesty, of his being let into all his master's secrets, and trusted with all his papers; as a proof of which, he proffered to give the perusal of all these papers to Mr Blair's shoemaker, which last offered to put them in Mr Blair's hands. I hear this Macnaughton is soon expected here by Sir Thomas Sheridan, that he calls himself Douglas, and is treated with great distinction by Mr Smith. I shall not fail to inform the Prince of these circumstances. One can't but wonder at the spirit of giddiness that seems to have run amongst some people.

From the Chevalier,—3d May.

It appears to me pretty plain, that the court of France will not undertake

any thing for us till they have farther information from England, and as I believe it will appear so to you, I conclude Balhady will be parted for England before this reaches you.

From the same,—18th May.

From what you say of the Prince's campaign, I own I have lost all hopes of his being allowed to make it, altho' the Marquis d'Argenson encouraged you following the King of France into the field, in hopes of some favorable resolution being taken there, either as to that or in relation to greater matters. As to these last, I fear we can't expect any determination can be taken without some further light and information from England; neither do I see how that can be got in an authentic and satisfactory manner but by Balhady's going over; and yet that is a step I am unwilling positively to direct, because of the many dangers and inconveniencies it cannot but be attended with. If Balhady is not publicly at Paris, I think it might be easy for him to slip away without being missed; and even in all cases, could he not go down to the army with you, from whence he could pursue his journey for England much more privately and unobservedly than from Paris; if he likes the party to go over, I don't see the use of any body's knowing of it except Marquis d'Argenson and myself, neither shall I disapprove your keeping that step secret from all others, without exception. . . . . I cannot but hope this odd peace of Bavaria may be a spur to the French to think seriously of my interest; and perhaps more vigorous measures may be pursued from the army, where there will not be so many counsellors, and by consequence so many intrigues and management.

From the same,—24th May.

I find, with satisfaction, that Balhady will soon begin his journey for England. You may have remarked how much I wished it, tho' I would not take it absolutely upon me to direct it. . . . . The peace of Bavaria, and the great probability there appears to be of the Great Duke's being chosen Emperor, should, methinks, in a manner force the French to think seriously of my interest, as the most effectual way to provide for their own in the present circumstances. It will have been very necessary to inform the Prince of the particulars you mention relating to a person lately come from Scotland.

From the same,—1st June.

As long as I have any thing, the cause must not be starved, and that is really the present case.* The Prince has scarce bread for himself, and the French court was not to be applyed to for such an expense; for tho' they certainly should not have grudged it, yet I see but too plainly their narrowness as well as their straits, and even this year I have not received a certain small pension which was given to the Duke upon his mother's death, and which was always used to be paid at the beginning of the year. . . . . Our friends in England should consider my present situation, and fall on some method to enable me upon occasions to serve themselves in reality more than me, and I think that this matter should sooner or later be strongly laid before them; for if they sincerely wish my Restoration, and would be willing to venture for it at a proper time, can it be imagined they would not be willing to contribute a trifle on which the success of all may often depend? I am glad to find that both Bal-

* This letter contained an order for 3000 livres on Waters, the Chevalier's banker at Paris, in favour of Sempil, to enable him to follow the French court in Flanders.

lady and you are so well pleased with what the Prince said to you,—a proper subordination of him to me, and of other people to us both, would make every thing go on better and more easily than it has done for some time past. I believe the Prince is sensible how much it imports us to be masters in our own affairs, and I shall be mistaken if he does not act his part for that effect.

From the same,—8th June.

If this victory (of Fontenoy) be of great consequence to the King of France, I do not take it to be of less to my interest, while the Elector of Hanover sending more troops out of England, and coming in person out of the kingdom himself, are such a continuation of favorable circumstances, as would seem designed by Providence to determine the King of France to act in my favor, so that I own at present I am in great hopes and expectation.

From Sempil,—14th June.

No imaginable situation will determine the ministers to act for you without a concert with your friends in England. The general dispositions of your people make but little impression, while the Government appears so peaceful, and seems to exert the whole strength of your three kingdoms. But the more terrible the Government appears, the more willing the Court of France will always be to assist your Majesty, provided they are made sure, that a great body of your subjects at home are ready to act in conjunction with them. . . I doubt not but the shameful animosities of last winter, which disgusted the King of France and discouraged our friends in Britain, have contributed to lull the Government into an opinion, that there was nothing to be feared from your Majesty. It must be upon that conviction that the Duke of Hanover has ventured to come abroad, and to order so many troops to be now brought out of Britain. . . . . I have just now the satisfaction to receive a letter from Balhady with the news of his safe arrival at London, where he had already seen Lord Traquair, our private correspondent, Lord Barrymore's confidant, and some others ; he assures me in general, that there is no alteration in the King's friends, but for the better. Our private correspondent writes a few lines in Balhady's letter, promising to correspond as formerly, especially when he has any thing material to impart. Both this correspondent, Balhady, Lord Traquair and Mr Barry desire to be put at your Majesty's feet, and hope you'll be assur'd of their using their utmost endeavours for your service.

From the Chevalier,—same date.

There cannot be two opinions as to your going to the army, which being on my account alone, and absolutely necessary for my service, it is but fit I should be at the expense of it and not you,—the same may be said of Balhady's journey, and therefore on his return, if our friends in England have not defrayed it, I shall.

From Sempil,—21st June.

The French ministry have not yet got out of the narrow methods prescribed to them by the poor Cardinal Fleury. The minister of the finances especially sticks close to the old maxims of saving, tho' he is sensible that they have often obstructed great affairs, and ruined the most hopeful projects. The King's friends in England think more justly and generously in that regard, but it is very dangerous for them to raise money, because too many persons must be let into the secret. . . . . I have had two letters from Balhady in the

course of this week, and one from our private correspondent, by which the last promises to write, and to receive, and transmit our letters as formerly, being satisfied with the channel thro' which Balhady makes them pass in Holland. Balhady has conversed fully with all our city of London friends, with Mr Erskine, Lord Traquair, Lord Barrymore's confidant, our private correspondent, and as many others as are in town. They all agree that your Majesty has at present the best opportunity that ever was, and better than can ever again be expected, to effect your Restoration; if a small body of troops can be landed, they are sure you will find no opposition. The Tories who have places under Government, are as zealous as ever for your Majesty, and as ready to concur in the deliverance of their country, as those who have no places: the only difficulty is to prove this disposition, so as to satisfy the King of France to determine his ministers (the two brothers) to charge themselves with the execution. The King's friends will not venture to write. Balhady says, the whigs in the ministry are so jealous, that a traveller cannot now go about amongst our friends in the country without suspicion and great danger. There is besides the difficulty of transporting troops, while the Government is vastly superior at sea.

From the Chevalier,—22d June.

We cannot know exactly the view the King of France may have in sending for a great detachment from the Prince of Conti's army, but I take it to be rather a good sign for us, at least comparing all I know together. I make no manner of doubt, but that the King of France is thinking seriously of our affairs, and what the result will be, a little time must now soon show us; but I think it is easy to see that the difficulty of transporting troops into England, will be the chief obstacle to the undertaking an expedition. I am glad to find Balhady was so far safe on his journey. I hope and believe he will be returned on this side of the sea, before Sir Hector Maclean's going to Scotland could possibly make any noise, which I hope it will not, tho' I wish some other expedient could have been fallen upon, to keep him and Lord John Drummond at a distance from one another, which was the chief, if not the only motive of his going thither. It is not impossible but you may stumble on Father Cruise somewhere in your travels in Flanders, for I find he was lately in that country after having been in England. A multiplicity of negotiations may, I fear, rather do hurt than good in our affairs, but as I dont really know nor understand the bottom of this Father's negotiations as they stand at present, I endeavour to avoid equally either disgusting or authorising as the safest and prudentest mode for the good of the cause.

From the same,—28th June.

I think it is fit you should know that I have received some farther lights about Father Cruise's negotiations, tho' I have not yet heard directly from him since he returned from England. . . . . I have already had a visit from the new French ambassador; he is a man of a very good character, and I believe wishes me very well, but probably I shall not have much occasion to treat with him on publick matters.

From Sempil,—same date.

The Doctor (Drummond of Balhady) writes, that your good old friend Mr Erskine will soon be preferred to a considerable post in the administration, but he accepts it with the view of being enabled by it to serve the King more effec-

tually: he desires me to assure his Majesty, that he will remain in England or go to Scotland, as the King's service shall at any time require.

From the same,—of same date.

I RECEIVED a long letter from Balhady written in concert with Mr Erskine, Lord Traquair, and Lord Barrymore's cousin and confidant: they represent the Regency in England to be divided, and so diffident of each other, that there is not so much as the appearance of resolution and harmony, or common prudence in their councils. They say our friends in the administration have yielded to all the Duke of Hanover desired, with no other view than to precipitate his ruin, in which they have in a great measure succeeded, both by exasperating the nation so as to make any revolution desirable, and by giving the Duke of Hanover such high spirits upon the opinion of his having overcome all opposition, that he has not only ventured all himself, but has even drawn almost all the troops out of Britain. They remark that the loss of the battle in Flanders has enraged the middle and lower ranks of people, from all which they conclude that there never was, and never can be, such a favourable opportunity to attempt your Majesty's restoration. They assure that if the Prince landed in the present circumstances with ten batallions, or even with a smaller body of troops, there will be no opposition, but, on the contrary, that his royal highness will be received with blessings and acclamations. They affirm this to be the sentiments of all who observe the present state and disposition of things, but upon Balhady's informing our friends, that the same appearances of harmony and unanimity which have imposed on the Duke of Hanover, have rendered the real state of things doubtful at the Court of France, and that some means must be taken to prove to the King of France what we all believe and know to be true: upon this information of Balhady's they considered the case with all possible attention, and judged it impossible to bring any stranger into England at this juncture, and to make him converse with a certain number of principal persons without raising a suspicion that would deprive your Majesty of many advantages, and perhaps ruin your affairs: they judged it equally impossible to get a sufficient number of the King's friends to subscribe any paper: wherefore they thought the best and safest expedient would be, to engage our friends to open themselves to Mareschal de Belleisle, whose letter to his master might attest all that his master desired; this result Balhady transmitted to me, with an assurance that his friends who have accepted of places as well as those who have not, are willing to confide in Belleisle, provided I can procure a letter or token, upon exhibiting of which he shall trust them: before the King of France went to the army, I had with this view sounded the two brothers regarding Belleisle, and found they did not incline he should be employed in our affairs, because they were ambitious of having the whole merit of it themselves; but as the success of the King's affairs must depend on the proofs in question, so I hope we might profit of Belleisle's situation without apprising the two brothers of the confidence reposed in him till it should be necessary to produce his attestation; reflecting therefore that Belleisle's wife has the great honour of being the Prince's relation,—that she is a lady of uncommon abilities, and in the secrect of all her husband's affairs, I resolved to ask a token from her that might make Belleisle know our friends. I accordingly caused her Director, a clergyman of great worth, beg leave for me to wait on her in private. She said she had been long desirous to be acquainted with me on account of my attachment to your Majesty, but as she was persuaded that all my motions are watched, so she apprehended that her conversing with me

at present might give the government some suspicion, and perhaps induce them to confine her husband in a way that would be prejudicial to his health. She added, that the same dread of the Government's malice obliged her to deprive herself of the honor and satisfaction of paying her respects to the Prince, and desired her Director to tell me that she conceived I might have great and grand views in desiring to converse with her, but that her husband had engaged his honor to the Government so strictly and solemnly, in order to obtain the degree of liberty he enjoyed, that while he should remain in his present situation he could not be of any service to your Majesty, tho' he burns with zeal for the King's cause, and believes the King's affairs to be in a very promising condition.

This affair detained me till the 26th, when I received another letter from Balhady, in which he informs me, that Sir Hector Maclean is arrived in Scotland, and that upon his arrival Lord Elcho, who had been some time at London, was immediately sent for, and set out accordingly, in all haste, for Scotland, from whence Mr Erskine, Lord Traquair, and Balhady apprehend that something very weak and rash may be attempted, and that some great misfortune will ensue; they are induced to this apprehension by the part John Murray has acted since he returned from hence: Murray said that Sir Thomas Sheridan had told him that Balhady, in concert with Lord Sempil, had brought the Prince hither without the consent or knowledge of the King of France,—that Balhady had kept his royal highness in his own apartment at Paris, without letting the Court of France know where the Prince was,—that he afterwards carried the Prince to Gravelines also without the Court's knowledge, and detained him there several weeks in order to engross the Prince to himself,—that the said Balhady and Sempil had sent Lord Marischal to Dunkirk, without money, arms, or any destination of troops for Scotland;—and lastly, that while Sir James Campbell was neglected, Balhady had extorted for himself a pension of 6000 Livres a-year from your Majesty: all these particulars Murray declares he had from Sir Thomas Sheridan, to whom the Prince referred him, adding that he is authorised by the Prince to apprise the King's friends in Scotland of them. Lord Traquair and Mr Erskine assure that our sages, and indeed all men of sense, perceived the malice and absurdity of these accusations, but that Lord Elcho, Sir James Stewart, and one Mr Nisbet of Dirleton, all influenced by Lord Marischal and Charles Smith, have joyned with John Murray in repeating those heads of grievances to all that would hear them. From this connexion of Murray with Sir Thomas Sheridan, and Lord Elcho's sudden call upon Sir Hector Maclean's arrival, the three gentlemen I have named above dread a deal of mischief: they are persuaded Sir Hector's journey was concerted, or rather directed, by Sir Thomas, and they think nothing but a letter from the Prince to Murray can prevent the bad consequences of it; wherefore they charge me to beg of his royal highness a proper letter on the occasion, desiring all your Majesty's friends to remain quiet, and to give no cause of suspicion to the Government until they receive further orders from your Majesty or himself. The Prince did me the honour to write to me above ten days ago, that he intended to be in town a few days after, which made me depend on his coming the beginning of last week; nevertheless I wrote to inform him that I was ready to go to Flanders whenever his royal highness would be pleased to send me his commands, but I have as yet no answer.

Note.—The Chevalier and Sempil corresponded in cipher. Sempil's letters were deciphered by Secretary Edgar and the reading interlined by him in the originals. Sem-

pil assumed the name of Frances Lacy, and Drummond of Balhady, who also corresponded in cipher, took the name of Walker and sometimes that of Watson. He is often called "the Doctor" in the correspondence. A cipher was seldom used for proper names, in stead of which feigned names were adopted. Thus,

Mr Adams,	for	The King of France.
Mr Talmash,	—	Prince Charles.
Foulis	—	The Duke of Ormond.
Isham,	—	Lord Marischal.
Mr Constable,	—	Cardinal Tencin.
Markham,	—	The Earl of Islay.
Mr Davis,	—	The Chevalier de St George.
Bright,	—	The Earl of Traquair.
Norris,	—	Sir Robert Walpole.
Griffith,	—	Sir William Watkins Wynne.
Touchet,	—	Carte, the Historian. *
Hales,	—	Colonel Cecil.
Lumley,	—	Sempil.
Watson, or Walker,	—	Drummond of Bochaldy.
Credon,	—	Sir Thomas Sheridan.
Mr Tait,	—	Lord John Drummond
Morris,	—	Chas. Smith, a Banker in Boulogne.
Trebby,	—	Mr Kelly.
Barclay,	—	Murray of Broughton.
Jennings,	—	Mr Erskine, of Grange.
Morton,	—	Lord Barrymore.
Lister,	—	Sir James Campell.
Morison,	—	Waters, the Chevalier's Banker in Paris.
Mr Germain,	—	Sir John Hynde Cotton.

*No. XXIV.

The following letter is unsigned, but quoted as from "Mr Carte," in Secretary Edgar's hand. It bears the post-mark, and has the following address,

Au Rev. Père,
Le Blanc, Cordelier,
Au Grand Couvent des Cordeliers,
A Paris.

LONDON, *April* 9th, 1745.

DEAR SIR,

I WROTE to you on Christmas day a very particular account of the state of the Tobacco affair, and of what I had reason to think was the best way of buying that commodity. Still the business in Eden Street is the passes or license to send ships with it directly to France, in relation to which I told you, that the passes hitherto granted to ships, to go thither, were not a legal security against the insolence and rapine of our privateers, and therefore it was expected an act of Parliament would be brought in, to authorise the Crown to grant such passes, from time to time. No such act is as yet before the House, and the Crown would probably be willing its own authority should serve without the aid of Parliament, and accordingly, the case has been for some time under the consideration of the Attorney and Solicitor General, who are to give their opinion, as to the legality of such passes from the Crown, or the necessity of an act to empower them. I have not heard whether they have delivered

* Vide next Number.

their opinion, but the resolution must be taken soon, because the Parliament will rise before the end of this month, a message having been sent last Friday to the speaker to hasten the dispatch of business before the H. of C., because K. G. was resolved to be going abroad at the end of the next month, for which reason the House sate last Saturday and are not to lose a moment, in order to finish their business.

Since mine above mentioned, I have received one from you, which I answered immediately, and as you told me in it, that I should soon see a friend of mine here, I was in hopes that friend was yourself, and have ever since expected and longed to see you : it was this expectation that made me defer writing, but, my patience being at last exhausted, I write this to acquaint you, that all the uncertainty that prevailed among the merchants you had to do with, is removed, and they are come at length to a resolution : all that Monsieur at Paris insisted on, is agreed to in the best manner that can be ; all that is wanting, is your presence,and you need not be detained a moment, but shall carry back with you what he desires ; for otherwise we know not how to send it, and you have nothing to do but to settle with him the manner, and you shall have the conducting of all that he asks, and as it is ordered, he will have even more than he expects or was ever proposed. As I live in hopes every day of seeing you, I need add no more but to recommend expedition, and conclude—*nil mihi rescribas, quia ipse veniam.* Adieu.

I am ever yours.

Note,—The above letter appears to have been intended for either Sempil or Drummond, and evidently refers to negotiations with the English Jacobites. On receiving it, Father Le Blanc sent it to a Mr Dawkins along with the following note.

" MONSIEUR,

Voilà une lettre qui sans doute vous regarde plutôt que moi, puisque je n'entends pas l'Anglois. J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un très profond respect,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéisant serviteur,

F. LE BLANC.

A Paris, 2d May, 1745.

(Thus addressed)

Monsieur,

Monsieur Dawkins chez Mr

Waters l'ainé, Banquier, rue de l'Université,

A Paris.

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* No. XXV.

Letter.—Prince Charles Edward to James Edgar, Esquire.

PARIS, *ye 16th January,* 1745.

I HAVE received to of your letters allong with the King's and Duks. I am very glad you have got so good an occasion of sending sum of my things, but the would be more agreeable to me iff you had the bringing of them yourself. I am going in to or three days to my contry howse, where I will be at full liberty to have the spleen. It is now to months I have not handeled a gun, because of the bad weather and cold, for which I would be called *cacciotore di Panbianco* by the Duke iff' he new it, in revenge for my calling him so formerly.

As soon as I am arrived at Fitz james I intend to begin again to shute, but not whin it rens (rains). You see by this that according as one advanses in years one gets reason. Adieu.

CHARLES P.

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* No. XXVI.

Letter.—The Chevalier de St George to the Prince.

ROME, *March* 1*st*, 1745.

I RECEIVED on Thursday last, my dearest Carluccio, yours of the 7th February, and one from Sir Thomas of the same date. Many kind compliments to him for what I may have to say in return to his letter. I suppose you will have had soon after you writ the paper you mention, I having directed Kerry* to give it to you, and I don't believe there was any other mystery in that matter but simply Kerry's fear that any body else but you should see it, on account of the names contained in it. But after what I have already said on this subject, I need add no more on it here, but that I dont remember that Kerry had any other papers of yours in his hands but that. After this I find Kerry in a very bad humour, and Morrice† not in a good, and it is really a grievous thing to me to see you all in pieces among yourselves, and that I can do nothing either to ease you or to serve ourselves, and it is even time and labour lost so much as to write on those vexatious subjects, for it looks as if almost nobody thought of any thing but lording it over one another, with little regard and respect for any thing or any body else. Enfin I see but too plainly that there is no remedy for certain things, which must go as they can, for I fear neither you nor I can get a remedy to them; and the worst of all is, that Williams‡ cannot but remark, more or less, the divisions that are amongst us, and that must greatly *discourage them from acting for us.*§ We shall now probably very soon see what *they* will really *do in* that respect, as well as in relation to *your* making *a campaign.* In the meantime, Isham must have *patience*, and never *quit your hold* as long as *you can*, for as long as the *war lasts*, *we* have always room to *hope for assistance from France.* As things have fallen out, I am persuaded that the interruption of L. S.‖ negotiations was of no ill consequence; in respect to G. A. and Morgan being now allowed to act as formerly, must in all cases still be of some advantage, because we can depend on the information he gives us. I observe what Sir Thomas says of Frank. *O.*¶ now writes to me a great dale on those particular affairs, on which I expect to be further informed by the next letters, and I shall then write to you upon them. In the meantime, I much fear the hurt such negociators may do, and I am sure I expect no good from them, and I have even a very indifferent opinion of *Carte's* dis-

* Drummond of Bochaidy. "I should (says the Chevalier to Drummond, in a letter 26th January, 1745,) have been angry with you for not giving up a certain paper to the Prince, for really it was against all rule and very wrong. *Ma Io lo compatisco* for this time. Lord Sempil can explain to you that Italian expression, which is very significant, and should make you easy for what is past, and on receipt of this you will send the said paper to the Prince, who has mentioned this particular here, and who, I am very sure, feels the importance of secrecy in relation to that paper."

† Sempil. ‡ The King of France.

§ The words in Italics, in this and the following letters, are in ciphers in the original. The deciphering is interlined in the Prince's own hand.

‖ Sempil. ¶ Colonel O'Bryan.

cretion, tho' a very good one of his loyalty. The Macdonnel's are still here; but I believe we shall have their good company but a very few days longer. Your brother has made a shift to divert himself a good dale these days past: he had a private comedy and a ball t'other night at Count Mariscolli's, and to-morrow night he is to end the Carnival with a grand supper at M^e. Bolognelli's. To-night he has at home the 3d and last ball, where I dare not so much as make my Compazza, for it is a terrible Tramontane, and I have been extremely troubled these days past with my usual ails. Lord Dumbar is layd up with the gout. I have nothing to add this Tuesday night but to beseech God to bless you, and in duty embracing you, my dearest child.

J. R.

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* No. XXVII.

Letter.—The same to the same.

ROME, *March 8th*, 1745.

I RECEIVED on Thursday, my dearest Carluccio, yours of the 14th February, with one of the same date from Sir Thomas, and have seen what you both wrote to Edgar. It is certainly fact that the *private correspondent in E.* has been frightened, and that that *correspondence* has been interrupted, but what has been the original cause of all this I know not, neither has any body presumed to blame or tax Howel on that occasion with me. Kerry supposes there may be some treachery in the case, tho' I am more apt to believe it may merely come from surmises and jealousies, which have put E. G. on means which have frightened the *correspondent*; but what is really *bad* and sure is, that that *correspondence* is interrupted, which is very unlucky at this time especially, but there is no help for it. I know nothing of any *peoples* being sent to England and Scotland and coming from thence, but what Littleton mentions; but what I see too much is, that people in general are so full of their little views and politicks, and are so blinded with them, that it is scarce possible any good can come from such managements and managers, but to all this I dont see what remedy either you or I can put, and our great attention now must be to do nothing which may make things worse, and do harm, and to proceed with great caution with *whoever* may happen to *come over from E. or S.* For let what will be as to other matters, to speak impartially, the chief branch of *our hope* at present is certainly in Morrice's and *O's* endeavours *with F. C.*, and therefore *they* must be borne with, and managed with great care and attention, at least for some weeks, till we see what *turn affairs* are like to take *at home and abroad.*

I am persuaded *B.* would never encourage Isham's coming privately to Paris. if he were not very sure Ward would not disapprove of it, and therefore I am not sorry on that particular. But in general, I must always recommend to Jenkins to avoid carefully doing any thing that may disgust Adam, or give an handle to people to do *you* any ill offices with *him.*

The Spanish army is in motion, and General Macdonnel leaves us in a few days to go and joyn it. I have yet got no answer from *S.* about Hicks, nor cannot have any before the next Spanish courier. The Duke had a great conversazione on Saturday for his birth-day, when there was a vast dale of company, but I could not go there myself on account of my usual ails, tho' I dont keep the house neither, but I have been but little abroad these days past, the weather being extremely bad.

The 9th. Having received no further accounts about Frank, &c. directly from themselves, I can say nothing on those matters till I hear more about them. Adieu, my dearest Carluccio. I pray God to bless you, and in duty embrace you.

JAMES R.

Mr Townly having been told that he was not to follow the Duke to a campaign, in case he made one, has desired to return into France, and will, I believe, set out in a few days. The truth is, I have little reason to be pleased with either him or Strickland, but provided they keep within proper bounds for the future, it is not my intention to give them any mark of displeasure, and I shall be even glad to befriend them as occasion offers, tho' the less you have to do with them when in France the better. I shall write more fully to you next week on this disagreeable subject.

J. R.

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* No. XXVIII.

Letter.—The same to the same.

ROME, *March 16th*, 1745.

THE French post only came in last Friday, and brought me my dearest Carluccio's letter of the 21st February, and I have also seen what you and Sir Thomas wrote to Edgar. I remark what Littleton says about a *person coming from Scotland*. I dont see that any thing we can receive from thence just now can have any influence on the *Re.* of the *F. C*, while the jealousies and little secrets there is amongst *our people* may be of very ill consequence, and too much caution and prudence cannot be used in all that relates to *messages* and correspond*ence with our F. at home*. I see with pleasure how strictly you kept *the secret* of that correspond*ence with E.*, which is now interrupted; but I dont really see the least reason to suspect *that person's* probity, neither was *he trusted* with certain *secrets*, and, I believe, with little more than the *conni*vance *of L.*; so that I cannot but think the *interrup*tion *of this* correspond*ence* a loss, and shall be impatient on all accounts to have it renewed. I believe Kerry is ashamed of his not giving up the paper you mentioned; but if he has not given it to you already, he certainly will, upon what I now write to him, for I cannot believe he really sent it to Lisbon.* When all these Feasts are over I hope I shall know something from Morrice as to *our own affairs*, but I own I have little *hope of* Williams's † doing *G. matters for us* this summer, and Grevil would almost compound to be sure of *your mak*ing *a campaign*, as to which you will probably know *your doom* by this time.

Morgan will inform you of what I now write to him in relation to Frank and Father Cruise; so I must say nothing here on those particulars. I also now write to him (Morgan) a particular about *S.*, of which you will inform *S.* when you see him, with my kind compliments, in return to his letter of 20th February. It was, it is true, quite against my *Sistema* to bring his name upon the tapis in relation to *the K.'s* nomination, but in the present case, the respect due to the *K. of S.* made it unavoidable; and whatever the *Bishop of Renne's* ambition may prompt him to, I cannot believe the *K. of S.* himself will do any

* Probably meant for London or Edinburgh. † The King of France.

thing to obstruct the *K.'s* views in favour of *S.*, now that he is acquainted with them. Townly parts to-morrow with the French courier, and will, I reckon, arrive in Paris soon after this; he has asked my leave to go and see you, which I have allowed of, because it is not my intention to give him any publick mark of displeasure, tho' it is known more or less that I am not pleased with him: so that on all accounts, my dear child, it would not be right you should give him a certain countenance, nor have any kind of familiarity with him, tho' I look upon him to have been more a fool than any thing else. Strickland wont be in France so soon, because he stays to take the waters of Lucca. But in general for these two be on your guard, never to give them any countenance, nor to allow them to be in any way about you. It is what you owe to your own character, to your brother, and to me, and this is, I am sure, enough on these subjects to so good a son as you are, for it is impossible to explain certain things by writing, and tho' I shall tell you all when I may be so happy as to see you, yet in general I intend to be very silent on these subjects, as the most prudent party, the most becoming a Master, and the most effectual to knock all these little, but wicked politicks on the head. (I thank God I am tolerably well, and all yours, my dearest child, whom I beseech God to bless and direct, most tenderly embracing you.

JAMES R.

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* No. XXIX.

Letter.— The same to the same.

ROME, *March* 23*d*, 1745.

I WAS in hopes not to have been obliged to name Strickland again to you so soon. But it is fit you should know that he was this morning with the Duke, to see, I suppose, what he could draw from him. He pretended to be in great concern for the Dukes being displeased with him; he disowned having any share in Townly's operations, and said he was glad I had sent him away from him: he pretended to have meddled with nothing that related to the Duke for some years past, but he owned that he had formerly made a complaint of the Duke to me; but he said it was by your express order. The Duke said little, but when he named you, he let him feel the respect he had for you, and how assured he was of your affection. You will not perhaps understand all this, but you may judge by it what odd work we have had here amongst us, and in some measure what sort of spirit Strickland is of. It is really unconceiveable with what malice and violence people have acted against the Duke. Tho' at the same time, the more I see into these matters the less I comprehend them, and the blacker they look. And I own I am under the greatest uneasyness for fear Strickland's stories should have made impression upon you. I have no scruple to say he is an ill man, and conjure of you to forget if possible whatever he may have said to you on any subject. But still I will, if possible, avoid all eclat, and I hope I shall compass it. I have said nothing as yet of all these matters to Lord Dumbar, who has, I fear, been himself too much mixed up with them, but it is for my purpose to bear with him for the present, and I believe he is both mortifyed and freighted, so that I hope, for some time at least, he will not give me much trouble.

JAMES R.

* No. XXX.

Letter.—The same to the same.

ROME, *March* 23, 1745.

WHEN I received, my dearest Carluccio, last week your letter of the 28th February, I did not expect to have a long one from you, and am the more impatient to have another one from you, to know you are well after the fatigue of diversions. I suppose you will have seen Morrice before you left Paris. You will have had the paper you wanted from Kerry, and by what he will have informed you, you will see how little reason there is to suspect the probity of *the private E. correspondent.* A man that acts as he does may certainly be depended upon. I was mighty glad to observe, in one of your former letters, that you had not mentioned that particular *correspondence* to any body. In things of a certain nicety and importance, that is the surest rule, and even a great means to prevent tracasseries ; but, in matters in which you must act and want advice, I am persuaded your secrets will be very safe in Littleton's hands, and, that while you have the advantage of knowing his opinion, it will be the same thing as if you had confided them to nobody ; for he has, I am sure, too much discretion and prudence to let other people remark the degree of confidence you may have in him, and in this shape you will be assisted, and no inconvenience can happen. I am in hopes my next letters may bring me something of business and about Isham's campaign. In the mean time I have nothing to say on those articles. I am glad to find O'Sullivan is now with you. When a gentleman is capable of such detail and drudgery as that of family expenses, you will find it both of ease and advantage to you because you can depend upon him, and he can act either with more franchezza and less soggezione than one of an inferior rank, and on all accounts it behoves you much not to outrun your small income. Marsi will write next week to Sir Thomas, for he reckons to receive another letter from him about Michel, who shall be paid here or at Paris as you have a mind. Waters shall have orders to pay Sir Thomas and Stafford their arrears and the current for the future, and Marsi shall do the same here as to Forbes and the footman. As to Francois I leave him to you, and he deserves you should do something for him. If you make a campaign you could make him a head groom, or do something of that kind for him ; and in all events, altho' he had wore a livery long, yet I should not think it too much to make him a valet-de-chambre if you found him fit for it. You are really obliged to do something for him, but as to the way and manner it is but just you should decide. I have no manner of news to send you from hence, but that poor Stellina is dead in Parto and left 4 puppies behind her. We have now mighty fine weather which I hope will do me good for a little deafness I have had for some weeks past ; otherways my health is much as usual. Adieu, my dearest child. God bless you. I tenderly embrace you.

JAMES R.

* No. XXXI.

Letter.—The same to the same.

ROME, *March* 30th, 1745.

I RECEIVED on Wednesday last, my dearest Carluccio, yours of the 7th.* It is a great comfort to me to hear you are in good health. Would to God I had as much reason to be easy on other matters. Edgar had much ado to decypher your letter. When you have much to cypher you should really make use of another hand, for that is a drudgery which does not belong to you, and a mistake in cyphering may, on many occasions, be of consequence. After that you want to use no caution or management in your letters to me, for I am sure you wont write to me what is not, and your age and your want of experience, as you term it, are even motives for you to write the more freely and fully to me on all matters, for you may be very sure I shall never expose yourself or your letters so as to do you any prejudice, but always give the best advice and all the assistance I can on what you write to me about, and every thing else.

I find Morrice is mortified for his not having seen you when you were at Paris, and on account of a letter you should have writ him about his E cypher, of which I really believe he gave you a full and true copy : neither do I see the use there was for your asking that cypher of him, for that correspondence being in his hands alone, the cypher could be of no use to you, and I find he suspects there may have been in this particular some fetch of those about you. You may be sure I am very cautious to avoid putting you in the wrong with other people, whatever I may think myself, and I cannot, indeed, judge well of smaller matters, especially at this distance. But, in general, I cannot but recommend to you to bear with Kerry and Morrice, and not to disgust them more than is absolutely necessary, for that is certainly for our service. It is true I was formerly uneasy to see both your *person* and *affairs* in their hands alone, but that is no more the case, and should never be it as to them or any body else, tho' I fear it is what most of our people aim at, and therefore you must particularly be on your guard and endeavour to carry towards all with as equal an hand as possible, acting like Master without giving room to any set of people to say they have the management of you.

I remarked with pleasure what you say to the Duke about his campaign, but I am afrayd the grounds of your hopes are not very great, since you say nothing on that subject to me. Neither have I yet had from Wright the answer about your campaign. Should you make it, there will be an absolute necessity of your being attended there by some officer of merit and distinction. I can think of none who appear to me to be proper for that, except Lord Thomond or Lord Tyrconnel, neither do I know whether the employments they have would allow them to attend you without a certain prejudice to themselves. You will do well to consult 185 and Morgan on this particular, which is really of consequence, and nobody can advise you better than they as to the choice of a proper person. I say all this at a venture, in case you should go to the field; and I own I cannot but hope you will at last, because the more I think of it the more I think it would be *scandalous and monstrous in the French* should *they not allow you to do so.*

* None of the letters from the Prince mentioned in this and the foregoing letters appear among the Stuart Papers in the possession of his majesty.

Nothing can be more commendable, my dear child, than the sentiments you express on occasion of the money you took from young Waters. But there indeed, your age and want of experience must induce you to let yourself be advised and directed, as to the right application of such sentiments; and therefore I cannot but tell you freely that I am sorry you have given the money in question. In our present situation we have no other solid *hope for our Restoration but from the F. and the Resolutions of Court*: that depend chiefly, if not solely, in what relate to *E.* and not to *S.* You know we can do nothing for *ourselves* without a certain *number of foreign troops*, and whenever *France* may think fit to give *them, our case* becomes theirs, and *they* will not *stand it*. So that I look on the article of the *B. S.* to be a trifling circumstance as to the main object, and that in general, had *we* more *money* than *we* have, it would not be laying *it* out prudently to be employing *it* to uses which are of so distant, so uncertain, and so small advantage to *the cause*. If there was really occasion of our sending *a person* into *E.* or *S.*, we must be sure to pay *his* expenses, and that I hope *we* shall be always able to do, because such *messages* should not, and cannot well happen often, and cost but little. But in general, I have layd it down as a rule to myself, especially considering my present circumstances, not to lay out a shilling on such sort of expenses in this *juncture*. All these *messages from S.* end in nothing but costing money either to *my friends* or to me, and in fomenting tracasseries and divisions. And as for any *negociations* in E. if *my F. there* on one side, and *the F. C.* on t'other, will not defray such charges, I think it a manifest proof that their *good wishes* for *us* are very faint, and that *we* have little to expect *from* them. I have enlarged the more on these subjects for your information and instruction. For after that, were occasions of expenses never so pressing, I have not money to lay out upon them, and it is not in my power to give you credit for the least sum. Whatever I have, or may have, is to be sure for you, or rather yours; but I cannot give what I have not, and should you take up any more money you must not expect I should pay it. But for this once, the thing being now done, what you have taken up from young Waters shall be repayd him, and I write this post to his uncle on that affair, about which you will hear from him. But it is fit you should know, that to pay this money I shall be forced to take part of it out of the little fund of *one hundred thousand* crowns you know I have here, which I shall do with great reluctance, because I look upon that small fund to be more yours than mine, and that I think prudence requires we should endeavour to have always such a sum at our disposal for our personal wants and uses, since nobody knows what accidents may happen, and what straits we may be put to in process of time. I think the same about *your jewels* as I do about this fund, though you are to be sure entirely master of the first. Neither one nor t'other can produce a sum which can at present be of any real use towards *our restoration*, but they may be of great use to us on many occasions for our perso al wants and expenses; and had you not taken up now this 40,000 livres, I should have been able to have given you a small supply for your campaign, if you make one, and in case the *F. C.* did not give you what was sufficient; and I own I think it had been much better employed on you than on *B. S.*; but I cannot give you what I have not, nor will I run in debt myself to pay yours. I think I have nothing further to add on these subjects. I owed to myself and to you to be free and full upon them, and I am sure my dear Carluccio will take all I have said as kindly as I mean it, and as it really is, for I am sure I have, nor can have nothing in view, but your real good and advantage in all respects, of which, if you had the least doubt, you would wrong me very much.

I have at last named Cardinal Lanet Protector for England, and the Pope, at my desire, has given him the Protectorship of the English College. (Adieu, my dear child. I beseech God to bless and direct you, and tenderly embrace you, being all yours. We have fine weather, but I am still a good deal deaf and (a word unintelligible) as usual.

JAMES R.

* No. XXXII.

Letter.—Prince Charles to his Father.

FITZ JAMES, *5th April*, 1745.

SIR,

I STILL always continue, thank God, in perfect good health, and that is the only good I can say at present, for I see little apierence of any great thing from the F. C., or of my making the campaigne. I have been also refused the Pasports I mentioned to you some posts ago, that had been asked by the *Duke of Perth*. You may judg by all these things how much reason I have to be out of umer (humour), but notwithstanding one must submit to the will of God, and have patience, for lett them do what they will to me, it is absolutely and unavoidably necessary to bear with it, *coute qui coute*. I only hope in the Almighty, that he will reward us for our patience and constance. I shant fail to mention to the B. of Soissons what you tell me by yours of y^e^ 16th March, which I have just now received, and have nothing more to add for the present, having but disagreeable subjects to dwell upon. I lay myself at your majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing,

Your moste dutifull son,

CHARLES P.

* No. XXXIII.

Letter.— The same to the same.

NAVARRE, *y^e^ 13th June*, 1745.

SIR,

IT is a mortification to me not to be able to acknowledg here y^r^ Italian packet. I have found an occasion to send you a letter with yesterday, it being by a shure hand. I have said some things in it I cannot put here. I have nothing in the world to add here but that I am, thank God, in a perfect good health, and receive many civilities and attentions from y^e^ folks here, which all coms from y^e^ Duke of Bouillon. I lay myself at your majesty's feet, moste humbly asking blessing, and remain,

Your moste dutifull son,

CHARLES P.

* No. XXXIV.

Extract from a Letter of Lord Marischal to the Chevalier de St George, dated Avignon, September 5th, 1744.

I CANT enough admire that your majesty was not sufficiently informed of the *affairs last winter:** it confirms me in the opinion for which I have had good grounds, that *Lord Sempil* and *Balhady* imposed on all sides: on *your majesty*, as would appear by what *you* now write; on *your friends in England*, by giving *them assurances* not all well grounded; and on *the court of France, by not* telling justly *the demands of friends in England. Mr Amelot* said to *me* that he told *Lord Sempil*, you *say one thing*, and *friends in England another, —whom am I* to believe? I wish, Sir, it be not found that *the Prince* has been *more deceived than* any *one*. As to the *Duke of Ormond*, it is very plain he *was not only excluded* from *the service*, but was to be *from any share* in the *execution;* the *time* he was *advertised* shows this: he has *your majesty's confidence* and *commission:* he has *great credit in England*, as every (one) knows. Either *Lord Sempil* must have *abused your majesty's name* to have him *excluded*, or *the court of France* must have had *such designs* as they knew the *Duke of Ormond* would *not be assisting to:* as to *myself* I shall say little, only that there was *not only no design* to *employ me*, but there was *none to any assistance in Scotland. If Lord Sempil believed* what he said, *his correspondence* and *intelligence* was very *bad:* if he did not, the *matter is still worse:* he told *the Duke of Ormond*, before he left the neighbourhood of Paris, that he would have a *message* to *recal him* before he *got to Lyons*, and that he was to *command eleven thousand men* ready to *embark* at *Brest. Your majesty* is wise and just. Can you *desire that* either the *Duke of P. or I undertake ever any thing* on the word of *Lord Sempil* and *Balhady*, who not only have *the boldness to impose* (as *far as they can*) *on all the world*, but also to *conceal from your majesty* so *great affairs;* and I believe *your majesty* will find that this *odd incognito* of *the Prince* came in a great measure from *their desire of imposing on* him, and therefore *keeping him from seeing such* as from *honor* and *duty would tell him truth.*

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*No. XXXV.

Letter supposed to be written by Murray of Broughton under the name of "J. Barclay" to Prince Charles, without place or date.

SIR,

ON the 24th of last month I had the honour to despatch a pretty large packet for your royal highness. It contained a journal of the most material occurrences from my leaving Paris, with the coppys of some letters wrote by Mr Lumley† and Lord Maxwell, with my own remarks upon them, which

* The words in italics are in cipher in the original.
† A name assumed by Sempil.

were approved of by *Lochiel** and Dan. It consists, likewise, of letters from *Lord Elcho and Sr James*, Dan, with one to Mr *Edgar* and one to Mr *Kelly*. Your royal highness will see that it ought to have reached you long ere now, neither was it in my power to remedy the delay. As I could not be the bearer myself without giving up thoughts of returning to this country ; and your R. H. will likewise be pleased to observe *D. of Perth*, was from time to time disappointed of the ship he prepared to freight for that use ; neither has he got her. Att least has not hitherto acquainted me of it. This obliged me, as I could not in prudence trust it to Mr Blair, to send it by Mr *Sinton* to *London*, from whence I hope he either has already, or will in a day or two, dispatch it ; so that I am hopefull it will be arrived long before this comes to him, yet thought it necessary, whatever accident might happen to delay it, to lay hold on this opportunity of advertising your R. H. that such a packet was on the way.

The Emperor's death makes people here very busy in their conjecture about the French politicks ; some imagine it may occasion a peace, others that the French will endeavour to make up matters with Russia whereby she may be enabled to make the Elector of Saxony head of the empire, and put King Stanislaws on the throne of Poland ; whatever may be the consequences I wish the French may not pretend, that being obliged to march their troops to the Rhine to influence the election, (which they probably will do) necessitates them to put a further stop to *the expedition to England*. We had a report here, some days ago, that the troops had got orders to march for the coasts of Kent and Sussex. What may be in it I dont know for certain, whether they have got any intelligence of preparations on the other side, or if it be done with a view to countenance their raising such large sums of money, and perhaps by way of argument for making more new levies.

There is one particular I must observe, and what I take to be of the utmost consequence ; Lord *Morton*, I am informed, has been at *Paris* all this winter ; he is one of the most inveterate enemys to y^r^ R. H's family in the island, and tho' I may be wrong, yet I cant help conjecturing, that he is there purposely to discover what is adoing, from which y^r^ R. H. will no doubt be on your guard, as to what people resorts to y^r^ royal person, and endeavour, if possible, to make counter spy him, a thing not at all difficult in so large a town. It may be objected that a man of his rank would not be so little as act that part, but it must be observed, on the other hand, that it is his interest, *and I* have personally known as great a man as he acting in the same sphere ; and I must say, altho' with concern, that the generality of this country have atained to that degree of venality as renders them capable of any thing.

This comes by the *Master of Strathallan*, who has engaged to deliver it to *Mr Smith*.† I settled a correspondence with Mr Andrew Forbes, merchant in Rotterdam, whom I hope will serve fit for any single letter of no great consequence : the letter must be directed to him, and under his cover to Mr Barclay, which he will forward to his correspondent, at the coffee-house, who will send it to me, either by the common post or by some private hand, as Mr Forbes is desired to acquaint him. This thought necessary to advertise y^r^ R. H. of, and at the same time, in case Mr Fergus's‡ ship should not come in time, if y^r^ R. H. judge it necessary to give us any intelligence of what is doing. Mr Buchanan, or any other, may safely come by the way of Holland ; and if there is a ship

* The names &c. in italics are in ciphers in the original, but interlined with the proper names, in the Prince's hand-writing.

† A banker at Boulogne. ‡ The Duke of Perth.

there ready to sail for this place, he may, without any questions asked, come by the packet-boat to Harwich, and upon his arrival here he has only to ask for me, at Mr *Macdougal*, merchant in this place. I shall take up no more of y^r^ R. H's time, than to beg leave to subscribe myself, with the utmost veneration and attachment,

May it please your Royal Highness,

Your Royal Highness's most obedient

And most devoted humble servant,

J. Barclay

END OF VOL. II.

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